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OR GENERAL REPOSITORY OF

HISTORY,

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AND

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For the YEAR 1806.

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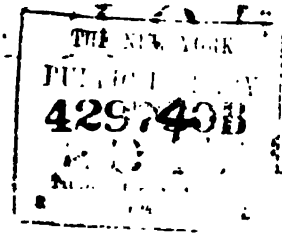
The HISTORY of KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, and TASTE, in GREAT BRITAIN, during the Reign of King William III.—Part III.

WITH A MAP OF INDIA.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE,
PICCADILLY.

1807.



Printed by Richard Taylor and Co., Shoe-lane.

PREFACE.

THE PROPRIETOR of the NEW ANNUAL REGISTER, in announcing another Volume of that useful, interesting, and popular Work, feels himself called upon to say a few words respecting the increased price to which he has been obliged to advance it. The bulk of the late Volumes, which is barely proportionate to the increased interest of the times in which we live, is of itself more than sufficient to justify the demand now made on the Public. Compared with any other work of English literature, the NEW ANNUAL REGISTER, both with respect to size, and to the style of execution, in all its departments, will be found cheaper than any other modern Publication; but the claim becomes indefinitely stronger when the various Contents of the Volume are duly appreciated:—as an Historical and Political Register, it gives a brief but faithful sketch of all the most important discussions in both Houses of Parliament, together with copies of the several State Papers referred to; it contains a summary view of every interesting occurrence that has happened during the preceding Year, in the several kingdoms and states of the civilized world:—it records the rise and fall of empires, and develops the causes, which have conspired to augment the power of some, and to diminish the glory and influence of others.

As a History of Literature and Science, an account of every work, both Foreign and Domestic, which has excited public attention, and of every discovery in

Philosophy and the Arts, will be found in departments appropriated to the purpose.

The Principal Occurrences which have taken place on the theatre of life, arranged in a Chronological Order:—the character, talents, and dispositions of persons, who have rendered themselves and their country illustrious by their writings or their actions, pourtrayed in the Biographical Part of the Volume; and the Selections from authors of distinguished eminence in philosophy and literature, cannot fail of gratifying every description of readers.

The execution of the present volume, it is presumed, will be found in no respect inferior to that of those which have preceded it; and it will ever be the ambition of the Proprietor to consign the several departments of the Work to gentlemen, whose diligence, impartiality, and integrity shall ensure to the public a faithful portrait of the times, and, at a period sufficiently early * to gratify the curiosity of those who wish for information on subjects involving the dearest interests of man.

With the present volume is given a very accurate and well engraved Map of India†, which, at a period when our possessions in the East are of such vast importance to our own welfare, and excite so much jealousy in the breast of our rivals, seems an indispensable companion to every student in history.

Piccadilly,
Nov. 1, 1807.

* Such arrangements have been made with the editors, as to ensure the publication of each succeeding volume, early in the spring of every year.

† To complete the Map of India, another sheet will be given in the next volume, which will be published on or before the 1st of March, 1808.

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THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

KNOWLEDGE, LITERATURE, AND TASTE,

IN GREAT BRITAIN,

DURING THE REIGN OF WILLIAM III.

PART III.

THE reign of William commenced under circumstances apparently unfavourable to the cultivation of literature and taste. The revolution itself was an event of such magnitude as could not but throw a shade of obscurity over all contemporary objects: the state of the country had absorbed the public mind, and to trace the fortunes of war abroad, or watch the fluctuations of party at home, became more or less the business of every individual in the community. The fashion of the court was changed;—few of the wits of Charles the second survived to observe the career of those youthful rivals who were to lend such lustre to the age of Anne. The reign of William presents an interval between those brilliant æras, which renders the character of each more distinct. Of those writers who had acquired eminence during the preceding reigns, there yet remain some deserving of notice;—sir William Temple still lived and flourished, venerable for age and wisdom, for patriotism and integrity. He had long withdrawn from court, but in his retreat at Moorpark was visited by king William, who often asked, and, what was more important, often embraced his salutary counsels.

Bishop Burnet exemplified, in his own practice, the rigid principles of episcopal discipline which he had formerly laboured to establish. Indigent and neglected, stript of his pension, deserted by his patrons, Dryden continued to procure by his pen, a scanty and precarious subsistence. Sir William Temple derived from his family an hereditary claim to probity and talents; he was born in 1629; his education, which was strictly superintended by his father, appears to have been no less judicious than fortunate; his classical studies were prosecuted under Dr. Hammond at Penshurst in Kent, and on his subsequent removal to Cambridge he became the pupil of the celebrated Ralph Cudworth.

Having completed his scholastic course, he visited the Continent; to have travelled, being in the opinion of that age essential to the character of an accomplished gentleman. Few books of information concerning other countries were then extant, and a temporary absence from England, presented the most obvious, if not the only means for liberating the mind from local prejudice, and enlarging its sphere of comparison and observation. Mr. Temple travelled not merely as a scholar or a lover of the arts, but as a political philosopher. He studied the laws and examined the various usages and customs subsisting among mankind. He possessed the rare faculty of extracting valuable hints from casual circumstances. The love of usefulness, and of such active pursuits as are directed to important ends, was the leading feature of his mind; and was, perhaps, the cause why, though gifted with all those rare felicities of nature which conspire in the poetical temperament, (to use his own words,) he added to the piercing imagination and poignant wit, the coldness of good sense and the soundness of judgment: he never but in academical exercises attempted metrical composition. His ambition had a nobler object than literary eminence; he sought not only the suffrage of the learned, but the approbation of the wise; he desired not merely to extort the homage but to merit the gratitude of his country.

On

On his return from the continent he found England plunged in the distractions of civil war, in which he appears to have taken no part. It was his fortune to visit the isle of Wight at the time when Charles the first was imprisoned in Carisbrook castle, and at the same period commenced his acquaintance with the lady destined to become his wife, the daughter of sir Thomas Osborne, with whom he afterwards lived in much harmony and felicity. During the commonwealth, he withdrew to his estate in Ireland, where, dividing his time between books, agriculture, and philosophy, he lived in a seclusion acceptable to his taste, from which he seems to have shut out the world, with all its cares, anxieties, and regrets.

On the restoration, he issued from his retreat, and served in the first Irish parliament; but, at the particular solicitation of Charles the second, he soon returned to England, and entered into political life. His public services were no less creditable to his master than beneficial to his country; and they were continued as long as he found his situation compatible with his principles. Perceiving at length that all his efforts to counteract the influence of French counsels were unavailing, he renounced his station, and, after having spent twenty years in the most dissolute court in Europe, resumed his primitive habits of study, with his morals untainted, and his honour undiminished.

Sir William Temple has acquired so much reputation as a statesman, that sufficient attention has not always been paid to his merit as a polite writer. Of his transcendent talents in negotiation, he has left a record in the treaty constructed by him, in concert with the pensionary De Witt, known by the name of the Triple League, the object of which was to form a rampart against the ambition of France, for the liberty and tranquillity of Europe. The unexampled celerity and ability with which this treaty was constructed, drew from the States General an animated eulogium on sir William Temple. In return sir William adroitly referred his success to the relations

necessarily subsisting between England and Holland: "to draw things out of their centre," he observed, "it requires labour and address to put them into motion; but to make them return thither, nature helps so far, that there needs only to set them going." A yet more important service was effected by sir William, in the marriage treaty between the prince of Orange and the princess Mary of England; an alliance, for which Charles the second discovered some repugnance, and the duke of York a decided aversion, but to which the happy consequences resulting from the subsequent revolution are chiefly to be attributed. In this, and every action of his political life, sir William strenuously laboured to unite the interests of England and Holland against the aggrandizement of France.

As a political writer, sir William is entitled to respect; his two statistical Essays concerning Ireland, evince liberal and rational views of commercial policy, a subject then little understood. His Memoirs, though not inviting to the general reader, are valuable for the light which they occasionally throw on the annals of that age, and for the ample elucidation which they afford of its political character. His style is as various as his compositions; in his memoirs it is slovenly, feeble, and coarse; in his miscellaneous pieces it is ornamental but not elaborate. The structure of his sentences is always careless and often happy; he amplifies without prolixity, he is brilliant without ostentation; his mind is perpetually renovated by a stream of thought, full, not redundant, throwing light on every subject, and sparkling as it flows.

Sir William Temple is not betrayed by the fertility of his fancy into those puerile conceits which disfigure the pages of his contemporaries, and his prose has the rare merit of containing the essence of poetry, without ever deviating into the manner of verse. His Essays on Heroic Virtue, on Poetry, and the Gardens of Epicurus are still read with pleasure; but it was chiefly by his Essay on Antient and Modern Learning that he attracted attention in his own age, and provoked

voked a controversy which was protracted beyond his own existence. In this essay sir William avows his bigoted devotion to antiquity, and treats the pretensions of modern writers with unqualified censure and contempt. This want of candour is perhaps imputable to his strong anti-Gallican prejudices, the manners and customs of France being in that age servilely imitated, and its supremacy in fashion and literature at least tacitly acknowledged by every polite court in Europe. Sir William was evidently actuated by his jealousy of natural pre-eminence, when he stigmatizes all the productions of modern times, involving historians, poets, and philosophers in one general proscription. This essay affords a curious record of depraved, perverted taste, in a man of learning and genius. It is true that sir William mentions Sidney with complacency, and Bacon and Spenser with respect. Out of Milton he appears to have read nothing, and of Shakspeare to have forgotten every thing. In adverting to the claims of modern science, he introduces not the names of Boyle, Newton, or Locke, his illustrious contemporaries; an omission which, though indicating in the writer a want of information truly astonishing, may partly be traced to the general penury of scientific information. Of science, strictly speaking, so little was popularly known, that even its name was not perfectly understood; and not only by sir William Temple, but all contemporary authors, the term is indiscriminately applied to physical facts and metaphysical speculations; to the subtilties of school-men, and the discoveries of nature.

The establishment of the Royal Society had already produced a large accession of knowledge, the result of vigilant observation, mathematical induction, and patient experiment: —but the facts thus collected were only for the enlightened student who should be capable of estimating their importance. Electricity and chemistry were yet included in the *terra incognita* of science; the delusions of alchemy, and the fables of astrology, were still prevalent; the vulgar believed in charms, the learned in sympathies; the reveries of Des Cartes were permitted to usurp the place of sense and rea-

son. The magnificence of Newton's discoveries was not obvious to popular apprehension; the truths he had promulged were neither immediately nor universally diffused; but they were imbibed by the scientific mind, and transmitted through the philosophic eye.

A vestige of sir William Temple's classical enthusiasm appears in his will, in which he directs that his heart should be inclosed in a silver box, and buried under the sun-dial in his garden, opposite the window at which he had been accustomed to sit with his sister the accomplished lady Gifford, the companion of his literary and philosophical pursuits.

Gilbert Burnet, descended from parents eminent for probity and piety, was born at Edinburgh in 1643; he received his education at the college of Aberdeen, and applied to his studies so assiduously, that he obtained the distinction of Master of Arts before he had completed his fifteenth year. Originally he had a predilection for the study of law, but soon abandoned it for the clerical profession. In 1663 he visited England, when he became personally known to Mr. Cudworth, Dr. Pococke the orientalist, Dr. Wallis the mathematician, Mr. Boyle, and the most distinguished prelates of the age. From England he proceeded to the continent, travelled through France and Holland, and diligently seized every opportunity of extending his acquaintance with men and manners.

On his return to Scotland, he was regularly inducted to the living of Saltoun, and resided five years on that cure, discharging his pastoral duties with the zeal and simplicity of a primitive apostle. He did not confine his ministerial functions to the service of the church; he visited his parishioners at their own houses, examined them on the doctrinal and practical points of christianity,—admonished them as a friend, and watched over their temporal and spiritual interests with truly paternal affection. His piety, however strict, was so tempered by benignity, that he was universally beloved; and though

though he was the only clergyman in Scotland by whom the church of England liturgy was read, he conciliated the Presbyterian party.

Revering his profession, he was anxious to redeem it from the obloquy which it had justly incurred by the secular spirit of its ministers. With this view he published a memorial, in which he contrasted the doctrines and disciplines of the primitive church with the practice of modern times. In his zeal for reformation, he spared not his own blameless life; and he resolved to secede from mixed company, to pursue a rigid course of study, and adopt such an ascetic regimen as actually impaired his constitution.

During his residence at Saltoun he was employed in negotiation between the Episcopal and Presbyterian parties. But this coalition, so often attempted during the reigns of Charles and James, was never effected. The ability which Mr. Burnet discovered in the negotiation, procured his nomination to the chair of divinity at Glasgow; and in 1669 he entered on that arduous vocation; but his integrity did not shield him from reproach, and he provoked persecution by his efforts to allay the heat of party. He was stigmatized by the Presbyterians for liberality, and detested by the Episcopalians for moderation.

In 1673, he again visited England; and having gained great credit with the Episcopalians for his vindication of ecclesiastical authority in Scotland, he was well received at court, appointed one of the king's chaplains, and often admitted by Charles the second and the duke of York to private conference. By the artifices of the duke of Lauderdale, however, a prejudice was excited against him; and the king not only erased his name from the list of chaplains, but, on his seeking a settlement in London, obstructed his nomination to any clerical office; and it was not without difficulty that he was at length appointed chaplain of the Rolls, and lecturer of St. Clement's.

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In that age the spirit of party was omnipotent. Burnet having published his History of the Reformation at a moment when the popular rage against popery was most violent, suddenly became the idol of the people, and received the thanks of both houses of parliament for his work. His reputation thus established, he was reinstated in his former privileges at court, but the only use he made of them was to remonstrate with the king on his immoral life.

During the popish plot, Burnet, so lately celebrated as the protestant champion, offended his partisans by the sentiments of lenity and humanity which he acknowledged for the persecuted papists. His popularity suddenly subsided. The king, mistaking his moderation for lukewarmness, made efforts to gain him to his side; but, neither provoked by persecution nor seduced by blandishment, Burnet preserved both his equanimity and integrity, and, retiring from public life, devoted himself to literary and philosophical avocations. On the trial of lord John Russel he gave such unequivocal demonstrations of attachment to that unfortunate nobleman, as wholly alienated the king's friendship, and by a royal mandate he was interdicted the clerical functions.

On the accession of James, his residence in England appearing unsafe, he took the opportunity of visiting France, Italy, and Switzerland; having received an invitation from the Stadtholder, repaired to the Hague, where he contributed essentially, by his counsel, to direct the prince to that line of conduct which terminated in the revolution. It was at his suggestion that the princess of Orange made to William that concession of her personal pretensions, which secured to him the dignity and independence of the crown. On the mission of Dyckvelt to England, it was Mr. Burnet who furnished his private instructions. The distinction which he enjoyed at the Hague was not unobserved at home; the publication of his Travels, in which he had exposed all the absurdities

absurdities of the Romish faith, as exemplified in the manners of catholic countries, having given great offence, the king thought it not unworthy of him to require that he should be excluded from his son-in-law's court. In deference to this requisition, Mr. Burnet absented himself from the palace, but still communicated with the prince and princess of Orange through the medium of their confidential ministers.

Perceiving the malice of his enemies, he now procured an act of naturalization from the States General; and a prosecution having commenced against him in Scotland, he repelled the charge, on the pretext that his allegiance was now due to the States. Sentence of outlawry was in consequence pronounced against him, and the surrender of his person, as a criminal, formally demanded by the English envoy. To this imperious mandate the states replied, that Mr. Burnet, in becoming one of their citizens, had acquired a legal claim to their protection, that for whatever crimes he had committed, he was now amenable to their laws, and might be arraigned by their judicatures. In the expedition to England Burnet attended the prince, who continued to treat him with confidence and respect.

The see of Salisbury becoming vacant, Burnet, who, though he neither sought nor coveted preferment, scrupled not to ask for his friends such favours as he would have declined for himself, and recommended Mr. Loyd as a proper person to fill that bishopric, the king replied that he had another person in view for it; and the next day Mr. Burnet found himself invested with the episcopal dignity. In his high prelatical station he was no less scrupulous than he had been in the cure of Saltoun; and so sacred did he hold his obligations to his diocese, that, on being appointed preceptor to the duke of Gloucester, he announced his intention of resigning his see. The king refused—the bishop persisted—finally the matter was compromised by his majesty's giving him permission to devote ten weeks in the year to residence, and the care of his clergy.

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From the accession of William, the bishop's history exhibits an unbroken course of prosperity. The leisure of his declining age he employed in writing the History of his own Times, a well known work; which, with all its inaccuracy, is still valuable for the lively portraiture that it exhibits of a departed age. The rapidity with which the bishop was accustomed to write, affords an explanation; and (as far as such faults admit of extenuation,) an apology, for his negligences of composition. His characters are drawn with much spirit and force—his prejudices are obvious to observation, and arise rather from warmth of feeling, than want of judgment. He has been charged with vanity and egotism, and it would perhaps be difficult to exonerate him from the imputation. Few men have had more to engender conceit, or foster self-complacency. From obscurity and mediocrity he had risen to rank and fortune. Without genius he came to be classed with those who possessed it, and by dint of unparalleled application and perseverance he had mined his way to distinction, and acquired consideration with the first men of his age; directed the counsels of princes, and influenced the fate of kingdoms. His political conduct was always in consonance with his principles;—he had often an intuitive sagacity, which supplied the place of wisdom and experience; and, on any remarkable emergency, he derived from promptitude of decision, an ascendant over men, his equals if not his superiors in ability.

Among the learned writers of this age, was the celebrated sir Thomas Browne, well known for his book on Vulgar Errors, and the interesting biography published under the title of Religio Medici: from this and other parts of his works might be extracted passages scarcely inferior in eloquence to the compositions of Jeremy Taylor. His life has been written by Dr. Johnson with his accustomed felicity and discrimination.

John Dryden was born at Aldwinckle, in Northamptonshire. He was educated at Westminster, under Dr. Busby, and sat on the same form with Locke. On his removal

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to Trinity College, though he pursued the regular course of academical study, he gave no presage of his future eminence; in 1657 he went to London, and soon commenced author. But the two first performances by which he was distinguished, evinced no less the levity of his principles than the brilliancy of his talents. These were, the heroic stanzas addressed to Oliver Cromwell, and the Astrea Redux, in compliment to Charles the second.

Having formed an intimacy with sir Robert Howard, whose sister he afterwards married, he was soon familiar with the court, and caressed by the great; but as neither smiles nor compliments conferred affluence, he was impelled by indigence to make an effort in dramatic composition. His theatrical career commenced with the Wild Gallant, and, after thirty years, terminated with Love Triumphant. He was satirised in the Rehearsal, for which he retorted on its author in his Absalom. His celebrity attracted envy, yet he was constantly under the pressure of indigence. Charles the second admired his genius, but thought not of remunerating it; and, though he occasionally suggested subjects for his pen, conferred on him no substantial proofs of royal munificence.

After the accession of James, Dryden abjured the errors of heresy; a procedure which drew on him much obloquy, his conversion being invidiously ascribed to motives of interest. At the revolution, Dryden was deprived of the pension annexed to the laureatship, and reduced to precarious dependance on booksellers and managers. In this situation he produced his translations of Virgil, Persius, and Juvenal. His Alexander's Feast was among the latest of his productions. He died in 1701, at his house in Gerard-street, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. His name alone supplied his epitaph.

No modern writer, with the exception of Voltaire, has possessed equal versatility of talent. For the drama he had no original predilection: the bent of his genius would have impelled him to epic poetry, he wrote plays because he was poor: that he ever wrote them well must be ascribed to the ex-

uberance of his powers, his theatrical pieces are indeed unequal in the extreme. In some he sinks below criticism; in others he rises above it: and after having been the rejected rival of Settle, he aspires to fellowship, and sometimes to competition, with Shakspeare. He writes alternately in blank verse and rhyme, and defends either practice with equal plausibility. He never fails to produce persuasive arguments in support of erroneous opinions; his faults are as splendid as his reasonings are seductive: and, like Cleopatra, he often *makes defect appear perfection.*

The dramatic history of Dryden obviously includes some account of the contemporary stage; the peculiar character of which affords an easy explanation of his various excentricities and inconsistencies as a dramatic writer. In that age there existed against plays, not only among the puritans, but the great body of the people, an inveterate prejudice, which banished from the theatre the better orders of the community. By some it was shunned with abhorrence, by others stigmatised with contempt. To the learned it appeared frivolous, to the pious profane. Neither grave lawyers nor young tradesmen could frequently attend the theatre, but at the hazard of forfeiting reputation and respectability: still less was this amusement tolerated in the other sex. The custom of wearing masks in the playhouse was probably adopted by the ladies, not so much from convenience as in deference to public opinion. From the operation of these various causes of exclusion there remained for the frequenters of the theatre only the retainers of the court, and such nominal students of law, the loungers of inns of court, as came afterwards to be known by the name of Templars men, eager for cavil and debate, who dogmatised in the green-room, and, often on no better principles than party or caprice, dictated to the author, and gave laws to the audience. Criticism, so derived, could neither be useful nor just. The principles of taste are drawn from good sense and correct feeling: they consist not of laws and limitations, they are not constituted by authority and prescription, neither can they be formed by the accord of two or three individuals on any particular points, however such individuals

viduals may be distinguished by wit and learning: they are drawn from the agreement of many minds of different orders and various powers, but united on some subjects by a common, if not an equal, participation of sentiment. The principles of taste originate in nature and truth, and can be but imperfectly developed when literary cultivation is confined, like the privilege of nobility, to the few, and the exercise of judgment exclusively awarded to those few, is disclaimed by the more numerous classes of the community.

In the reign of Elizabeth the general esteem in which erudition was held produced a cast of pedantry which more or less pervades all the compositions of that period. In the reign of Charles the second, when wit was omnipotent, a flippant character was imbibed by our celebrated writers, equally inimical to good sense, to natural feeling, and refined taste. Neither the senate, the bar, nor even the pulpit, escaped the contagion, the passion for such combinations of thought as surprise the mind, was constantly predominant. As, however, real wit could not, from the limitations imposed on human intellect, always be produced, a spurious wit consisting chiefly of fantastic conceits was generally made to supply its place. A similar character prevailed on the stage; where a puerile fondness for novelty fostered extravagance and wildness of sentiment, to the exclusion of all the simple and natural graces of expression. The struggle for the strange and the new was always apparent, and the poet sought rather to excite astonishment than to protract delight. The court affected to naturalize French idioms, and the court writers to adopt the principles of French criticism. The affectation of introducing French phrases in conversation was keenly ridiculed by Dryden, in his comedies of Sir Martin Marrall, and Marriage a-la-mode, although a similar practice frequently appears in his own writings. The introduction of rhyme in tragedy, which had also originated in the petty ambition of imitating French writers, was, for a time, sanctioned by Dryden with his example, and supported with all his influence! Neither tragedy nor comedy afforded any genuine representations of nature. The style of each was equally artificial: in the one the characters were made for the performers, in the other the sentiments

were constructed for the times, and were commonly such as gratified the political feelings of the audience. In the plays of Dryden and his contemporaries, allusions to the atrocity of treason and rebellion are perpetually introduced, with the obvious view of enticing applause from the court and cavaliers.

After the revolution, when such allusions were no longer seasonable, the plays which contained them became unpopular:—a curious embarrassment occurred to queen Mary, at the representation of the Spanish Fryar; the deposition of king Sancho, and the usurpation of Leonora, having so strongly suggested a comparison with her own situation, that the attention of the whole house was riveted on the royal box, and her majesty was overwhelmed by the rude gaze of the spectators.

Towards the close of Dryden's life, an attack was made on the stage by the celebrated Collier, which insensibly refined the language of dramatic writers. As the audience became more mixed, the taste for the artificial was diminished; the taste for bombast subsided; the passion for extravagance died away; Shakspeare made his way to the public mind, and reclaimed it to truth and nature. It is impossible that Dryden should not have been betrayed into many errors and absurdities by the prevailing temper of his age. So little was Shakspeare appreciated, that his plays seem to have been considered as obsolete; Beaumont and Fletcher had borrowed from him freely, and by these and other poets his thoughts and sentiments were travestied with impunity. Even Dryden, with all his enthusiasm for his genius, scrupled not to transform the Tempest to the Enchanted Island; and with the same temerity which had led him to dramatize the Paradise Lost, he obtruded on the hallowed scene created by Shakspeare's fancy, the baser progeny of his own polluted world. Nor did Dryden presume to question the rectitude of public opinion, which had established the supremacy of Jonson over all his compeers. Dryden was himself compared with Howard and Davenant, and, in the judgment of town critics, surpassed by Settle.

This presumptuous record of folly has, however, been re-

versed by time and experience; and the plays of Dryden, though never to be approved, are still read and admired, whilst those of his competitors are mouldering in oblivion. In his heroic plays, Dryden opened a field of composition peculiarly his own. In the Conquest of Granada, he delights by the diversity of his characters, the vivacity of the descriptions, the eloquence of the language, and, occasionally, the sublimity of the sentiments. What he has produced is not so much a drama as an epic romance, and it is to be regretted that he had not possessed leisure to produce a poem on a plan so consonant to his genius. In his Don Sebastian, he has rivalled Corneille; in his Anthony and Cleopatra, he has caught a portion of Shakspeare's spirit, and employed it better than his master; in his Spanish Fryar, he has given the happiest example of a double plot, and in every respect, but morals, of a perfect play. In the drama, therefore, if Dryden sometimes fall short of his own powers, he commonly proves superior to other men; as an original poet he is yet more to be praised. Perhaps no individual writer ever contributed so largely to polish and refine a language: in satire he was a master: his Medal, his M^c^Flecknoe, and his Absalom, are all original treasures which have enriched succeeding writers: his characteristic excellencies are versatility and strength; his faults are innumerable, but they are redeemed by the originality and energy of his conceptions.

As a translator he deserves much blame as well as praise: his genius assimilated better with Juvenal and Persius, than with Virgil. His Fables are not the least pleasing of his performances: his Alexander's Feast, which might alone have immortalized his name, was among the latest of his productions. Such an accession of valuable poetry no other writer has supplied to our language: but his merits are not limited to his poetical compositions; in his various Prefaces, and his Essay on Dramatic Poetry, he has established his reputation as a prose writer: the inequalities so obvious in his verse are not discovered in his prose; he is uniformly graceful and elegant; always animated and various, and sometimes eloquent.

To compare Dryden with Pope would be invidious: the latter could not have written so well had not the former written before him, as Æschylus introduced the composition which received perfection from Euripides. Under Dryden's auspices Congreve wrote for the stage: emulous of his genius, Pope "Lisped in numbers for the numbers came"; Bolingbroke caught the glow of Dryden's fancy; and Addison learnt from him to construct sentences with that exquisite felicity which eludes censure, and baffles imitation.

Congreve, who commenced and terminated his theatrical career in the time of William, must be classed with the writers of this age. He was descended from an ancient family, from whom, however, he inherited little wealth. Having completed his academical studies at Dublin, he came to London, and was entered at the Middle Temple, but neglected law, and devoted himself to polite literature. In 1693 was performed his first dramatic piece, the Old Bachelor; the merit of which was acknowledged in the strongest terms by Dryden, who declared that he had never met with such a first play. Its principal merit is an exuberance of wit, which, more liberally than judiciously, is distributed to all the dramatis personæ: his Double Dealer possessed more originality, but met not with equal success: his Love for Love still keeps the stage, and his tragedy of the Mourning Bride is admitted in the number of our dramatic classics. These four plays were produced before he had completed his twenty-fifth year. Disgusted with the ill-success of his last comedy, the Way of the World, he abandoned the stage, and from that period lived in ease and leisure, enjoying the society of his numerous friends. The patronage of lord Halifax had procured him a place, the emoluments of which were adequate to his wishes, and his income was afterwards augmented by his appointment to another sinecure.

Congreve's plays are less licentious than those of Wycherly, and he appears to have revolted from the unqualified coarseness so often obtruded by coeval writers, his morality, is, however, lamentably defective, and he has the artificial style so acceptable to the age of Charles the Second.

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He seems to have conceived wit to be the first of dramatic requisites, for the possession of which he was always ready to sacrifice propriety, truth, and nature.

The reign of William was not unadorned by noble authors. The earl of Dorset, celebrated in the time of Charles the second became the favorite of king William; and Mr. Montague, afterwards lord Halifax, soon rose to high political eminence. Mr. Montague, who, like that Atticus whom he patronised, seemed born to write, to live, and to converse with ease, originally distinguished himself by a poem, written in conjunction with Prior, intituled the Town and Country Mouse, the aim of which was to ridicule Dryden's Hind and Panther. Of the Revolution he was a zealous promoter, and on the accession of William, his services were not unrewarded: he was appointed one of the commissioners of the treasury, and eventually became chancellor of the exchequer. His attention was now directed to schemes of finance, and many of his suggestions were afterwards improved by sir Robert Walpole. As an orator he appears to have had few equals: he gave an admirable proof of promptitude in his first speech, in which he supported the motion for granting the aid of counsel in cases of high treason. When he first rose, he was thrown into embarrassment; but in a few moments recollecting himself, he begged the house to consider "how reasonable it was to allow counsel to men, called, as criminals, before a court of justice, since he who was unaccused, had with difficulty gained courage to address that august assembly."

Without writing much himself, lord Halifax promoted the cause of literature by almost universal patronage. He was not, however, equally favoured by both parties, and, whilst he was the Mæcenas of Steele and Addison, became the Bufo of Pope. He is now known as a poet, only by the adulatory effusions of his various encomiasts: but as a statesman he is entitled to no inferior praise, having uniformly manifested his attachment to the constitution, and his discernment of the interests of the country.

Of opposite principles, but congenial talents, was George Granville viscount Lansdowne, whose premature efforts in

verse

verse were the effusions of that ardent loyalty which was implanted in his childhood, and cherished through life. From the activity of his temper he conceived a strong passion for the military profession, but sacrificed his inclinations to the wishes of his father, and endeavoured to procure by his pen that reputation which he was not permitted to obtain in the field. Participating in the political sentiments of his family, which had been zealously devoted to the house of Stuart, he reluctantly witnessed the abdication of James the second, and submitted to the revolution with an ill grace. During the reign of William and the whigs he was necessarily estranged from court, but on the restoration of the tory interest, he entered into parliament, and successively filled the offices of secretary at war, treasurer, and comptroller of the royal household. He was one of the twelve peers suddenly created by queen Anne. On the demise of that princess, he was implicated with lord St. John in the charge of treasonable correspondence with the Pretender, and, during two years, continued a prisoner in the Tower. The remainder of his life was spent in the tranquillity of learned leisure: he employed much time in revising his works, and spared no labor in correcting them: they are, however, little read. His lordship, who was a professed imitator of Waller, has caught rather the faults than the beauties of his master. Of his various dramatic pieces, the British Enchanters alone was acted with success: less envied than Halifax, he attracted the praises of both parties: he was celebrated both by Addison and Dryden: his name is immortalised by Pope, as *Granville* the *polite*, and his *Mira* yet lives in the record of that poet, though his own adulatory strains are consigned to oblivion.

> Here noble Surry felt the sacred rage,
> Surry, the Granville of a former age;
> Matchless his pen, victorious was his lance,
> Bold in the lists, and graceful in the dance:
> In the same shades the Cupids tun'd his lyre
> To the same notes of love and soft desire;
> Fair Geraldine, bright object of his vow,
> Then fill'd the groves, as heavenly Mira now.

Both Halifax and Lansdowne were indebted to their rank for the distinctions which they obtained from men of letters. The solicitude which these noblemen discovered for such distinctions

stinctions is illustrative of the manners of their times, and may be considered as a criterion of the honours which were then attached to the literary character.

Pomfret is another poet who flourished in this reign: his biography is obscure, although his poetry appears to have been for a time extremely popular. Destitute of original genius, his penury of thought was rendered more obvious by the vulgarism or corruption of his taste; his numbers have neither smoothness nor strength; his sentiments are coarse and trite; his imagery tame and trivial; his style feeble and sordid. He wrote a pastoral dirge on the death of queen Mary, replete with mythology and absurdity: his longest poem contains a horrible story of Kirke's cruelty: his most popular was the Choice, in which he has versified many common-place maxims of prudence and œconomy. This poem is lavishly commended by Dr. Johnson: it is such, however, as, to use his own words on Congreve's novel, most of our contemporaries "would be better pleased to praise than to read."

Science continued to advance, and its progress was no less rapid than fortunate. The institution of the Royal Society was the commencement of an æra unparalleled for the universality of its researches, and the magnitude of its improvements. The spirit of discovery had gone forth, and its operations were illimitable as the powers of nature: nor were its energies indicated alone by sublime theories or comprehensive systems. They were exerted in useful inventions, and the application of mechanical ingenuity: they were not merely directed to the expansion of human intellect, but to the comfort and accommodation of human life. Never, before or since, have so many illustrious minds been associated in similar views and pursuits. In this scientific confederacy, neither the hostility of party nor the rancour of controversy was permitted to operate:—a noble emulation supplied the place of contention; bigotry and sectarism were banished from a communion, whose supreme object was to diffuse knowledge and elicit truth. In addition to such members of the Royal Society as have been already mentioned, (among whom

whom were Newton and Locke,) the names of Grew, Ray, and Derham, are particularly entitled to notice. Grew was the first who examined botanical subjects with a philosophic eye. In the dedication to his Anatomy of Plants, which was addressed to Charles the second, he observes, "that there were *terræ incognitæ* in philosophy as well as geography, and that it was his fortune to have been the first to give a map of that particular country." Ray published a History of Plants, an Account of Quadrupeds, and a Synopsis of Birds and Fishes: his most popular productions were his Physical and Theological Discourses. Some of his writings were edited by his friend, Dr. Derham, who probably derived from him the radical idea of his own compendious work of Physico-Theology.

It is curious to observe, that the ingenious men of this age scattered, on various subjects, opinions which have since been developed and matured into particular systems: the activity of their minds overleaped the limits of that world which was submitted to their investigation; after having combined all the facts accumulated by former experience, they recurred to hypothetical deductions; and often, by a sudden illumination of reason, anticipated results, which have since been slowly demonstrated to the cautious inquirer, and finally established on substantial sensible evidence. The perusal of Grew will probably suggest the coincidence of those analogies between vegetables and animals observed by him, and the principles of the great Swedish naturalist, Linnæus. The admirable plan of Derham's Physico-Theology has been lately unfolded in Paley's Natural Theology. With the exception of chemistry, and the electrical phænomena, the track of science which has been pursued by our contemporaries appears to have been descried, if not explored, by their predecessors. So true is the remark of Brown in his Religio Medici, that no idea arises in any individual mind, but bears some affinity to such as have previously existed in the minds of other men, and no character can be discovered, whose archetype might not be found; "no spirit but hath had its parallel," however obscured or forgotten, unappreciated or unknown.—*Biograph. Brit. Biog. Dict. Burnet, Temple, Grew, Ray, Wood Oxon. Athenæ.*

BRITISH

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

HISTORY

For the Year 1806.

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For the Year 1806.

CHAPTER I.

Cursory View of the Affairs on the Continent—State of Europe at the Renewal of the Confederacy—Campaign in Germany—Victory off Cape Trafalgar—His Majesty's Speech, and subsequent Debate upon it, in the Lords and Commons—Impeachment of Lord Melville—Supplies—Papers relating to the Marquis of Wellesley—Public funeral Honours to Mr. Pitt—Public Treaties—Thanks of Parliament to Lord Collingwood—Accusation of Earl St. Vincent—Continental Treaties—Public Honours to Lord Nelson—India Affairs—Irish Population—Public Honours to Marquis Cornwallis—Payment of Mr. Pitt's Debts.

WE cannot commence the history of the present year, without recurring to the battle of Austerlitz, the result of which, though fought on the second of December, was not fully ascertained in London till nearly a month afterwards. It was hoped and indeed expected by every lover of his country, that this engagement, upon which so much depended, would have been favourable to the cause of the allies. Never was public expectation more completely disappointed: and there are but few instances on record in which the hopes of a great nation have been so suddenly blasted as was the case with Austria, backed as she was by the power of Russia. As references must frequently be given to this event in the course of the present historical sketch, it may not be improper to describe as briefly as possible the leading circumstances of the battle, as well as those which led to it, and others which have been the consequence of it.

The state of Europe at the renewal of the continental confederacy was apparently highly favourable to the interests of the allies. Buonaparte had inspired the sur-

rounding states and nations with a dread of his power, and alarm for their own independence. The aggrandisement of France had justly become an object of extreme jealousy to the whole of Europe. A solid peace, or indeed a truce of any length, could not be expected; the gigantic projects of the emperor of the French seemed to portend a new order of things on the continent, and to demand every energy that could be brought to oppose his views. Many causes have, however, fatally conspired to prevent any grand exertion in behalf of the independence of Europe; of these, no one presented so insuperable a bar to an effective public league as the jealousy that subsisted between Austria and Prussia. To this may be added the languor that seemed to pervade the greater part of the continent who had been dispirited by the successive triumphs of the French, and were now looking with painful anxiety at the facility with which a French army might burst upon almost any part of Europe, by the advantages which the peace at Luneville had given them over the German empire. Great Britain had entered into a war, and had carried it on almost single-handed nearly two years; and such was the indifference or timidity of the powers of Europe, that a confederacy could scarcely be expected, till necessity should oblige them to enter into an union, as the last measure to which they could resort for the means of self-defence and security. In the autumn of 1804, the impossibility of their continuing any political relations with France was publicly announced. It was then discovered that forbearance on their part was no pledge for their safety, and that the hope of any lasting tranquillity was vain, as depending upon him who was destroying principalities and powers at his pleasure, and creating new ones that should be subservient to his views, and that should second his ambition. At the end of August 1804, M. D'Oubril, the Russian envoy at Paris, in demanding passports, presented a farewell note, in which it is declared, that, "in case the French government shall compel Russia, either by fresh injuries, or by provocations aimed against her or against her allies, or by still threatening more seriously the security and independence of Europe, his majesty will then manifest as much energy in employing those extreme measures, as he has given proofs of his patience in resorting to the use of all the means of moderation consistent with the maintenance of the honour and dignity of his crown." Sweden renounced her political relations with France from the period of the violation of the neutral territory of Baden, and the destruction of the duke D' Enghien which followed it. These two nations, by alienating themselves from the French empire, afforded to the British minister a favourable opportunity for the revival of a continental alliance, and it should seem that some considerable progress had been made in the formation of a treaty with Russia and other powers, before the arrival of the letter from Buonaparte to the king; for in his majesty's speech to the parliament on the 15th of January 1805, after referring to that letter, he observes, "I have, therefore, not thought it right to enter into any more particular explanation, without previous communication with those powers on the continent with whom I am engaged in confidential intercourse

intercourse and connection *." On the 19th of June following a message of a much stronger nature, and calculated to encourage and to make provision for a continental confederacy, was delivered to the house of commons, in such terms as could not be misconstrued either by this country or by the enemy. The die was evidently cast, and a general war was the consequence. Preparations were accordingly made on the part of France, as well as on that of the allies; and that army which had for many months menaced this country with the vain threat of invasion, was suddenly marched from the coast for the purpose of more active operations. On the 24th of September, Buonaparte left his capital: he passed the Rhine on the 1st of October, and, in the course of a few days only, captured an immense Austrian army, consisting of sixty thousand men, with the loss on his part of less than two thousand. In Italy the campaign, though less disastrous to the allies, was nevertheless very unfortunate to their cause. Scarcely had this intelligence been received, when the exhilarating news of the victory obtained by the British fleet off Trafalgar arrived. While the misfortunes on the continent exhibited the superiority of the French over our allies, the achievements made by the navy of England, under the command of lord Nelson, removed all anxiety at home respecting an invasion, exalted us as a nation in the eyes of our friends, and have checked the ambition of him who hoped to found his own greatness, "in commerce, in colonies, and in ships," at the expense of our humiliation.

The emperor of Germany could not but be sensibly affected at the loss which he had experienced, yet his mind did not bend under the pressure of the calamity: he did not despair of the goodness of his cause or of the means of retrieving his loss, great as it was; he accordingly published, and caused to be circulated throughout Europe, an excellent state paper, and prepared with the aid of Russia to meet the power of France in another situation. He was, however, under the necessity of making great sacrifices: he had applied for an armistice, to which the conqueror was willing to accede, upon the condition of having the Tyrol, Venice, and the strong posts of Germany put into his possession. Upon such ignominious terms, an armistice was equal to a surrender of the Austrian states and crown at discretion. The emperor therefore immediately dropped his solicitations, and published a manifesto, in which he declares his resolution not to make a separate peace, but, relying on the pledged assistance of Russia, to pursue his fortune to the last extremity. He had already abandoned his capital, which was in possession of the enemy on the 12th of November. In six days after, the French entered Brunn, where they found sixty pieces of cannon, and an immense quantity of ammunition, and whatever else that was necessary for recruiting an army. From this period to the second of December, nothing of importance happened; but on this day was fought the grand battle in the plains of Moravia between Brunn and Olmutz. Five days before, the emperor of France, foreseeing the dreadful carnage that must result from a contest between two such formidable armies

* See the commencement of the last volume, also the Public Papers contained in it.

as were almost in sight of one another, had offered an armistice. The terms, however, were such as the allies did not think proper to accept: they had indeed presumed too much upon their own strength, and had not sufficiently reckoned upon the experience and talents of him with whom they were to contend. He, on the contrary, soon discovered that the affairs of the opposing armies were conducted with presumption and inconsiderateness. Of this ill-judged confidence Buonaparte resolved to profit: he ordered his army to retreat in the night as through fear, though in truth it was only that he might secure a stronger and more advantageous position, three leagues in the rear of his present ground: he pretended also an anxiety for fortifying his camp, and afterwards proposed an interview with the emperor of Russia, who, disdaining to accede to the proposal himself, sent his aid-du-camp, with a view no doubt of observing the actual state of the French army. This officer, who was a very young man, completely misled by the arts and manœuvres of Buonaparte, returned with a most delusive account of the state of things in the enemy's camp. Some of the veteran Austrian and Russian generals ventured to remonstrate against too much confidence, and to warn their sovereigns of the folly of confiding in such a report as that presented to them by the young officer.

The important day of the 2d of December at length arrived: at one in the morning Buonaparte visited the posts, reconnoitred the fires of the opposite camp, and, trusting to no one, gained for himself and with his own eyes every possible information. He learnt that, with the army he was about to contend, the night had been spent in riot and drunkenness: at sun-rise, orders for a general attack were given, and in an instant every field-marshal joined his corps. A tremendous cannonade took place along the whole line: not an hour had elapsed before the left wing of the allies was completely cut off; and by one o'clock at noon the victory was decided. From the heights of Austerlitz, the two emperors had the mortification of seeing their armies routed, and the flower of their military cut off. The result of this day's battle was, that the allies lost 150 pieces of cannon, and 45 stand of colours. The loss of lives was proportionally great. The allies, after a day so disastrous to their cause, retired, and on the next there was an interview between the emperors of France and Austria, which led first to an armistice and then to a peace.

It has been thought necessary to give this brief sketch of the affairs on the continent, which, though it properly belongs to the history of the former year, is so closely connected with the parliamentary proceedings of the present, as to render a view of the one imperfect without a short detail of the other. For the same reasons, it behoves us to refer to the funeral rites of the hero of Trafalgar, and to the death of Mr. Pitt, events which absorbed the public attention during the early part of the year, and which make a conspicuous figure in the proceedings of parliament. The meeting of the legislature had already been fixed, and men of all parties had assembled in the metropolis, either for the purpose of rendering their homage to the heroism and naval talents of the great Nelson, or in anxious expectation of learning the causes which had produced the dissolution of the

continental

continental confederacy, when the death of the minister, by whose efforts it had been excited, occasioned a short suspension of public business. Mr. Pitt, as will be found in another part of the volume, departed this life on Thursday, the 23d of January, after a long and painful illness, brought on, or hastened, by the fatigues of his official duties.

Parliament assembled on the 21st, and was opened by commission; his majesty's speech was read by the lord chancellor: it referred to the success of his majesty's arms by sea, and particularly to the victory obtained over the combined fleets of France and Spain off Cape Trafalgar, which is justly described as an exploit beyond any recorded even in the annals of the British navy. His majesty most deeply regrets that the day of that memorable triumph should have been unhappily clouded with the fall of the heroic commander, and he calls upon his parliament to concur in enabling him to annex to those honours which he had conferred on the family of lord Nelson, such a mark of national munificence as may preserve to the latest posterity the memory of his name and services, and the benefit of his great example. His majesty next adverts to the application of the means which had been placed at his disposal, for the resisting of the formidable encroachments of France. The treaties entered into for this purpose, he said, had been directed to be laid before them, from which it would appear that he had left nothing undone on his part to sustain the efforts of his allies, and that he had acted in conformity to principles declared by him, and recognised by parliament, as essential to the security of his own dominions, as well as to the safety of the continent. His majesty is consoled in the prospect of the unshaken adherence of the emperor of Russia to the general cause, although the emperor of Germany had been compelled to withdraw from the contest, and he feels no doubt that parliament will be fully sensible of the important advantages to be derived from preserving the closest and most intimate connection with that sovereign.

In the commons his majesty expressed a full confidence in their granting him such supplies as the public exigencies might appear to require: and as it was his earnest wish to contribute, by every means in his power, to alleviate the burthens imposed on his people, he had directed the sum of one million sterling, part of the proceeds arising from the sale of such prizes made on the powers with which he is at war as by law were vested in the crown, to be applied to the public service of the year. The speech concludes with declaring his majesty's full confidence that the attention of parliament will be invariably directed to the improvement of those means, which are to be found in the bravery and discipline of his forces, in the zeal and loyalty of every class of his subjects, and in the unexhausted resources of his dominions, for rendering the British empire invincible at home as well as formidable abroad.—Such is the outline of the opening speech.

In the house of lords, the address was moved by the earl of Essex, who, after having referred to the several topics noticed in the speech, called upon their lordships to prove to the world that the country was united in itself, and that there was but one opinion

among them, which was that of supporting the constitution, and with it the independence and permanent security of every state in Europe, which had manifested an equal desire of defending its freedom and its property against the attacks which had been made, or were likely to be made, against the existence of both.

Lord Carleton seconded the address; and after pronouncing a high and well drawn eulogium on the character, talents, and courage of lord Nelson, his lordship adverted to the victory which had been since obtained by sir Richard Strachan;—to the share which lord Collingwood was entitled to in the honour acquired on the ever memorable 21st of October; and for the great service which he had rendered to the state by his conduct after the action. The noble lord then adverted to the death of the duke of Gloucester, as claiming an unanimous expression of regret;—and to the paternal regard and liberality of his majesty, in devoting to the public service so large a proportion of the money which was his undoubted right, and which was usually accepted by the crown, a circumstance that claimed the gratitude of the country, and would be the means of exciting such a spirit in all classes of the people, as must eventually raise the British name to a higher pitch of glory than it had ever yet reached, notwithstanding that it had for ages ranked highest among the nations of Europe for honour, wealth, and independence.

Earl Cowper concurred in the greater part of the address, but on the subject of the continental treaties he meant to have moved an amendment; the indisposition, however, of the minister induced him to waive his motion till the following Monday, when he should move, "That it was highly expedient and important for the house to go into a full consideration of the present state of the country, and the causes which had produced it."

Lord Grenville perfectly concurred with the last speaker: "I had intended," said the noble baron, "to have discussed at some length the present situation of the country, and not to have suffered this day to pass without seriously considering what has been the result of measures hitherto adopted—in what situation we are now placed by the operation of such measures—and what ought to be done for the interests and the honour of the country. The indisposition of a right honourable gentleman induces me, however, to postpone, for the present, entering into this discussion, which must, under such circumstances, be painful to us all, to me more particularly so, considering the sentiments which I feel towards that right honourable gentleman. At the same time it must not be forgotten, that the situation of the country imperiously calls for investigation. I am ready indeed to concur in an address which pledges no man to any opinion on subjects which must hereafter be discussed, when the papers which relate to them are before the house; I have not the slightest wish to drag such a subject into discussion, previously to the time when the documents shall be laid before your lordships. When they are presented to our consideration, I shall be enabled to judge of their value and importance; of the weight which ought to be attached to them; of the different bearings which they have upon the subject

to

to which they refer, and of the general results which they present, forming my opinion accordingly. With respect to the services of lord Nelson, we can have but one opinion, and in the paragraph of the address which refers to that subject, I most cordially concur."

Lord Hawkesbury wished also to avoid discussion for the present; at the same time he contended, that it had ever been the constitutional and parliamentary practice, when his majesty's speech had intimated that certain papers and documents would be laid before parliament, to avoid entering into any discussion upon the subject to which they refer, until such documents are actually before the house, and can fairly become the objects of its consideration. His majesty's ministers, in all cases that required it, have laid the necessary papers before the house; when, if they were satisfactory, a day has been appointed for the discussion of the subject; if not, other papers have been moved for, in order that it might be better elucidated. His lordship admitted that the situation of the country required their most serious consideration, and that when the time arrived for entering upon the subject, his majesty's ministers were fully prepared to go into the question without any fear of the result. He was confident that their conduct would bear the strictest investigation, and that they had no wish to elude it for a moment.

Lord Mulgrave did not think it would be possible to produce the papers in time to enable the house to enter into any discussion upon them on the day fixed by the noble earl (Cowper), which appeared to him much too early to allow of that solemn investigation which the importance of the subject required.

Lord Grenville, in reply, said, there were many points respecting the situation of the country which had no connection whatever with foreign treaties, some of which were of the highest importance, and called for an early attention, an attention that ought not to be deferred beyond the day already mentioned.—The address was then agreed to.

In the house of commons the address was moved by lord Francis Spencer, who contended that notwithstanding the disasters which had so unfortunately befallen Austria, disasters on which it was impossible for human foresight to calculate, the situation of this country was by no means more dangerous than in the last summer. We were now not alone and unassisted. We had experienced the unshaken fidelity of Russia, and he was sure the house would be unanimous in the expression of their sentiments of the beneficial effects to this nation which such an alliance must necessarily produce. His lordship then referred to our naval victories, the importance and value of which loudly called for the congratulations of that house to his majesty: and he had no doubt the house would enable his majesty to exercise his munificence, by bestowing on the family of the deceased hero the power of handing down to posterity the illustrious name of the man who had given the death-blow to the French navy. The noble lord concluded by reading the address, which was, as usual, an echo to the speech, with the addition of a paragraph, condoling with his majesty on the recent death of the late duke of Gloucester.

Mr. Ainslie seconded the motion. In deploring the triumphs of the enemy over our allies, he said, we had the consolation that our national character remained unsullied, and our resources unimpaired. If our commerce had, in some respects, suffered by the occupation of so large a part of Europe by hostile armies, yet experience had proved how difficult it was, with every restriction of which tyranny could avail itself, to prevent the introduction into foreign states of those productions of British growth and manufacture, of which they stood in so much need. Though the armies of the foe were marching to avenge what they termed the perfidy of this country, he trusted the house would assure his majesty, that a gallant nation, like that of Great Britain, would not be intimidated by any menaces thrown out against it. The exigencies of the times, he admitted, required great sacrifices; but his majesty had set a noble example, which called for the gratitude and imitation of the people at large. Our freedom, our enjoyments, and above all the power which we possessed of repressing the ambitious views of the emperor of the French, were with him the most heinous crimes. Still, however, if Providence continued that fostering attention to this nation with which it had so long been favoured, he trusted we should yet be able to bring the arduous contest in which we were engaged to a safe and honourable termination.

Lord Henry Petty, so far from objecting to that part of the address which related to the glorious victory of Trafalgar, and to the loss sustained by the nation in the death of the noble admiral, was convinced, that as it was the peculiar talent of that hero to unite all around him in one common effort against the enemy, so the members of that house, and the inhabitants of the country at large, combined in sentiments of exultation for the victory, and in feelings of sorrow on the melancholy circumstance by which it was accompanied. To other parts of the address he had objections so strong that he had intended to have moved an amendment, the language of which would, he trusted, be infinitely more consonant to the extraordinary crisis at which the country had arrived, and more consonant to the feelings which the contemplation of that crisis was calculated to excite. But as reports had been circulated that the individual, on whom would rest the greater part of the task of defending and explaining the conduct which had reduced Great Britain to the state in which she was at present placed, was rendered unable, by circumstances which he deeply lamented, to attend in his place, he should not now propose the amendment, but content himself with begging leave to read it. It stated that the house felt the deepest regret at the serious disasters which had befallen the arms of our allies on the continent, and that it would immediately proceed to inquire into the causes of such unexampled calamity.—That the house had a perfect sense of the alarming state of public affairs, and of the necessity of making every possible exertion to retrieve them: but that it also felt the indispensable necessity of being assured, that the means which might be furnished should not be employed to increase the peril which they were meant to avert, or to aggrandize the power which they

they were intended to diminish.—His lordship then gave notice, that on Monday next he would propose an address to his majesty, which should be conformable to the sentiments contained in the paper that he had just read, when he meant to enter more at large into the causes which had led to our present exigency.

Mr. Fox declared his entire concurrence in the sentiments expressed by his noble friend. He felt it necessary, however, to say, that in waving this discussion for the present, it was not owing to an insensibility to the afflicting situation of affairs. He was anxious to have it understood, that he was not influenced by any want of feeling for the unexampled calamities which had befallen the second military power in Europe, and he hoped that it would not be inferred, from their conduct this night, that they did not feel for the extraordinary ill-concerted and ill-conducted plans that had led to these unexampled calamities; nor that their forbearance would be attributed to want of concern or indignation for these disgraceful measures. He was fully alive to both, and it was the strength of his feelings that induced him to concur with the sentiments of his noble friend. The circumstances which led them to defer the discussion would probably last but a very few days, and even if they should extend to a longer period, in that case personal consideration must give way to a sense of public duty, and the business be brought forward on as early a day as possible. He thought Monday, the day proposed by his noble friend, was as distant a day as consistently with a sense of public duty they could fix on.

Lord Castlereagh concurred in the feelings that actuated the noble lord in postponing the discussion for the present, and although the honourable gentleman who had just sat down seemed confident that he could substantiate a charge against his majesty's ministers, they were no less confident that whenever the question should come under consideration, they would be able fully and satisfactorily to justify their conduct. It would then be their duty to state at large what they had to urge in their justification; but until then he should not enter upon the subject. He admitted that if the distinguished individual, who was so intimately concerned with the discussion, should not be able to attend, till after a period, beyond which, from a sense of paramount duty, the noble lord could not put off the subject, it would be competent for him to bring it forward at whatever time his feelings of public duty might render it necessary.

Mr. Windham agreed, that to enter into the discussion at present would not be conformable to the feelings which appeared to be universally excited in the house. It could not be desirable to bring forward such a discussion at the moment when the individual who was to be the principal object of it was lying on a bed of sickness.—These feelings, however, must not continue to influence their proceedings for any considerable period; personal considerations must give way to a sense of great public duty. The address was then agreed to, *nem. con.*, and a committee appointed to prepare the same.

Mr. Whitbread next rose to give notice that if it should be deemed necessary he would, the next day, move that the committee of impeachment against lord Melville, that

that had been appointed last session, should be revived. But it appeared to him that by the act of last session for continuing their proceedings, the committee would of course be in force during the present session: he contented himself, therefore, with giving notice that he should move that the resolutions of the house which led to the appointment of that committee be read, in order that he might afterwards move that such of the members of that committee as were in town should have power to proceed. This motion was afterwards made, and it was ordered that the said committee do sit, and proceed in the matters referred to the next morning.

On Thursday, the 23d, both houses of parliament presented their addresses to his majesty. The same day Mr. Pitt died; in consequence of which the intended motions of earl Cowper in the house of peers, and of lord Henry Petty in the commons, intended for the following Monday, were postponed.

On Friday, the 24th, a message was brought from the lords to the commons, containing a copy of the answer of lord Melville to the articles of impeachment exhibited against him by that house, which upon the motion of Mr. Whitbread was read. It stated that the noble viscount, saving and reserving to himself all just and legal exceptions which can be made to the matter and form of these articles, together with the advantage of his privileges as a peer, doth allege that he is NOT guilty of all, or any, of the misdeeds and misdemeanors charged upon him in the said articles, and that he is ready to prove his innocence in such manner and form as their lordships should think proper to award. This answer was referred to the committee appointed to conduct the impeachment.

It is proper to observe, in consequence of the business to which it gave rise, that Mr. Paull said that he should on Wednesday move for the production of a letter from lord Melville to the directors of the East India company, relative to their debt, dated in June 1801: he also gave notice that he meant to move for more papers relative to the transactions in Oude, and the appointment of the honourable Henry Wellesley to be lieutenant-governor of the provinces extorted from the Vizir.

Mr. Lascelles also gave notice that he should, on Monday, bring forward a motion on a subject that had caused the greatest grief and melancholy throughout the country; he meant the death of that illustrious personage the late chancellor of the exchequer. It was his intention, he said, to move that some signal mark of public respect should be shown to the memory of that great man.

Mr. Fox submitted whether it would not be more proper to postpone that notice until after the discussion of the motion proposed by his noble friend, which naturally claimed the precedency. It was, however, for that honourable gentleman, and those who thought with him, to consider whether the motion which they meant to bring forward might not involve points, the discussion of which would more properly belong to the question announced by his noble friend,—whether in fact it might not be of such a nature as many gentlemen could not assent to without a gross violation of their public duty.

On Saturday Mr. Huskisson moved, that the house should on Monday

Monday resolve itself into a committee, to consider further of the supply to be granted to his majesty.

Mr. Grey recommended the house to consider whether it would be proper to proceed so immediately to vote the supplies under the present circumstances. He had no wish to retard the public business, and should be extremely sorry to cause delay where promptitude was so necessary; but he really thought it would be improper in the house to vote the supplies of the year, while it was altogether uncertain who was to have the management of them.

Lord Castlereagh hoped that when Monday arrived he would not object going into the committee, as arrangements would probably be made before that time to remove the difficulty under which he now seemed to labour, as his majesty was taking measures to form a new administration. He should hope therefore that the house would find no difficulty in proceeding on the business, as the public service would suffer very material injury if the supplies were prevented from passing through the preliminary stages. It was, however, with the discretion of the house, whether it would proceed to grant the supplies in the absence of the chancellor of the exchequer. The house, however, ought to know that his majesty had determined to vest that office, for a time, according to former precedents, in the chief justice of the King's Bench.

Mr. Fox observed, that what the noble lord had said did not meet the objection of his honourable friend. That objection is, to be called upon to grant the supplies when there is no chancellor of the exchequer, nor any first lord of the treasury, so to be called upon to vote them in total ignorance of the persons that are to be responsible for the management and application of them. When, therefore, the matter came to be discussed, he wished to have it understood that his objection was not that the chancellor of the exchequer is absent, nor that the office is in the hand of the chief justice, but what he meant to insist upon was, that there should be some person pledged to the responsibility before the vote passes.

Lord Castlereagh said his answer went to this, that the supplies would not be in such a state of forwardness as to be tangible till long after Monday, and therefore there would be full opportunity to see into whose hands they will pass, as it is his majesty's intention without delay to take measures for forming a new administration. After a few more observations from Mr. Grey, it was ordered that the house should go into the committee on Monday: and on that day, in a committee, the house voted 120,000 seamen and marines for the current year.

On Monday, the 27th January, Mr. Paull rose for the purpose of moving that certain papers, for which he had moved in June last, should be printed for the use of the members; which being ordered, he again rose, and said he was aware of the inexpediency and even danger of moving for many papers relative to any transaction connected with India, but he was under the necessity of asking for a few more which were essential to the purposes of substantial justice. These, however, he said, were the last papers he should call for to support the two charges already given notice of. He would not detain the house longer than by saying, that

that to insure the support of those gentlemen on one side of the house, and the aid and countenance of many honourable disinterested and conscientious gentlemen on the other, he should produce a charge copied almost verbatim from the articles of impeachment voted against Mr. Hastings, by a strong and over-powering majority of the house, at the head of which was the late Mr. Pitt. He then moved for copies of the correspondence between marquis Cornwallis and the nabob of Oude and the court of directors; and also of the correspondence of marquis Wellesley with the native powers, with the British officers employed in India, and with the court of directors of the affairs of India. These motions being seconded by Mr. Keane, Mr. Paull again rose and assured the house that he dared the breath of calumny to impute to him, with justice, any motives but those of a public nature. He bore no animosity to lord Wellesley personally, but he would exert his honest endeavours to prosecute him to conviction; as an enemy to the prosperity and happiness of India, and to the best interest of the mother country. He could consider him in no light but that of a great state delinquent, in the same situation as that in which Mr. Hastings stood on his return from abroad, with this essential difference, that what was undefined crime in the case of Mr. Hastings, was positive criminality in the case of lord Wellesley:—the latter could plead no excuse, no error in judgment, no ignorance of the laws of his country, having been a member of the British parliament when the articles of impeachment were voted aginst Mr. Hastings. He declared that, with the nabob of Oude, or with any other potentate on the peninsula of India, he was as unconnected as with the emperor of France, nor would he allow, with impunity, insinuations calculated, through him, to injure the cause of truth and justice.

Sir J. Metcalf said that similar motions to those now brought forward had led to nothing but trouble and expense. He hoped, therefore, that the house would pause before it would consent to grant papers under such circumstances. He objected to the motions also, as the papers demanded would afford material information to the French government, and he was sure that they would have no tendency to criminate the conduct of the noble marquis. Besides, it would have a most dangerous effect, if, by agreeing to this motion, it should be thought on the continent of India that all the treaties and engagements that had been entered into with the native powers could be rescinded by a vote of parliament. The honourable member had indeed disclaimed any connection with the nabob of Oude, yet it was certain that he had seen that potentate later than any other member of that house.

Mr. Francis said he had already given his opinion to the house and the country of the marquis Wellesley's conduct, and he saw no reason to alter it. He was not to be awed or intimidated into an abandonment of his principles.—The honourable baronet had referred to the danger that arose from the intelligence derived to the enemy from the publication of these papers; but he was of opinion that the enemy had gained more information than these could afford, from marquis Wellesley's intercepted correspondence, which had been

published in the *Moniteur*, and was afterwards translated into all the London papers. He was himself not aware of any danger that could be apprehended from the production of the papers, and in this opinion he was confirmed by the declaration of the noble lord at the head of the board of controul, who had said that he saw no possible objection to their being produced. After some spirited observations made by Mr. Paull, the several motions were carried.

Mr. Henry Lascelles then rose, and stated that it was his anxious wish, in conducting the melancholy business of which he had already given notice, to endeavour as much as possible to prevent a revival of those political differences which existed during the whole illustrious career of the distinguished person on whose memory it was the object of his motion to confer some singular mark of national respect. He was desirous, that without involving the consideration of such topics, an opportunity should be afforded of bestowing on the memory of so great a man such a distinguished tribute as would be conformable with the feelings of this house and of the nation, for he was sure the feelings were general, and alike honourable to the community, as to the reputation of the party who is the object of them. With this view he should studiously abstain from enumerating the various events that have formed the leading features of his brilliant administration, and should avoid entering into a consideration of subjects that might lead to a discussion foreign to the object of his motion. Having stated thus much, he submitted to the house a motion the same as that which took place in the instance of his illustrious father: for he was sure that no man would deny that the son was as great a man as the father. He therefore moved—"That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to direct, that the remains of the late right honourable William Pitt be interred at the public expense, and that a monument be erected to his memory, in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, with an inscription expressive of the irreparable loss the nation has sustained by the death of so excellent a statesman." This motion was seconded by the marquis of Titchfield, who said he was solely actuated in the support he gave to the present motion, by his admiration of the virtues and extraordinary talents of the deceased statesman, and he thought the house called upon to perpetuate the memory of a member, so able, so eminent, so distinguished, and disinterested. On the motion being put from the chair,—

Lord Folkestone said, that though he felt as sincerely as any man for the occasion that had given rise to the motion before the house, he could not, consistently with the sense of public duty, assent to it.—He did not agree that the merits of the right honourable gentleman were such as to deserve some signal mark of the respect of that house, and he should barely state the ground of this opinion to be, the result of a comparative view of what had been the situation of the country when the right honourable gentleman had first come in to office, and what it is at present. On this ground, therefore, if he should be followed by any other gentleman, that might think with him, he should feel it his duty to divide the house upon the motion.

Mr.

Mr. Hawkins Browne had hoped that the motion would have been passed with an unanimity accordant with the universal grief with which every British heart was most deeply affected, and with the unfeigned respect so justly due to the memory of this illustrious statesman, who will ever be lamented and revered. As, however, a noble lord had risen to oppose the motion, he would not content himself with a silent vote. We had only to look around us, and a thousand objects would forcibly obtrude themselves upon our view, amply sufficient to confute the assertion, that the great and good man whom we all deplore, had left this country in a worse situation than he had found it in. He should confine himself to subjects upon which no difference of opinion could be entertained.—The funds, the great criterion of national prosperity, notwithstanding the large expenditure which a long and extensive war had occasioned, where our efforts had exceeded all former precedents, notwithstanding the dismal prospects we have now before us, the three per cents are higher than at the commencement of Mr. Pitt's administration—though we were then in full peace, and there was every prospect of its long continuance. Our public credit had been solely supported by his admirable system of finance, a system approved by all parties, and which, if it had been the single feature of his administration, deserved every honour a grateful people can bestow. After enumerating various other blessings derived under Providence from the same source, he concluded with saying that we may apply to Mr. Pitt what Suetonius says of Augustus Cesar, that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble.

Mr. William Smith felt that he could not, consistently with a sense of public duty, accede to the motion, but must resist it; and, painful as the performance of such a duty must be, he could not shrink from the task. No one who had opposed that right honourable gentleman's measures, nor any friend who deplored him, could more sincerely regret his loss. He had frequently witnessed the exercise of his great talents and transcendant powers, which he had often contemplated with admiration and awe. But when he was to vote this mark of respect to the right honourable gentleman as an "excellent statesman," he thought himself bound to consider whether that character belonged to his measures and administration. To form this estimate, he knew of no criterion but a consideration of the state of the country at the time he came into office, of his conduct while in office, and of the present state of the country. Every gentleman would make the comparison in his own mind, and deduce a result for himself; to him the result he confessed was unfavourable to the honourable gentleman. He had no doubt that the motion had been brought forward on the purest motives, and he was sure every gentleman sincerely regretted the loss, but he felt it an imperious though painful duty to oppose the motion.

Sir Robert Buxton expected that all party considerations would have been buried in oblivion, and that this motion would have been carried with unanimity, as a just tribute to the memory of the greatest man that this or any other country ever

ever produced, to whose efforts and unwearied exertions the nation now owes her present existence.—"I feel," said he, "a greater indifference to the numbers with which this motion shall be carried, as the memory of his great name will not depend upon the records of this house; for long after they shall be annihilated, when the constitution itself shall no longer exist, nay, when the venerable pile which shall contain his sacred ashes shall be crumbled into dust, the immortal name of "Pitt" will be found in the history of the world, when his great character will receive that justice which is due to his transcendent virtues and abilities."

The marquis of Douglas felt it painful to be obliged, by a sense of duty, to oppose this motion. If the gentlemen who had brought it forward had left the ashes of the right honourable gentleman in peace, they would have left the house in a situation in which it ought to remain. He was ready to assent to every thing that had been said of the great and eminent talents of the right honourable gentleman, and to admit that the house ought to be grateful for his services on many occasions; the success, however, of measures could alone entitle them to such distinction as was now claimed. It was not sufficient that a man should have talents and great public virtues; his measures should be successful. The public had not yet rested from paying the last tribute of respect to the memory of the immortal Nelson. Would the same crowds have followed the bier of that illustrious hero if he had lost a British fleet? If not, it was evident that success should crown the effort, in order to entitle the individual to any mark of national gratitude.

Lord Temple spoke in favour of the motion: in doing of which he was influenced by his knowledge of the transcendent talents, and the purity and disinterestedness of the manner in which he had for many years discharged the duties of the office which his majesty had committed to his charge. Impressed with these sentiments, he could support the present motion; and, in doing so, begged leave to state that he represented the feelings of every member of his family.

Mr. Windham said that no man could feel more sensibly than himself every sentiment of admiration for the rare qualities of the right honourable gentleman now no more. He felt this admiration of his resplendent talents in every instance, and came to the present discussion with that awful impression which could not but be produced by the sudden death of a great and eminent man. If this were a question of feeling, it would even then be necessary to observe how far it might be proper to share the distresses of others, or to indulge theirs at the expense of others. It would be right to examine how far they could indulge their generosity at the expense of their public duties. They were now called upon for the adjudication of the greatest rewards that could be bestowed upon an individual. Rewards like those now proposed were always conferred for great and eminent military services, and almost exclusively for those, because these were exploits which came home to the feelings of every man. He that routs the armies of the enemy, and he that destroys their fleets, makes his way directly to the heart of every man. A very memorable instance had lately been seen in the tribute of national gratitude that had been paid to the me-

mory of the immortal Nelson.—Every person in the community, from the highest to the lowest, vied with each other in willing homage to such transcendent merits: these were such that no man could contradict; and therefore it is that, according to the practice of all countries, such services are most particularly distinguished. But how, said he, was unanimity to be expected in granting honours to a person after a long political life? Except the single instance that has been stated as a precedent, no other of the kind was to be met with in the history of this country; and yet many men had distinguished themselves by long, faithful, able, and meritorious services. He then referred to the character, talents, and political virtues of Mr. Burke, to whom no funereal honours were decreed. If the individuals were compared, they would be found to have the same abilities and the same devotion to the service of their country; nor could the circumstance of being in or out of office make any material difference. It might, perhaps, be said, that as he had agreed with the right honourable gentleman since the French revolution, he ought not to oppose the present motion. This he should meet by dividing the whole of the right honourable gentleman's political life into two periods; one antecedent to the French revolution, and the other subsequent to it, and abide by either. With every respect for the talents, and every admiration for the abilities, of the right honourable gentleman, if he were asked whether they had been usefully employed for the country, he should say *No*—not even in that part of his administration that had occurred since the French revolution. He had not conducted that great cause like a great man. He had not conducted it like a skilful minister, with a view to its express objects. His opposition therefore rested on broad grounds;—this was not a time for entering into any inquiry, when the lamented individual was clad in his shroud. But these honours, if granted, would be contrary to historical truth; at such an unexampled and dangerous period to pass a vote of such unqualified approbation of twenty years administration that had brought the country into such a perilous state! When gentlemen rested their support of the motion on the prosperity of the country, he could not help exclaiming—God have mercy upon us if our present state were prosperity! If we were to go on in this state, he did not know how long it might last: and when he compared the present state of the country with what it had been twenty years since, he saw no reason to rejoice. For these reasons he thought the rewards ought to be withheld, as only great merit accompanied by success was entitled to them. No such rewards had been decreed to the immortal Nelson and sir Thomas Troubridge for their conduct at Teneriffe, where they had displayed the greatest heroism, because success had not crowned their enterprise. He should therefore oppose the motion; for if he were to do otherwise, he should never cease to reproach himself for it.

Mr. Ryder expressed his astonishment at what he had just heard. The right honourable gentleman, at the most critical period of Mr. Pitt's administration, had been in union with him; he had been a sharer in his counsels; he had fought hand in hand with him those

those battles which, in the honourable gentleman's own opinion, had saved the constitution; and now, forgetting all former friendships and attachments, he took a part in this discussion which no man could have anticipated:—he affected even to doubt the meaning of the proposition before the house. For himself, he thought it had been sufficiently explained;—it left the question of the conduct of administration during the last six months completely untouched for the future consideration of the house. It was not the stupendous ability of the illustrious person whom he so deeply lamented; it was not the purity of his moral character; it was not the confidence which he enjoyed both in and out of parliament; it was not even the space which he occupied in the age of the world, that was the inducement to the present motion;—it was the use, the practical benefit which this nation had derived from him: The question was whether, on a revisal of his whole life and character, he was not amply entitled to the honour which it was now proposed to pay to his memory.

Mr. Ponsonby said, if this were a question of the private character or of the good intentions of Mr. Pitt, he should not hesitate in giving it his hearty concurrence; but the question was, whether the house should sanction and immortalize Mr. Pitt's system of administration. So far from entertaining any wish that the system should be immortalized, it was his ardent hope that it should be interred with the chief impeller of it. If we took a retrospective view of the history of this country, and fixed our attention on those periods in which her glory shone with peculiar lustre, we should find that the very persons and things which had been most intimately connected with that glory, had been the greater sufferers during the administration of Mr. Pitt. The prince of Orange, from whose family this country had received the security of her liberties in 1688, had been expelled from Holland; and the Brunswick family, to whom this country was indebted for her present line of monarchs, had, through the same means, irrecoverably lost Hanover. If a desire to serve the country were assigned as a sufficient reason for coming to the proposed vote, he had no doubt that such a desire operated in Mr. Pitt's mind; it was not the failure in intention, but the failure in judgment, that he condemned. Talents, however brilliant, after the death of the possessor of them, do not entitle his remains to public honour unless he has been successful. That this is an acknowledged position, may be easily seen by a reference to the history of the country. The cases of lord Somers, lord Godolphin, and Mr Pelham, established this point. Mr. Pelham, indeed, had the merit of reducing considerably the public debt, and he died in the possession of office; yet his death was succeeded by no motion of a nature similar to the present. Private virtues, good intentions, and splendid talents were therefore indisputably not enough. Unless success had rendered all men unanimous in their opinion of a minister, no house of parliament was justified in rendering to his memory the honour now demanded.

Mr. Rose had entertained a hope that the resolution proposed by his honourable friend would have been adopted without difficulty, and with unanimity. When, in the

year 1778, a similar resolution had been proposed with respect to the illustrous lord Chatham, it was assented to by the existing administration, notwithstanding that noble lord had been one of their most violent opponents, and had reviled them in the strongest terms, accusing them of the grossest weakness and the basest treachery. Without any wish to provoke a discussion, he would ask, what was the situation of the country when Mr. Pitt came into office. He found it at the end of a most ruinous war, its commerce annihilated, its navy considerably impaired. What were the consequences of his efforts? During the period of his administration our resources had been doubled, our manufactures had been doubled, our seamen had been doubled, our shipping had been doubled. The funds at the period alluded to were much lower than they are now after thirteen years war. That Mr. Pitt had imposed great burthens was very true. That he had discovered extraordinary resources was as true. His honourable friend had taken his resolution as he found it recorded on the journals of the house. He had not altered an iota of the terms, in which the similar one on the death of lord Chatham had been conceived. With respect to the illustrious character who was the object of the present motion, he would only say of him, that he had exhausted life in the service of his country: for it was no exaggeration to say, that the gallant admiral who had lately closed his brillant career did not more decidedly lose his life in serving his country than Mr. Pitt;—his anxiety for his country destroyed him. It was well known to those who were in the room when that great man expired, that the last words he uttered were, "Oh my country." The motion before the house bound no gentleman to an approbation of any particular acts of Mr. Pitt's administration: it went only to assert, what was every where admitted, that Mr. Pitt was an excellent statesman, and that his loss was irreparable to the country.

Mr. Fox.—"I do not know, sir, that ever I rose to address the house in the performance of my public duty with more pain than I do at this moment. I therefore hope that I shall experience some indulgence, if, before I give my vote on this question, I should shortly state the reasons which compel me to oppose the motion now proposed by the honourable gentleman under the gallery. The honourable gentleman says, that all party feelings and political animosities should be laid aside on the present occasion; I assure him, sir, that I do lay aside all party feelings. If I had any such at this time, they would lead me to vote with the honourable gentleman, and not against him. The honourable gentleman must see, that if the gratification of party feelings, if ambition, if private interest, were my objects, the most proper course for me to pursue would be to give an immediate assent to this motion. Upon such a supposition, every one must be sensible how much it would be my interest to conciliate as much as possible all those who had the greatest respect and value for Mr. Pitt, to drown, if it could be done, the very remembrance of our political contests, and endeavour by every means that could be imagined to gain their support and favour. This would be the line of conduct which party views would

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suggest as the most proper to follow. But this is not all; there are other motives of no less weight that strongly recommend the same mode of proceeding—These are the high respect and warm friendship which unites me with some of those who support the motion. We have learned from the noble lord (Temple) on the bench near me, how he is disposed; such, no doubt, are the sentiments entertained by those with whom he is most closely connected. I must now then vote in opposition to those whose friendship constitutes the delight and happiness of my private life, and from whom, since affairs have taken such a turn, it is probable I shall never be separated during the remainder of my political life. The vote therefore may be considered as one not given to gratify any feeling of private animosity or of public ambition, but extorted by a most painful but imperious duty. In every party point of view then, whether my object should be to conciliate those who have the warmest attachment to the memory of Mr. Pitt, or to join with those who are already my political friends, my plan would be to support the honourable gentleman's motion. I will go further, and say, that if feelings were to be allowed to direct our conduct on this occasion, the right hon. gentleman opposite (Mr. Rose) might address to our feelings arguments much more powerful than those which he has just now addressed to our reason. I, sir, have been engaged in a long course of opposition to the person for whom public honours are now claimed. I may say that I have been considered, and perhaps it may be called an honour, as his rival. But I do assure the right honourable gentleman and his most zealous and greatest admirers, that during all that time I never opposed him from a personal motive in my life. I will go further still, and say, that another motive would lead me to support the motion, and that is the respect which I entertain for many of Mr. Pitt's personal qualities. Great qualities he certainly had in no ordinary degree in private life, and great qualities also in points connected with his administration. I do not think this a proper time to enter upon the particular acts of that administration, but in the measure of the sinking fund he had always my warmest support, and I freely declare my opinion that this has done a great deal of good to the nation, and that for this, therefore, the country is highly obliged to him. There is another quality for which he deserves great praise. No minister was ever more disinterested, as far as related to pecuniary matters. His integrity and moderation in this respect are confirmed by the state of his affairs when he died. I allow that a minister is not to be considered as moderate and disinterested, merely because he is poor during his life or at his death. But when I see a minister, who has been in office above twenty years, with the full command of places and public money, without any peculiar extravagance and waste, except what might be expected from the carelessness that perhaps necessarily arose from the multiplicity of duties to which the attention of a man in such a situation must be directed; when I see a minister, under such circumstances, using his influence neither to enrich himself nor those with whom he is by family ties more

peculiarly connected,—it is impossible for me not to conclude that this man is disinterested. I must say that he has, with regard to private emolument, acted with a high degree of integrity and moderation. In the course of the long administration of Mr. Pitt, all that he took for himself was the wardenship of the Cinque Ports. This was certainly in him highly disinterested; and his disinterestedness in this respect shines with the more lustre, when we consider the mode in which, according to report, this reward has been since disposed of. I therefore, sir, have every reason, from my intimate friendship and near connection with the living, and from my own private feelings and respect for the dead, who undoubtedly possessed many estimable qualities, to give my support to the motion now before the house. I might be led to this by another motive. If personal vanity had any weight with me, I might from this consideration concur with the honourable gentleman; I might by this means gain a great deal of applause, without any loss whatever in a party point of view, and I do not pretend to be insensible to praise any more than others. Those who admired and supported Mr. Pitt might thus be disposed to call my conduct generous, considering the warm opposition to one another in which we lived; and from what has fallen from the noble lord near me (Temple), it appears that I should not have suffered in the opinion of my firmest friends. But there are cases, sir, in which our public duty is so clear and imperious, that no desire of praise, no motive of personal respect, no wish to gratify our friends, nor any other consideration however powerful, can possibly enable us to dispense with it. We must then act as our conscience directs, however painful this may be to our feelings. In my conscience, sir, I believe this to be one of those cases. If the marks of respect were such as did not compromise my public duty in the compliance, no person would join in it more cheerfully and more eagerly than I should. If, for instance, it had been proposed to remedy those pecuniary difficulties which Mr. Pitt had incurred in the course of his political life; if it had been proposed to do those things for his relations in that way which his own acknowledged disinterestedness did not allow him to do; if it had been proposed to supply the difficiencies of his own fortune, I would most willingly consent that all this should be done in the most liberal manner. But it is a very different thing to be called upon to confer honours upon Mr. Pitt as "an excellent statesman." We ought not in such cases to be complimented out of our consent, if our public duty commands us to oppose the grant of such honours. The public honours are matters of the highest importance, because they must more or less influence posterity. They ought not, therefore, to be conferred lightly, but only where merit is clearly seen and acknowledged. I could further add, that the manner in which the honourable gentleman opened this business would lead me to give his motion my support; but when the public honours are solicited, it becomes me to consult neither my interest nor my feelings, but to adhere rigidly and conscientiously to my public duty. It is not to particular acts only that we are to look. We must consider the general effect which these acts produce, with a view to the public benefit. Certainly when I look

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at lord Chatham's monument, when I find the inscription bearing upon the face of it the grounds upon which this monument was voted, when I find it there stated, that he had reduced the power of France to a very low ebb, and raised the prosperity of his country to a very high pitch,—I must say that this case can never be compared with that of lord Chatham. I must say that the country at present is reduced to the most dangerous and alarming situation, a situation which might call for any thing rather than honours to be conferred upon him who had the direction of the measures which brought it to this state. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Rose) said, that in the case of lord Chatham there was the most perfect unanimity, though there were many in the house who had opposed his political principles. Why so there was: but then, sir, the merit was clear, and the inscription related to points on which there must have been the most perfect unanimity; and though certainly during the seven years war there was a strong opposition, yet his merits on certain points, to which the inscription referred, were allowed by the bitterest of his antagonists. But though no consideration ought to induce us to betray our trust in conferring the public honours, yet at the same time there are cases in which the effects of this might be less sensibly felt. For instance, in cases where we should be compelled to oppose particular acts of an administration, we might still make a clear distinction between what was good and what was bad. In the present case I shall not enter upon the particular acts. But I was always one of those who constantly said, that the system to which Mr. Pitt lent his aid was an unfortunate and dangerous system, and the great cause of all the misfortunes and calamities that assailed us in the course of his administration. Being of this opinion, how can I conscientiously say, that he who followed this system was "an excellent statesman?" Let us look at the American war, and the death of lord Guildford. For the private character of this man, I had the highest respect and esteem. I lived with him in habits of intimacy and friendship; and yet, had any attempt been made to confer upon him any honour of this nature, I should certainly have thought myself bound in duty to oppose it. Now, I have been uniformly of opinion that the system upon which Mr. Pitt acted was productive of the worst effects to the country and to the world. It was a system little calculated to bring forward men of such eminence as himself, though he was so much attached to it. It was owing to him indeed, I am persuaded, that the system maintained its ground so long—His great eloquence, his splendid talents, cast a veil over it, and concealed those things which otherwise would have been exposed in all their odious deformity. No man can be more desirous than I am to bury in oblivion the remembrance of those contests in which we had so long been engaged.—This I showed plainly enough while he was alive. But I cannot consent to confer public honours on the ground of his being "an excellent statesman;" on the man who, in my opinion, was the sole, certainly the chief, supporter of a system which I had early been taught to consider as a very bad one; an idea which the result has fully and fatally justified. Thinking thus, it cannot be expected that

I should so far forget my public duty, and the principles which I have uniformly professed, as to subscribe to the condemnation of those principles, by agreeing to the motion now before the house. But I defy the honourable gentleman; I defy any person who differs from me, and yet nationally considers the subject; I defy any one of those who are most desirous of carrying this motion, to misrepresent my motives, or to point out any possible feeling of interest or ambition that could induce me to oppose it. My motive is a sense of public duty, which would be violated if I were to agree to confer honours on grounds which to me do not appear to warrant my concurrence. Sir, I am sorry that this motion was ever made. But I must do my duty."

Lord Castlereagh began by stating that what he had to observe was not meant as a reply to what had fallen from the right honourable member who had just sat down, and who had spoken with a liberality that was highly honourable to his feelings and character. Upon the arguments of that right honourable gentleman it was not his intention to reason; this in fact was not a question to be determined by argument. It was quite a question of feeling. The acquiescence of that house and the country, in such a proposition, was more to be looked for from intuitive feeling than from cold reason: and if that feeling did not exist, it was in vain to think of arguing men into it. With regard to the allusions which had been made to the merits of the earl of Chatham, and the attempts to contrast these merits with those of Mr. Pitt—the different circumstances in which they were placed must be taken into consideration, before any fair estimate could be formed of their relative merits. Mr. Pitt, it was known, had to manage the government in times of peculiar peril—at an æra indeed unparalleled in the history of this country or the world—without any precedent whatever to assist his judgment, much less to direct his way. In that unprecedented situation Mr. Pitt had conducted himself in such a manner as to merit the approbation and obtain the confidence of the parliament and the country. Was it then too much on the part of the friends of such a man to require a public mark of respect and gratitude? Or would it be consistent with the honour of parliament, or agreeable to the feelings of the country to withhold it? It was contended that similar honours had been withheld from men of equally eminent abilities, and Mr. Burke had been adduced as an instance. He conceived, however, that the character of this celebrated individual was not of such a nature as to warrant any man in bringing it into competition with that of Mr. Pitt.—There were so many points of difference between the two men, that a comparison between them could not be fairly instituted. Indeed the right honourable gentleman himself must be aware, that however he might regret the circumstance, he could not persuade parliament to adjudicate to Mr. Burke the same honours that were now proposed to be done to Mr. Pitt. Differing widely as he did to the gentlemen on the other side, as to the conduct of the recent transactions on the continent, however unfortunate the result, he could not assent to the assertion that these transactions served to abate the claims of his deceased friend to the esteem of that house and the country

try. But on this subject he did not mean at present to enter. That would come more properly before the house at another time; but he was fully persuaded that the conduct of the last six months of his deceased friend's administation had evinced a series of the most splendid efforts, not only for the salvation of this country but of Europe. If these efforts had failed, their failure was not to be attributed to him. As far as his arrangements could extend, as far as his influence could operate, as far as he was implicated, there was not a shadow of doubt that his conduct would be entitled to great praise. Passing, however, by the whole of this question, he saw enough of the eventful life of Mr. Pitt to justify the highest eulogium. The judgment, activity, and resolution, manifested by his deceased friend during the progress of the French revolution, were amply sufficient to sustain even more than the proposition before the house. The house would act inconsistently with its own opinion repeatedly expressed, if it hesitated to recognise the merit, if it declined to distinguish the memory, of Mr. Pitt. Such a thing was not to be supposed possible. That house, which had, through a series of unexampled difficulties and dangers, honoured Mr. Pitt with the most distinguished support—which had testified an approbation of his measures by majorities unparalleled, in consequence, rank, character, and talent—which approved his proceedings in peace—which went along with him in war—could not withdraw their regard for a long-tried friend now that he is no more. He had no apprehension that they would—A just reliance on their honour and generosity forbad the suspicion.—Unanimity upon such a question was no doubt highly desirable; but that he clearly saw was not to be obtained. It was impossible to model a motion of this nature so as to be agreeable to the sentiments of the gentlemen on the other side of the house. Yet he must say that he should have framed a motion much stronger than that now before the house. Impressed as he was with the eminent virtues, the transcendent talents, the distinguished services of his deceased friend, he had no difficulty in stating, that he should have felt that the compliment paid to his illustrious father was cold and inadequate upon this occasion; but it was deemed advisable to follow the precedent chalked out in the case of lord Chatham, because it was not thought just to place the name of Mr. Pitt on such a pedestal, as should, by its comparative elevation, depress the distinction and consequence of other meritorious public men. For his own part, he had little doubt that, if dangers should arise similar to those against which Mr. Pitt contended, it would be necessary to recur to his system. The efficacy of that system had been experienced: to this we owe the internal peace of England amidst the convulsions of Europe, and the security of the English constitution. Any deviations, therefore, from such a system, under similar circumstances, no wise man would recommend; and he was sure that such a recommendation would not be graciously received among the respectable and intelligent part of the people. Adverting to the remarks on the alleged failures of Mr. Pitt, the noble lord challenged any gentleman to mention a minister in the history of the country, who, if success were to be the criterion upon which public

honours

honours were to be voted, was by any means entitled to such honours as Mr. Pitt. Had he not saved the constitution? had not the measures of his administration been productive of unprecedented prosperity? and was not the success of our arms in war infinitely more splendid than any thing that had been achieved during the administration of every one of his predecessors, not excepting that of his illustrious father? Whether we looked to the amount of our military forces, and their efficiency wherever they had occasion to act—whether we looked to our means of defence or attack—we saw ample grounds to assert the success, to panegyrize the wisdom and vigour of Mr. Pitt. But if we looked to our navy, what an impressive testimony of his active vigilance and provident attention presented itself to our view! It was notorious that under his administration, that important branch of our power had advanced by rapid progression, and attained unparalleled glory. In that department, indeed, his administration presented a series of the most brilliant successes, terminating in that glorious action which immediately preceded his death, which, from its character and result, seemed to have crowned the expectation which even a sanguine admiration of the British navy would induce one to form.

Mr. Wilberforce bore testimony to the great public virtues and splendid talents of Mr. Pitt, in whom he declared the love of country was to be found as sincere and ardent as ever yet existed in any human bosom. He reprobated the idea of appreciating the merit of a great man by the success of his measures; such a rule was inconsistent with wisdom and justice. Results might frequently arise, the cause and credit of which might not at all belong to the plan of operations intended to produce them. He was aware that parliament acted from results, in voting addresses for military or naval achievements, because from results upon such subjects they could only decide. But the case was quite different with regard to great projects of domestic and foreign policy. Such projects the house was able to examine, and upon examination they might appear to have been contrived with the utmost wisdom, although productive of very unfortunate results through the weakness or treachery of those employed to carry them into execution. The application of these remarks must be obvious: they were intended to guard against premature impressions upon a subject into which he did not mean to enter further at present, as he was very unwilling to utter any sentiment upon this occasion that was likely to excite opposition: he would offer no opinion upon the subject of the last campaign, but only observe that it did not follow, that, because success was on the side of the enemy, Mr. Pitt was not to be allowed any merit. But overlooking this question altogether, there was a part of Mr. Pitt's political life upon which the world had long determined, which fully entitled him to his country's best wishes. When the revolutionary spirit had convulsed France, and alarmed the whole civilized world, that distinguished statesman completely succeeded, by the wisdom and sagacity of his measures, in preventing the dreadful plague from reaching our shores. This was the main source of his distinction:—this was the great pedestal of his fame. The honourable gentleman pronounced a high eulogium

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on the conduct of those who opposed this motion, which was alike honourable to their own character and to that of their country. It afforded a signal instance, that the spirit of party could not operate in the breasts of Englishmen to extinguish those feelings and sentiments which enabled men fairly to judge of character, and justly to estimate merit. To the motion before the house, he was happy to give his warmest support, and this he felt but a small tribute of deference to the memory of a man who was ever the object of his esteem and admiration, who was equally distinguished for great talents, for exalted character, for enlarged views, for personal purity, and for indefatigable patriotism. Of him indeed it might well be said, that the first wish of his heart was the good of his country, and the sole object of his study was the interest of his country. Undoubtedly, had self been of any consequeuce in his consideration, he might have materially contributed to promote his own views of policy by cultivating connections and private friendships. But to these things, which are so diligently consulted, and which are of such material use to other public men, Mr. Pitt was quite inattentive; to whatever regarded his own interest he was perfectly indifferent. Indeed this distinguished man was always forgetting himself, but ever remembering his country.

After a few words from sir Robert Williams the house divided; and the numbers were

For Mr. Lascelles's motion 258
Against it - - - - - 89

Majority 169

Mr. Cartwright gave notice of a motion for the payment of Mr. Pitt's debts: and lord Castlereagh said that he should, on the next day, move a vote of thanks to the officers, seamen, and marines on board the fleets of lord Nelson and sir Richard Strachan.

In the house of lords, on Tuesday the 28th of January, the secretary to the board of naval inquiry presented the twelfth report of that board, with observations by way of supplement to the first report, which were ordered to be printed.

Lord Mulgrave next laid before the house copies of treaties entered into between his majesty and the king of Sweden and the emperor of Russia, and also of the accession thereto of the emperor of Germany and Austria. He thought it his duty to state to their lordships, that to the treaty of St. Petersburgh, as it now existed, there were fifteen supplementary articles: of these the tenth was never ratified; it was of course nugatory: of the remaining articles, the second, fifth, seventh, and ninth contained recitals, the publication of which might be injurious to the welfare and safety of other nations; and therefore it had been thought expedient to withhold them. But he was convinced no other motive would be imputed to himself and to those with whom he acted, than a desire to do nothing that should be the least detrimental to any of those powers to whom the treaties referred. They could indeed have no other motive, as those who, in all human probability, would shortly succeed to the offices occupied by himself and his colleagues, would have an opportunity of investigating the documents themselves, and of judging whether or not his majesty's present ministers had been actuated by a proper caution in withholding them. He was at the same time most anxious that every document which

which could with safety or propriety be produced, should be laid before the house, in order that the whole of the late transactions on the continent might be fully developed, and laid open for discussion. He was ready to admit that the unfortunate issue of the late events on the continent demanded investigation; but he was equally ready to declare that his majesty's ministers did not shrink from the discussion, but they wished to meet it fairly and fully in every part. It was still more his anxious wish that the discussion might take place, in order that the character of that illustrious statesman, whose loss they all deeply deplored, might be fully cleared, as it undoubtedly would be, from any imputation arising from the contemplation of the late unfortunate events on the continent. He was fully convinced that the result of such a discussion would be, a thorough justification of the plans of his majesty's ministers, and a complete refutation of every attack made upon that illustrious statesman, in consequence of the unfortunate issue of a well concerted plan.

The papers were then ordered to lie on the table.

Lord Hawkesbury arose to move the thanks of the house to vice-admiral lord Collingwood, and the officers and seamen under the command of the late viscount Nelson. He began with deploring the loss of this great man, who, he said, had devoted himself with ardent and patriotic zeal to his country, and whose services formed a succession of the most brilliant and splendid achievements that ever were performed by any individual in any country. That illustrious commander seemed to derive a new spirit from every success, which incited him to gain a still greater and more splendid victory. Thus, of the great victories which he obtained, each exceeded the other in splendour; and it was justly said of him by an illustrious statesman, whose loss they had now to lament, that the victory of Trafalgar bore the same relative proportion to the victory of Copenhagen, that the latter did to the victory of Aboukir, which was, at the period it was obtained, the greatest victory that had then ever been achieved. All the qualities which constituted a great commander were possessed in the fullest force and effect by the late lord Nelson. That noble lord foresaw and provided against every contingency; not merely forming his own plans, to suit almost every possible event, but making them at once understood by every captain who served under him; thus in the heat of action they were prepared for whatever circumstances occurred, every one having for his guide a well-digested and thoroughly understood plan for every situation in which he might find himself placed. Prompt and decisive, his orders had an electrical effect upon those who served under him, whilst his conduct inspired them with an unlimited confidence in their commander. On every occasion he evinced that decision and energy which were the true characteristics of a great mind. Every quality of a great commander were possessed by lord Nelson, who by a liberal treatment of those who served under him inspired them with esteem for him as a man, in an equal degree to that unlimited confidence which they had in him as a commander. Formidable to the enemies of his country in battle, he displayed towards them afterwards the most amiable humanity.

After

After some other compliments paid to the character of lord Nelson, and lord Collingwood, the noble lord concluded with moving in the usual terms for the thanks of the house to vice-admiral lord Collingwood, rear-admiral the earl of Northesk, and the captains, officers, seamen, and royal marines, under the command of the late lord Nelson.

The duke of Clarence said, he had framed motions upon the same subject which he would read, and which, if the noble lord consented, might be incorporated with or substituted for the motions of the noble secretary of state. He did not however mean to disturb, in the least, the unanimity which he trusted would prevail on the occasion. He concurred in every eulogium which had been passed upon the character and conduct of the viscount Nelson, with whom he had been in the habits of the most intimate friendship. His royal highness entered into a brief historical narrative of the professional life of lord Nelson, bestowing upon him high praise for that decision which prompted him to sail to the West Indies in quest of the French fleet, who were frightened from thence by the terror of his name. To the other great qualities of a commander, lord Nelson, he observed, added a most fervent sense of religion, and always evinced the most exemplary piety. He had in his possession a paper containing, he believed, the last words that lord Nelson wrote, which his royal highness then read: it was a most fervent prayer to the Almighty to grant a victory to his country. He concluded with reading his motion, which went to thank lord Collingwood in detail for his prompt obedience to the orders of lord Nelson, for his gallant exertions during the engagement, and for his conduct after the action, in destroying the captured ships. His royal highness, after some discussion, in which lord Hawkesbury, the earl Spencer, and lord Sidmouth took a part, consented to give up the former part of his motion, and it was agreed to add a vote of thanks to lord Collingwood, for his exertions during the engagement and also for his conduct after the action. The next motion was likewise altered, on the suggestion of the royal duke, for the purpose of giving separate thanks to rear-admiral the earl of Northesk, who was the only other flag officer in the fleet. The motions were then carried *nem. con.*

Lord Hawkesbury then moved the thanks of the house to captain, now rear-admiral, Strachan, and the officers, seamen, and royal marines, of the squadron under his command.

The duke of Norfolk thought there was a commander, who though he had not enjoyed the opportunity of gaining a splendid victory, yet in his opinion deserved the thanks of parliament for his patient and unwearied attention to the duties of the situation in which he had been placed, and in which he had continued year after year, and storm after storm: he meant the gallant admiral Cornwallis. He also referred to the services of sir Robert Calder, who, he conceived, had gained a great victory, and which at the time was deemed of importance to the country: and though he was aware that the merit of the victory might be supposed to be done away by the sentence of the court martial, yet he could not help thinking that sir Robert Calder was entitled to the thanks of

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the house for what he did effect. The earl of St. Vincent spoke in praise of sir Robert Calder's conduct while that officer served under him; but conceived that it would not be for the benefit of his majesty's naval service to discuss the subject alluded to by the noble duke.—The motions were then carried, *nem. con.*, and the whole of them were ordered to be communicated by the lord chancellor to the respective commanders.

On the 28th of January, Mr. Jeffery moved that the order made a few days before for printing the papers presented from the admiralty, be discharged, as he was convinced that a wish to procrastinate was the only motive for requiring that such a voluminous body of papers should be printed. It was a wish to delay those charges which it was his intention to bring forward and to substantiate against the earl of St. Vinpent, during his official situation, and particularly while he was at the head of the admiralty. He persisted in asserting that he could bring such proofs before the house, as would convince them of his justification, and of the noble lord's criminality. If, however, the house should decide that they should be printed, he must certainly bend to their decision; but he was convinced that in that case, they themselves would not have the patience to read them, they were so irrelevant.

Admiral Markham could not express the surprise which he felt at what he had just heard. It was, indeed, most extraordinary, that the honourable gentleman who had brought forward a charge, clothed in such invective and scurrility, should be the very man to shut out the light. The honourable admiral contended that there was not one of those papers which was not absolutely necessary for the justification of the noble viscount. It was not enough that they should lie on the table, they ought to be made public, that the author of this charge should have it retorted with accumulated weight on his own head. There were still some further papers requisite to the noble earl's defence, and he should not be deterred by the honourable gentleman from moving for them. This was not a common question. It not only involved the character of the noble lord, but the very existence of the country.

Mr. P. Moore had witnessed many things, but, he said, this was the most extraordinary proceeding he had ever known. The honourable gentleman, not satisfied with repeating his accusation against lord St. Vincent, had accused the whole house of commons, by saying that they would not have patience to read the important papers before them. The abstract of the honourable gentleman's argument was simply this, "Let me produce all the papers I choose, but do not let the noble lord bring any, whereupon to form his defence." He could tell that honourable gentleman, that he for one should read the papers produced, that he had already read the papers produced by the honourable gentleman, but if he had no better grounds of proceeding, he advised him to make the *amende honorable*, and to retire before he proceeded further.

The attorney-general said, that however voluminous the papers might be, he would recommend to the honourable gentleman to withdraw his motion. On such an important subject, the house would do well to sacrifice something towards obtaining every necessary document.

cument. After the papers should be printed, they might be referred to a committee, who might, if they thought fit, narrow them.

After some observations to the same point by Mr. Serjeant Best, sir William Milner, and sir William Young, Mr. Tierney declared that the charge of a wish to procrastinate was a most unwarrantable calumny. As well, and better, might the honourable gentleman be charged with a desire to procrastinate, having allowed the noble lord to remain eighteen months out of office before he brought forward his charges. It was certainly thought by some that the honourable gentleman was set on by a board smarting under the lash of lord St. Vincent's exposure. How did the honourable gentlemen know the import of these papers? He must have seen them privately, and if privately—scandalously, and suspiciously.

Mr. Jeffery, having declared that he had not drawn his knowledge of these papers from any public office, or from either the navy or admiralty boards, consented to withdraw his motion.

Lord Castlereagh presented copies of a treaty entered into by this country with Sweden, and also of three concluded between this country and Russia, with the accession of Austria to the latter.—After the titles had been read by the clerk, Lord Castlereagh said, it was his most anxious wish, and the most anxious wish of those with whom he had the honour to act, that every thing which could tend to elucidate the great transactions on the continent, during the last six months, should be before the house. He trusted that it was not with vain confidence, that he and his colleagues looked to a result of the investigation creditable and honourable to themselves. But it was due to the character of this country, it was due in justice to other nations, that some disclosures of considerable delicacy should be withheld. It would not therefore be expedient to lay on the table all the discussions that had taken place with the continental powers since the close of the year 1804. For himself, he regretted that the discussion of this question did not in some degree take place on the first night of the session, as it would have clearly pointed out to the attention of ministers, those parts of these important transactions which the gentlemen opposite wished particularly should be elucidated. It would have served as a land-mark by which they might have shaped their communications. That calamitous event which all regretted, prevented this at any subsequent period; all therefore that administration could do, was to follow the course which to them seemed most advisable; and it would be open to others to found on that course any additional motions that might appear to them to be necessary. The house must be aware that many of the conditions and stipulations with the continental powers, must be contingent and eventual, depending on the part that they were induced to take in the war. Ministers had not thought it a duty to lay before the house any of those conditions which were never acted upon, but those parts only which gave activity to hostile operations. With regard to the stipulations of the military force, to be brought forward by the different powers with whom the treaties had been concluded, there were two main features, to which he wished that the attention of the house might be peculiarly directed.

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The first was, What was the actual force which government had every reason to believe was in the field against France, and which justified them in inducing the continental powers to resist her? And the second, To what causes the failure of this grand confederacy was to be attributed? In order to enable the house to judge of the latter, ministers had ordered that there should be laid before the house details of the plan of the campaign, and of the system on which it was wished, and indeed resolved, to act, to be compared with the system which really was carried into execution. The plan of military operations did not proceed from this country, because this country could not be supposed to be so well acquainted with their expediency. It did not proceed from Russia, because the remoteness of that power gave it little advantage in this respect over Great Britain; but the plan of the campaign, in which was employed that immense force (which the official documents on the table would incontrovertibly prove) that, exclusively of any troops that might be furnished by Sweden; exclusively of any troops that might be added by the minor powers dependent on that decision; independently of all these considerations, and highly estimating the armies of Russia and Austria, government had every reason to suppose, that on the first of October the actual force in the field of these two combined powers, if France would not agree to the terms of peace, would amount to five hundred thousand men:—the plan of the campaign on which that force was to act proceeded solely from Austria. It would be for the house to observe that the plan had been entirely laid down by her, and had been acceded to by the other powers. The fact is, that the advance of the Austrian army beyond the Inn, and into a position where 80,000 men, under general Mack, were annihilated, was absolutely a breach of the plan which Austria herself had proposed, and it prevented the Austrians from availing themselves of the presence of the Russians on the Inn. The court of St. Petersburg had strictly conformed to the plan: fifty-six thousand Russians arrived at Brannau, on the Inn, two days sooner than, according to the conditions of that plan, was expected. This he thought it necessary to state, to show how far the disasters that had befallen Austria were produced by her own acts. He must again observe, that if there was any part of their conduct, and more particularly with regard to Russia, the explanation of which would be attended with disclosures injurious to the interests of this country and of Europe, the honourable gentleman would in all probability soon have an opportunity of examining whether their doubts of the propriety of the conduct of this country are founded in fact. For his own part, there was no occurrence that he should more sincerely lament, both on private and on public grounds, than that a transaction of such great importance should, from any change of administration, be buried in darkness; or that the details to which he had alluded, and the policy that was founded on them, should by any circumstances be prevented from being sifted to the bottom. While this country had made great and extraordinary exertions and sacrifices, they ought to know on what account they had been required. In undertaking this discussion he was fully aware of the severe loss which

which the present ministers had sustained, by being deprived of the assistance of that great character to whom the system was chiefly indebted for existence, and who was therefore the most completely qualified to uphold and defend it. Still, however, he trusted there were individuals remaining capable of explaining the line of conduct which had been adopted, and in what way government had discharged the sacred trust that had been reposed in them. At present, for reasons which he enumerated, he would not fix a day for the discussion, but would content himself with merely moving that those papers do lie on the table. From their nature, it was impossible that they could pass by without discussion. The pecuniary and political stipulations which they contained must subject them to the cognisance of the house. As at that moment he might not be in a situation to exercise a discretionary power on the kind of information which it might be expedient to bring forward, he hoped that while he did not press forward any improper disclosures, those gentlemen who should succeed him in office would be disposed to deal as liberally in affording information, as the present administration had evinced their inclination to do.

Mr. Fox concurred with the noble lord in his opinion that the subject must certainly come before parliament. The noble lord appeared to regret that this subject had not been agitated on the first day of the session. If he meant thereby to impute any blame to his noble friend, he should only say that the amendment, which it was originally his noble friend's intention to bring before the house, was founded on this principle, That, when such capital misfortunes happened to the country, it was the business of the house, on the mere statement of the fact, without any knowledge of the circumstances attending it, before they granted any further supplies, to be well assured that those supplies would be properly administered. His noble friend abandoned his intention from motives which it was unnecessary for him to repeat. Whenever the discussion was brought forward, he would listen with the utmost attention to every thing that could be stated on the subject. As to the noble lord's wish, that any administration which might succeed the present would not withhold any further information; that it might be expedient and at the same time proper to communicate, he could not really say or guess who were the individuals alluded to; but the expediency of granting such information must be regulated by the knowledge of the documents already in possession of the house, and by other circumstances which it was impossible then to specify.

Mr. Grey said, he had listened with considerable attention while the clerk had been reading the titles of these papers, but he had not heard him state any direct treaty between the king of Great Britain and the emperor of Austria. He wished to know from the noble lord whether or not this was an omission.

Lord Castlereagh said, that there were three treaties between Great Britain and Sweden, and one treaty between Great Britain and Russia, to which latter treaty Austria having acceded, it was thereby effectually constituted a treaty between Great Britain and Austria. The treaty with Russia consisted of

fifteen articles, one of which not having been ratified, the remaining fourteen only were binding: of these, nine had been laid on the table, the other five were of a complexion which would render the exposure of them a dereliction of the trust reposed in the administration of this country. He further stated, that the whole combined force, covenanted to be brought into the field, amounted to four hundred and ninety-five thousand men, viz. one hundred and eighty thousand Russians, and three hundred and fifteen thousand Austrians, exclusive of twenty thousand militia in the Tyrol. In an official note received by his majesty's government from the Austrian ambassador at the court of London, in October, it was stated, that the Austrian force actually in the field was two hundred thousand men, and it was expected in the course of the month to carry it up to three hundred thousand.

Lord Castlereagh next called the attention of the house to the glorious victories obtained by lord Nelson and sir Richard Strachan, of both of which he felt himself inadequate to speak in terms in any degree commensurate with their merits. He would preface his address to the house, on this occasion, by a short history of the naval campaign that preceded these brilliant actions. The operations commenced with the sailing of a French squadron from Rochfort to the West Indies, which was immediately followed by admiral Cochrane. This squadron only gave an opportunity to general Prevost of showing how an inferior British force could defend itself from hostile attacks. A squadron of eighteen sail of the line then sailed from Toulon, which was instantly pursued by the immortal Nelson; and although they were considerably superior in number and in strength, they quitted the West Indies without having attained any object of the least importance. And it was impossible for him to forget the gloomy apprehensions that were entertained at that time by some members of that house. There was no disaster which they did not predict as the probable consequence of what they were pleased to term the shameful neglect of his majesty's ministers. But not only were these prophecies falsified by the event, but, owing to the able arrangements made by the noble lord at the head of the admiralty, the country had been enabled to avert the apprehended danger, and heap destruction on the enemy.—No sooner had advice been received from lord Nelson, that the French squadron had left the West Indies on their return to Europe, and that it was his intention to push for the Streights' mouth with the hope of intercepting them, than the admiralty ordered the Brest squadron to suspend the blockade of that port, and the Rochfort squadron to proceed off Cape Finisterre, to reinforce admiral Calder's division. Thus there were three squadrons, by the able management of the admiralty board, placed in situations where they were likely to meet the enemy. This event happened accordingly, and the result was the engagement with the squadron commanded by sir Robert Calder, which terminated in the capture of two sail of the line. Immediately afterwards the French fleet retired to Cadiz, to the amount of thirty-four sail of the line. Not many days elapsed before a British force was stationed in the bay of Cadiz, adequate to the blockade of the

the enemy's fleet; and towards the conclusion of the month of September, lord Nelson, having assumed the command, detached a division of this fleet to the Mediterranean. It is indisputably clear that nothing but the knowledge of this reduction of lord Nelson's force, and the supposition that it amounted only to twenty-one instead of twenty-seven sail, would have induced the combined fleets to come out and offer battle. Their object was to form a junction with the division in Carthagena, and then to have appeared in the Mediterranean with a fleet approaching to fifty sail, which, in the existing circumstances of Europe, they imagined would have excited a sensation exceedingly favourable to their views of ambition and aggrandizement. When he contemplated the glorious engagement which had been the result of this attempt on the part of the French, he felt it difficult to select any feature on which to dwell with peculiar praise. In every view of the subject which even professional men could possibly take, they scarcely could suppose it in the power of one fleet to capture from another not stationary, but under sail, the great number of nineteen ships. It was a new species of success in our naval annals, and went practically far beyond what theorists had conceived it possible to accomplish even in their speculations. The wonders attending this most brilliant action were not confined to the day of combat. He should feel that he had fulfilled but half his duty to the brave men who had shared in the engagement, if he did not assign to them the praise which was their due, for the firmness and perseverance with which, after having contended with the enemy, they proceeded successfully to struggle with the elements. Then was it, too, that the generous spirit of self-devotion to the benefit of their fellow-creatures, those exalted principles which it had been the glory of ancient France to cultivate, and which it has been the endeavour of modern France to extinguish—those feelings which it became every man to exercise, were proudly manifested. Nor was it possible to overlook the great achievements of the division under sir Richard Strachan, in which that gallant admiral took from the enemy every thing that had been presented to him. It was not the least extraordinary circumstance attending these brilliant transactions, that after such a combat with the enemy, and such a contest with the elements, we had the heartfelt satisfaction to see every ship that had been engaged brought safely back to the British port, and the enemy were thus precluded from those self-congratulations in which they doubtless would have indulged, had a single British vessel fallen a victim to their arms, or even to the fury of the tempests. Every one must feel that the security of the empire, so far as it depends on our naval strength, was placed on a firmer basis than ever. He could not refrain from mentioning that the victory off Trafalgar had happened on a day in which the head of the French empire had been declaring the designs which he meditated against this country; and on that very day he received, in the chastisement of his fleets, a lesson which it was to be hoped he would never forget, and which would teach him what he had to expect from the gallantry and determined bravery of Britons. It was impossible that these exploits should be

performed, and that the country should be satisfied with a silent admiration. He pretended not to do justice to the misfortune in the loss of the noble hero who commanded in chief: in his character there was every thing to praise—his whole life had been a life of heroism. There was something apparently intuitive in his nature, which prompted him to the execution of great schemes which appeared to be out of the resources of his profession. In considering the whole of the victories which had shed a lustre on his name, it would be found that each was marked with traits peculiar and distinguishing. If the house reverted to the battle of Aboukir, they must recollect his daring and successful passing between the French line and the shore. His conduct at Copenhagen evinced equal originality; and indeed his whole life was a series of brilliant achievements, which proved the magnitude and the variety of the resources of his capacious mind. In considering the loss, we must also consider every thing that can afford consolation. It too frequently happened that great souls were enshrined in feeble frames. He contended with the various maladies by which he was assailed with so little success, that the day might possibly have arrived when he might have been placed in opposition to the enemy with diminished powers. It was therefore some degree of consolation, that the history of his life had been wound up in honour, that his fame was out of the reach of misfortunes. The individual was past gratitude, but the name remained; and he was convinced that the country was desirous that some signal mark of public acknowledgment should be bestowed on it. He did not know whether those with whom he acted would have the power of conferring this acknowledgment, but he was sure, from whomsoever it might be received, it would be accompanied with that liberality which is characteristic of British gratitude. It was proposed to make a provision for his widow, correspondent to the rank which she held in society. The sum in contemplation was an annuity for her ladyship's life of two thousand pounds. This was of course unconnected with the subject of royal intimation, which recommended the affixing some splendid appendages to the present earl. It certainly was not necessary to make for that nobleman such a provision as should remove him from his present sphere of life. It had been thought expedient that this provision should be made, not as a grant to the family, but as national property intrusted to their possession; that it should be invested in land, and that an edifice conformable to their public rank should be built for the family.—With a view to these objects, it was in contemplation to appropriate the sum of two hundred thousand pounds, to be invested in the hands of public trustees, to be applied in the manner which seemed best calculated to obtain the end proposed. It had occurred to government that this would be consistent with the rank which it was desirable that the family of lord Nelson should bear in the country, without going into too exaggerated a scale. Thus the life and achievements of lord Nelson would continue to animate the British navy to the end of time. He trusted that he should not be supposed insensible to the gallant officers under lord Nelson, and of the merits of lord Collingwood, lord Northesk, and sir Richard Strachan: never

never indeed was there an instance in which every man had done his duty so completely, as in the occurrences then under consideration of the house. He must therefore hope to stand acquitted of having allowed the absorbent merit of one character to induce him to withhold his gratitude from the rest. The noble lord concluded with moving, first, That an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to order a monument to be erected in the cathedral church of St. Paul, to the memory of the late ever-to-be-lamented lord viscount Nelson, who had uniformly manifested his skill and enterprise in the service of his country, and who fell gloriously in the moment of victory, in the battle off Trafalgar, on the 21st of October 1805. Carried *nem. con.* Secondly, That the thanks of this house be voted to vice-admiral lord Collingwood, for his able and gallant conduct in the victory off Trafalgar, on the 21st Oct. 1805. Carried *nem. con.* Thirdly, That the thanks of this house be voted to rear-admiral the earl of Northesk, and the captains and officers of the fleet, for their gallant conduct, &c. and that lord Collingwood be requested to communicate the same to them. Carried *nem. con.* —Fourthly, That this house doth highly approve of the conduct of the seamen and marines serving in the above engagement, and that the Speaker do communicate the same to lord Collingwood. Carried *nem. con.* Fifthly, That an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to order monuments to be erected in the cathedral church of St. Paul, to the memory of captain Duff and captain Cooke, who fell gloriously, &c. Carried *nem. con.* Sixthly, That the thanks of this house be voted to rear-admiral sir R. Strachan, for his able and gallant conduct in the defeat and capture of the French squadron, on the 4th of November 1805.—When the seventh resolution was proposed, for expressing the approbation which the house felt at the conduct of the seamen and marines of the above squadron,

Mr. Fox said there were two points which seemed to call for comment. The one was, the liberty which the noble lord had taken in introducing into his speech a panegyric on the admiralty board, for which any other time would certainly have been preferable to the present. The other was, on the omission of any mark of his majesty's gratitude to lord Northesk. He believed, that in the whole history of our naval victories we should not meet with a single instance in which, in so large a fleet, the third in command had not received some distinction from the royal favour. The earl of Northesk was the only person whose merit had passed unnoticed.

Lord Castlereagh, after paying some compliments to the first lord of the admiralty, observed, that with regard to the earl of Northesk, though no intimation of that nature had been made to the house, his majesty certainly destined, for that gallant nobleman, a strong mark of his favour; which was, to create him a knight of the Bath.

After some explanations from Mr. Fox, and a few words from Mr. Grey and general Grosvenor, the resolution was put, and carried *nem. con.*

On the 29th of January, after the general routine of business, for which the house had formed

itself into a committee of ways and means,

Mr. Paul rose to make a motion respecting the production of lord Melville's letter relative to the affairs of India. Many persons might, perhaps, be disposed to ask upon what grounds such a young member as he was could enter so particularly into the affairs of India. To such persons his answer was plain and simple He was conscious of the imminent danger which threatened our Indian possessions, and therefore he was resolved to raise his voice, however feeble, with a view to rouse the attention of the house to this point. The house did not by any means seem to be aware of the alarming state of the affairs of India. His object in moving for this letter, written when the debt of the company was only fourteen millions, was this—he designed on some future day to move for a select committee of the house, to inquire into the causes of the alarming increase of the debt of the company, and of their failure to comply with the conditions and stipulations agreed upon in their charter. This object was one of the last importance. Since the debt of the company had increased from fourteen to thirty millions, in the 13th year from the renewal of their charter, without any of the conditions agreed upon having been performed on their parts, it was high time to inquire into the causes of these singular circumstances. It was for this view that he moved for the letter of lord Melville, which had been written to the court of directors upon this subject in the most earnest manner; and indeed his opinion had been given them in some measure with all the solemnity of a death warning. He would say this of lord Melville, that his plans for the regulation of India were well conceived, and proofs of no ordinary comprehension in him who proposed them. Upon the execution of these, he was of opinion that the very existence of India, as connected with this country, depended, and therefore he hoped that the directors themselves would come forward and promote this inquiry; or, if not, that the board of control, or some individual of that board, would come forward and give every assistance to the measure. If the debt of fourteen millions had appalled lord Melville, what ought to be the vigour and attention employed now when the debt amounted to thirty millions? The directors and the board of control were in some measure bound, under these circumstances, to come forward and give their support to such an inquiry as he proposed. It would, perhaps, be said, that the increase of the debt arose from the wars that had taken place in India; but he pledged himself to show that it was owing to a cause of a very different nature. He was resolved, as far as lay in his power, to fix responsibility where it ought to attach, and this was the great object which he had in view. He concluded with moving, "That there be laid before the house a copy of the letter of the right honourable Henry Dundas, now lord viscount Melville, to the chairman of the East India company, dated the 30th of June, 1801, respecting the debt of the company."

Mr. Wallace had no objection to the production of the letter now called for, though he must say that the honourable gentleman had not acted with fairness when he began with his motion so early, and prefaced it with so many remarks, which

which would have been more properly introduced when those were present who might wish to hear them, and who might be better able, from the situations they held, to meet them in a clear and proper manner. The honourable gentleman had adverted to the cause of the increase of the debt: and he was correct in supposing that the war would be alleged as the great cause of the increase of the Indian debt; and he had no doubt that, when the subject came to be investigated, this would be proved to be the real state of the case.

After a few words by Mr. Paull, in reply, the motion was put and agreed to.

January the 31st.—Lord Stopford appeared at the bar, and stated that his majesty had been waited upon with the addresses of the house relative to the erection of a monument to lord Nelson, at St. Paul's; to the erection of monuments to captain Duffs and Cooke; the interment of the remains of Mr. Pitt, &c. and that his majesty was graciously pleased to express his readiness to comply with the wishes of the house.

Mr. James Fitzgerald rose to move for leave to bring in a bill for the purpose of ascertaining the population of Ireland. It was his wish to assimilate the laws and regulations of Ireland to those of this country as far as it was just and expedient. He observed that Ireland was indebted for a measure of a similar nature to the Speaker; and he was happy to know that the proposition he was about to submit to the house met the approbation of that justly respected personage. It must indeed be obvious to every man conversant with the subject, that to ascertain the population of a country, was the great desideratum in political œconomy; whether considered with regard to its physical force, its agricultural produce, or its financial capacities. In Ireland there were not the same facilities for enumerating the population that were to be found in this country; for in that part of the united kingdom there was no regular registry of births or deaths. Besides, there were no poor laws, through which the overseers, and others employed in the execution of them in England, were easily enabled to discover the amount of the population. To remedy therefore this inconvenience with regard to Ireland, a clause was proposed to be introduced into the bill, authorising the magistrates to appoint such persons, according to necessity, for each barony, parish, or other such district, as might be deemed expedient for the purpose of collecting a list of the inhabitants of such districts; the expense arising from such appointments to be defrayed by the assessment of the grand juries for the several counties, in the same manner as presentments for roads are now provided for.——The motion was agreed to; and the mover was appointed, with Mr. Grattan and others, to bring in the bill.

The secretary at war, after a short speech, submitted to the house the following motions, which were acceded to: That 134,473 effective men, including commissioned and non-commissioned officers, be granted for the service of the united kingdom, and on the continent, for three months, from the 29th of December to the 24th of March both inclusive.—1,193,105*l.* for the subsistence, &c. of this force.—505,037*l.* for the use of our troops, &c. in the plantations, including Gibraltar, the Mediterranean, Ceylon,

lon, and New South Wales: and 647,584*l.* for the militia of the united kingdom, and of the corps of miners in Devon and Cornwall.

February the 1st. Mr. Wallace, adverting to the papers laid before the house some time since, on the motion of Mr. Paull, on which that honourable gentleman had founded statements tending to censure the conduct of the government of India, and particularly the conduct of the noble marquis lately at the head of that government, relative to the nabob of Oude, rose to move for other papers connected with this subject, and necessary to a full and fair view of the whole transactions. He had no doubt that the result of the examination of all the documents would have the effect of doing away the charges, and of explaining the conduct of the marquis. He concluded with moving certain papers, which were ordered.—Upon the complaint of Mr. Paull, that many of the papers relative to this subject, ordered on his motion seven months since, were not yet before the house, Mr. Wallace said it was under the serious consideration of the board of control, to whose direction this important charge had been committed, what part of the papers moved for by the honourable gentleman could be produced without public mischief. He assured the honourable gentleman at the same time, that it was the wish of the board to give every possible information consistent with the trust reposed in them.

Lord Castlereagh appeared at the bar, with certain messages from his majesty, the first of which was as follows:—

"George R.

"His majesty having taken into his royal consideration the splendid actions and heroic achievements of the late vice-admiral lord viscount Nelson, knight of the bath, during a life spent in the service of his country, and terminated by a glorious death in the moment of victory; and being desirous of granting to his widow, lady viscountess Nelson, an annuity of 2000*l.* for the term of her natural life; recommends to his faithful commons to consider the best mode of securing the same for the benefit of the said lady."

He then delivered another message relating to lord Collingwood, recommending to the house to settle on him and his two next heirs an annuity of 2000*l.* After which he delivered a third message, recommending to the house to grant an annuity of 1000*l.* to sir Richard Strachan for the term of his natural life. His lordship then moved that the house should on Monday resolve itself into a committee, to take into consideration his majesty's most gracious messages; which was ordered accordingly.

February the 3d.—Lord Castlereagh rose to make a motion, of which he had given previous notice, for a monument to be erected to the memory of the marquis Cornwallis. He was aware, he said, of the circumspection that ought to be exercised by the house with respect to motions of this sort. He was the last man who would propose any thing of the kind, except in a case where his duty and the merit of the object clearly and indispensably called for it. He was satisfied, as a general principle, that it was proper to confer honours for some specific service rather than for any general merit, especially if the merit consisted in political services, concerning which there might be differences of opinion. This, however, was a rule not to be

be adopted in every case under all circumstances. There were cases when the general course of life of individuals, devoted to the public service, had been so highly distinguished, that the gratitude of the country ought to be recorded for the advantage of posterity. If ever there was a case when this course might be safely pursued, the present one certainly came under that description; for there was something in the general course of proceeding of the noble marquis, which disarmed party spirit, and deprived it of its bitterness, as far as he was concerned. All parties, therefore, would certainly be ready to bear testimony to the purity of his motives, the integrity of his conduct, and the unwearied zeal of his services. Though the talents and actions of the noble marquis had not been altogether so splendid and brilliant as those of some other persons, yet no man could maintain that any individual was connected with a greater number of acts of the first importance, both civil and military, than he had been, in all of which he had performed his duty with applause. His course of life as a soldier, and his character in the profession, would justify this motion, independently of his merits in a civil capacity. But he had performed inestimable services in affairs not particularly connected with his profession as a soldier: with respect to his character as a soldier, there could not be two opinions; no man had ever conducted war upon a more large and liberal plan, and none ever performed the particular duties of it with more zeal and firmness:—no prosperity ever made him lose sight of his moderation, his generosity, and prudence; and none of his misfortunes ever lowered his reputation. He certainly experienced some of the disappointments incidental to a military career; his reputation, however, rose even on those very disappointments; nor could any rational man deny his merits in a political point of view, at least none who understood the subject. He had first carried to India the principle of fixed property, a thing so necessary and so well calculated to promote the prosperity and happiness of the natives. He had also first carried to India the principle of the proper administration of justice, upon the plan of the British laws and the constitution. These services, if they had constituted the whole of his merits, would have established his fame on a firm and lasting basis; but there were other features in his character, other services which he had performed, which in his opinion constituted an additional claim to these honours, though on these points there might be some difference of sentiment. The great transaction which led to the close of the useful life of this nobleman, formed another ground of claim to the honour which he was about to propose. After the close of that administration in India which had performed so many brilliant exploits, and raised the British name there to such a height of glory, when it was thought fit to send out this great man, to consolidate and establish what the British arms had conquered; no consideration of convenience, of health, or of ease to himself, had weighed with marquis Cornwallis. He undertook the service, perfectly aware of the danger, and in three months from the period of his arrival in India he fell a victim to his patriotism; but retaining the possession of his faculties to the last, he employed every moment

ment in the performance of his duty; and, though his life was cut short by the hand of Providence, yet while he lived he had laid the foundations of a plan, which, if executed by his successor, would be attended with the most solid advantages. On a subject where the claim was less clear, he ought to be the last person to call for these honours to this nobleman, as he might be partial on account of the friendship which had subsisted between them: while, however, he asked this consolation for himself, he was aware that there might be feelings of public duty that would weigh strongly with others perfectly distinct from any personal considerations. At the moment in which he was speaking, however distinguished for great public calamity, three persons had been withdrawn from the service of their country, whose talents could not be easily equalled, and whose loss could not be readily supplied. Parliament and the country were sensible of the loss, and he would now claim funeral honours for marquis Cornwallis. He concluded by moving, That an humble address be presented to his majesty, humbly entreating that his majesty would be graciously pleased to give directions, that a monument should be erected in the cathedral church of St. Paul, to the marquis Cornwallis, late governor-general of Bengal, in memorial of his high and unblemished public character, his long and eminent services, and his unwearied zeal, which to the latest moments of his life was employed in promoting the interest and honour of this country.

Mr. Charles Grant seconded the motion. He mentioned something of the leading features in the character of the noble marquis, and some of his most remarkable services; he dwelt upon the happy effects which the introduction of the principles of fixed property and of the British laws had produced on the people in India, in securing them from oppression, and which he hoped would be attended with the happiest result, with respect to the property of the natives and the East India company.

Mr. Francis said, "I believe this motion is as much in unison with the judgment and feelings of every man in this house and in the nation, as it is with mine. I have many motives for wishing to take some part in it. I find now, though it had not occurred to me before, that I am personally indebted to the memory of the noble lord whom we have lost. It is said, and, I doubt not, truly, that lord Cornwallis made it his first care to protect the people whom fortune or providence has placed under our dominion. Let our right be what it may, I am sure there is no other way to make the possession either profitable or secure. On this principle, lord Cornwallis gave to the natives of Bengal a security in their landed property. This is the plan which I proposed in 1776, and which lord Cornwallis has done me the honour to adopt and execute. I am bound to be grateful to his memory for the honour he has done me. I well know that his lordship's merits in India are not only eminent but indisputable. Sir, an occupation of thirty years at home and abroad in India, has given me a claim to an interest in any question that concerns it. He who has served that country as lord Cornwallis has done, is entitled on that score to all the return I can make him. To do him honour, is not in my power. But it is honourable to myself to contribute, if I can, to the only reward that

that can now be given him. But I am specially bound to it by another tie. Every gentleman in this house cannot know as well as I do, what his merit was in undertaking to go to India at so advanced a period of his life. He could not be insensible of the probability there was that he might never return to England. He saw his danger, and he encountered it without hesitation for the public good. It was a danger too, which, though far beyond that of a battle, had no prospect of military fame to recommend it. The merits and honour of lord Cornwallis are not within the reach of diminution; but his fortune has not been equal to his deserts. It has not been his lot to die where his gallant mind would have led him, in the front of a glorious contest with the enemies of his country, at the head of a successful army, and in the arms of victory. It is certain, that he who risked his life for a most meritorious purpose, but without the hope of fame, would gladly have resigned it, on the same principle, in any other field in which honour might have been obtained. That good fortune has been denied him. It is our duty then to repair and fill up what is wanting in the measure due to his well-earned character. Let the gratitude of his country accompany his name in its descent to the latest posterity. The measure proposed is all we can do, and I am proud in having some share in it."

Mr. Wilberforce was desirous that the noble marquis should meet with gratitude from all quarters. Distant provinces would be found, on a perusal of the history of mankind, to have been the peculiar scenes of oppression, extortions, and cruelty. The marquis Cornwallis had not only refrained from any thing like this, but had introduced the blessings of the British constitution into our Asiatic dominions. He hoped these would spread over every quarter connected with Britain. The noble marquis had, in some degree, a craving to be doing good to his country, and was never at rest except when thus employed; and we had only to regret that the strength of his body was not equal to the greatness of his soul. He expressed his cordial assent to the motion.

Mr. Windham and Mr. Huddleston supported the motion; the former on the ground of his having encountered the greatest dangers, and almost certain death, in undertaking the enterprise which was last confided to him—and the latter, in consideration of the benevolence of the noble marquis to the natives of India, his generosity to Tippoo Sultan, and his many eminent virtues.

Mr. O'Hara opposed the motion on the grounds of his objection to the union with Ireland, and to the peace of Amiens, in both of which marquis Cornwallis had so great a concern. A scandalous use had been made of the king's prerogative, and other objectionable means had been resorted to, to bring about the union, under the influence of the marquis.

Mr. Fox agreed to the motion; but in doing so he did not pledge himself to approve every particular act of the noble marquis, but he gave it merely on the general merits of that nobleman. He agreed to the motion with more satisfaction, on account of the way in which it was worded; it said nothing about the marquis being an "excellent statesman." He thought he might give his assent to the motion, though

though he was much of the same opinion, respecting the union, as his friend (O'Hara) behind him. He was convinced that it was a measure the most disgraceful to the government of this country that ever was carried or proposed.—The question was then put, and carried without a division.

Mr. Cartwright next rose, for the purpose of making his promised motion. He intended to follow the example that had been set him by the honourable member who moved a recent resolution of the house. In that case, the precedent afforded in the case of the late lord Chatham had been followed, and the same method he now intended to adopt. He considered the eminent services of the late chancellor of the exchequer to be great beyond example, and his death to be no trifling aggravation of the present difficulties of the country. The high character of that right honourable gentleman, as a statesman and minister, he should ever respect and venerate. If he could think that the vote he was that night to propose, could in the least diminish his fame, he should be the last person to propose it; but he had yet to learn that lord Chatham's fame had received any diminution from a parliamentary vote to the same effect. When he recollected the services of the late chancellor of the exchequer, and the perfect devotion of his time to the business of his country; when he recollected that for ten years' administration, he received nothing but the mere income of his two offices, and that he took nothing in addition, except the situation of warden of the cinque ports, which was forced unwillingly upon him;—he saw a proof of his integrity and honour, and a worthy theme of his public admiration. For his individual purity, in regard to all pecuniary transactions, he might refer to what came before the house respecting the inquiries of the parliamentary committee, in which the character of that great man was placed in its proper light, and where he is found rising superior to every imputation and suspicion, and only exciting admiration at the guarded conduct he maintained in every transaction of life. He had a mind——

> ——et secundis
> Temporibus dubiisque rectus;
> Vindex avaræ fraudis, et abstinens
> Ducentis ad se cuncta, pecuniæ.

He asked for the vote of the house on this occasion for no common services. He asked for him, who had dedicated his whole life to the public advantage; who had struggled through the most difficult periods of our modern history with success; and who, by his efforts, had confirmed the stability and security of every thing we possessed. In the department of the public finances, he had done more than any minister that had preceded him; and notwithstanding every disadvantage, our finances had risen to a height unexampled in our annals. He had preserved to the last moment the confidence and good opinion of the public. What he asked, was nothing more, in discharging the debts of Mr. Pitt, than the discharge of a debt of public gratitude. He found, from the best inquiries, that the sum of 40,000*l.* was sufficient for the purpose. He concluded by moving, That the house, being willing to show every mark of respect and esteem for the memory of Mr. Pitt, should humbly address his majesty to issue the sum of 40,000*l.* for the purpose of discharging his debts,

debts, and to assure his majesty that the house would take care to make good the same.

Mr. Bootle seconded the motion. He considered it as the last opportunity the house would have of showing its respect to the illustrious character, who was so much entitled to the gratitude and veneration of the country; and he was sure that the house would go with him in paying a just testimony to worth so great, talents so transcendent, and services so extraordinary. The debts that were to be discharged, were contracted while the great man, who was now no more, was in the public service, and wholly devoted to his official duties: it was therefore the duty of the country to discharge them; the more so, as the illustrious person, as soon as he retired from office, adopted a system of retrenchment, in order that he might reduce them by his œconomy. He would not be the advocate for extravagance: he challenged any man to say, on looking over the list of his debts, that any one of them could be considered as an extravagance. He trusted, that as no ground on which the motion was founded could be denied, and as these grounds were amply sufficient to warrant the motion, the vote would be unanimous. He was the more supported in this hope, as there was no point of political dissension comprehended in this motion. He trusted that the vote would meet with the same unanimous concurrence as that passed on account of the late lord Chatham. It was right that parliament should be jealous in cases like this, but that jealousy should not stand in the way of the just claims of distinguished merit. He trusted that no ground for difference of opinion would be found, and that therefore the vote would be unanimous.

Mr. Windham would give his vote of assent this night, with as much satisfaction as he felt on the former night at being compelled to vote in the negative. He looked upon this vote as a homage to great and transcendent talents, and a mark of gratitude for long services. In all that had been said of the great personal qualities of the deceased, and of the honour he reflected on the house and country, he coincided. Such had been his opinion always, such it was now, and he was happy to bring it in testimony on this and a recent occasion. This motion was nothing that he could object to; there was nothing in it that called for approbation of a general political system, from persons who could not concur in that approbation without contradicting and falsifying their former opinions. No one imputed to the deceased any low principle, and least of all any principle of low pecuniary interest. His high mind was above such mean considerations, and his grand conceptions soared far beyond such grovelling ideas. He thought it necessary to touch a little here on the consequences resulting from this vote. It had been well observed, that this could not be invariable, and that it should not be so even if the merits were acknowledged; for, if the debts had been contracted from extravagance and wild profusion, or pompous ostentation, then it would be a question whether, however great their merits, they should be paid with public money. But here there was no lavish expenditure, no idle ostentation. The character of the man precluded all that. The conscious value his own great mind inspired, created a disregard

regard for exterior grandeur, which led into the vice of the times, and restrained him rather too much from gratifying the public eye. Those who knew him in private life, know well that no man was more superior to all idle affectation. The debts were contracted, because the income he derived from the public was not sufficient to allow the indulgences his situation required, without contracting debts. The duties of his high offices necessarily took away his attention from domestic œconomy, and great impositions were always practised on persons so circumstanced. His talents had been diverted from those pursuits by which he might have acquired wealth, by the higher duties annexed to the great offices he held. He would not violate his duty from any affectation of magnanimity, by being generous at the expense of the country. But in supporting this mark of respect to the memory of a long and meritorious service, he wished a similar liberality were extended to those who were nearest and dearest to him.—Mr. Ponsonby, lord Folkstone, and admiral Hervey, spoke on the same side of the question.

Mr. William Smith said, that he felt himself bound in duty to the public, and in consistency with the part he had already taken, to withhold his support from the present motion. That the payment of Mr. Pitt's debts was due from the country in pure justice, could in his opinion be maintained only on the ground, that his salaries had been inadequate to the fair expenses of the situation he held: this he doubted, and was very averse from allowing, without something like proof, as from thence it must follow that the emoluments of office ought to be increased; and although the advantage of such increase might probably fall to an administration possessing his confidence more than the right honourable gentleman had done, yet, at a time like the present, he could not but deprecate any addition to the burthens of the country for such purposes. The obligation on the score of gratitude was a different question, and depended wholly on the judgment formed of the advantages which had been derived from the services of the great man deceased. And the language which some gentlemen had used, was such as absolutely to preclude him from giving a silent vote. They had given an unqualified approval of the honourable gentleman's system:—they had adverted to particular measures as of especial merit:—they had praised him without bounds as the saviour of his country:—they then praised themselves for their moderation and forbearance in not going further; and, in conclusion, somewhat boldly demanded the unanimous concurrence of those who had uniformly censured his general system, and opposed, as mischievous or unjust, almost every object of applause. Was this to be acquiesced in? Did it not afford a strong presumption that these gentlemen were desirous of giving a covert sanction to their own conduct; and, in thus holding out Mr. Pitt as deserving the unlimited gratitude of his fellow-subjects, were putting in their own claim to no inconsiderable share of it; and endeavouring not merely to fix a stigma on their old and constant opponents, but even to make them parties to their own disgrace? To this he would not submit. He continued to hold his long settled opinions on these points: and of that particular period at which Mr. Pitt was said to have saved

saved his country from anarchy, he thought that it was marked with greater inroads on the constitutional liberties of the subject than had been committed at any other time since the revolution; and that an unjust clamour had been then raised for the express purpose of throwing obloquy on men, than whom, in his opinion, more honourable, or more attached to the interests of the nation, did not exist. Nor would he consent, by a silent vote, to libel for ever, and on record, their character and conduct as well as his own. He willingly admitted that Mr. Pitt was perfectly disinterested:—that he was far above all pecuniary considerations:—that he disdained praise on that account:—that far from thanking his officious friends for such an eulogium, his lofty spirit would have spurned at the idea, that the not having descended to unworthy means of acquiring wealth should be imputed to him as merit—that his performance of common duties, or abstinence from degrading practices, should have been represented as exertions of heroic virtue. He thought it would have been more honourable to the friends of the deceased to have taken upon themselves the discharge of his debts: as an individual, he would himself have readily contributed; but as he did not apprehend that the country at large were desirous of incurring the burthen, he would not seek the reputation of liberality in the dubious road of granting away the property of others, nor join in imposing on his constituents a charge which, as he verily believed, no sense, on their part, of obligation to the deceased would induce them cheerfully to sustain.

Mr. Rose thought it but a justice due from the country, that it should pay debts evidently contracted in consequence of the engagements of the man in the business of the country; and so appeared, on the face of them, the result of the official situation his right honourable friend held. He owned that at a meeting of the creditors of his friend he had recommended that the money should be raised by subscription among his friends, rather than that an application should be made to parliament. He believed the money might have been raised by such a subscription; but it was thought that justice to the memory of his right honourable friend indispensably required the present mode of proceeding.

Mr. Manning had no doubt the money might have been raised by subscription, but he was convinced a great majority of the house and the country wished the debts to be paid from the public purse. He believed Mr. Pitt, in the hands of Providence, the instrument of saving the country. The expenses of the high offices which he held much exceeded the salary. On his suggestion, Mr. Pitt had adopted the plan of voluntary contributions, by which 2,000,000*l.* had been raised, and 100,000*l.* of annual taxes saved to the country.

Mr. Cuming, Mr. Ellison, and the marquis of Douglas all spoke in defence of the motion.

Mr. Fox never felt more satisfaction than in giving his support to this testimony of the consideration of a great and rich nation for the merits of an eminent servant. The mode of introducing it, left him no difficulty in giving it the support he wished. He rose in consequence of some observations that had fallen

from some gentlemen most earnest in support of the motion. Among other expressions he had heard that of Saviour. With respect to this, he must say that he retained all his former opinions; or, if any change had taken place in them, it was in consequence of the situation of the country in the years 1803 and 1804, which rendered it essential to the public interest and public safety, that the differences of former times, and the animosities they had given rise to, should be buried in oblivion. When the right honourable gentleman, now no more, proposed that he should have a large share in the administration, it would have been in the highest degree indelicate in him to agitate these questions. Mr. Pitt felt the same kind of delicacy. He had borne ample testimony of his wish to bury these differences in oblivion. He hoped the house would do him the justice to think, that as he was unwilling to touch upon these topics while Mr. Pitt was living, he was doubly unwilling to touch on them, at least so much as related to Mr. Pitt personally, now that he was no more. He was not now going to touch upon them, nor would he ever; but he begged to be understood not to be influenced by any regard to himself, when he resolved to abstain so religiously from these topics. He knew not whether Mr. Pitt thought in the same way of him, but he always thought with respect to Mr. Pitt, that he should form a distinguished part of any administration framed with a view to the advantage of the country, and on this ground he wished discord to cease. He had not had a distinct opportunity of showing his sense of that wish; Mr. Pitt had, and he had expressed it distinctly. If these old causes of dissension were revived, it would be impossible to come to an unanimous vote. He did think that one of the objections made by his honourable friend (Mr. W. Smith) was overstrained. To speak of Mr. Pitt as disinterested in not touching the public money, was certainly an insult; but to abstain from making many advantages from his office which he fairly might;—to have been in office twenty years, and in that time to have had no place of profit but the cinque ports; was disinterestedness of the most eminent nature. It was a disinterestedness not to be paralleled in any minister within his memory—he believed not in any since the accession of the house of Brunswick. This it was that he wished to reward. He had no fear that the example would have any pernicious effect.

Mr. Canning hoped that, in the little he had to say on this subject, he should not deviate from the candour and moderation so laudably professed on the other side, but used, at the same time, as a veil to throw over one or two propositions in which he did not agree. Some of the gentlemen were willing to allow parliament to discharge the debts of his late friend as a matter of generosity towards an old public servant. He wished it to be known, however, that the friends of that illustrious person would not be satisfied to receive the vote as an eleemosynary grant to posthumous necessities;—not as a boon of pity or compassion;—but as a public debt to a highly meritorious public servant. He did not from the beginning expect an unanimous vote; he would not purchase unanimity by conceding a title

a title of the services of that illustrious man. He appealed to the house, Whether it was not on the other side that the topics of dissension were started? Objections were made to the form of the former motion. The fault he found with it was, that it was cold, and inadequate to the feelings of those who supported it. When the friends of this great man consented to neutralize the expressions of their feelings, for the purpose of removing the grounds of opposition to the motion; when they resolved, instead of dipping the pen into the heart, to look into the statute-book for a precedent; when they had lowered and diluted every glowing feeling; when they had restrained and chastised the warmth of their affections, in order to constitute unanimity;—the result had added to the many proofs he had seen in the course of his political life, that nothing was to be gained by compromise. Now the honourable gentlemen canvassed particular acts, and thus agitated topics, which were omitted to avoid creating discussion. [Here Mr. Canning was called to order by Mr. Wynne, for reverting to former debates.] He said he had no desire to go further back than to show that the agitation of the objects of dissension originated on the other side. It was expected that this question would have been generally supported; that all political differences would have ceased, and that all animosities would have been buried. That brilliant luminary that was before us, whether its dawn was clouded, or its meridian splendour obscured, had held a glorious course for the country, and worthy to call forth its admiration and gratitude. He protested against the mode in which the honourable gentlemen gave their support to the motion, and wished to restore to them the benefit of that consistency which they laboured so much to reconcile with the support they gave. He gave credit to him who refused his consent because he did not see merit, but he could not see the ground on which those opposite followed a distinct course. If the sum were given as an eleemosynary grant, without any distinction of merit or demerit, he disdained it. Those who did not vote for it on the ground of Mr. Pitt's merits, had better oppose it openly. It was only as a tribute to great merits that he would receive it; and if any one supported it on any other ground than as a testimony and a reward for those merits, he wished him to withdraw his support, and preserve his consistency by opposing it.

After a few words from Mr. Fox, by way of explanation, the motion was agreed to.

Mr. Fox, when this business was disposed of, gave notice of a motion which he should make on the next day, "For leave to bring in a bill to remove certain doubts of the propriety of a lord commissioner of the treasury holding at the same time the office of auditor of the exchequer." The discussion of this motion we shall refer to a succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER II.

Continental Treaties—Debate in the House of Commons on a Bill to enable the Auditor of the Exchequer to be a Commissioner of the Treasury—On a Bill to indemnify certain Persons giving Evidence on Lord Melville's Trial—Debate in the House of Lords on the same Bill—Committee appointed to search for Precedents—Opinions of the Judges—Judges called on to deliver their Opinions seriatim*—Bill brought forward by Earl Stanhope for the Discovery of Truth—Witnesses, declaratory Bill in the Lords and Commons—Motion in the House of Lords respecting Lord Ellenborough's Seat in the Cabinet—The same Subject discussed in the House of Commons.*

THE treaties which were laid before parliament, explaining the original plans of the combined powers, concerning which the late administration thought proper to make some observations before they resigned, will be found in another part of the volume. It will be sufficient, therefore, to observe here, that by these treaties the high contracting powers pledged themselves not to make peace with the common enemy, but with the consent of all the powers engaged in the league; whereas Austria, as we have seen, was under the necessity of accepting a peace dictated by the conqueror. It was agreed that Hanover should be evacuated; and that the independence of the republics of Holland and Switzerland should be established. These, and many other projects equally important, the allied powers had promised to effect; and it was left to Lord Mulgrave to announce officially the complete failure of them all, as will be seen in the subsequent pages. We have also given in this chapter a pretty full account of the discussions in parliament on certain very interesting constitutional questions, as the title will show. To some of our readers, it may be thought that we have, in this instance, occupied too much space: the decisions of parliament have, however, both in the case of lord Grenville and in that of lord Ellenborough, been liable to strong objections, and have sanctioned regulations that will hereafter be referred to as precedents for future ministers, and on that account it was deemed right to state the arguments for and against these proceedings at large.

We shall now proceed with lord Mulgrave's observations, in the house of Lords, February 4th, on the *supplement to the treaties*, which, the noble lord said, were illustrative of the spirit and the objects with and for which the treaties themselves had been negotiated and concluded. The substance of these treaties he noticed, with some observations on the situation of Austria previously to her determination to have recourse to arms. He maintained, that after the encroachments made by the French government in Italy there was no other alternative but war; which being resolved on, the emperor of Germany was countenanced and supported by Russia and this country. The spirit, zeal, and activity, said his lordship, with which the resolution was carried into

into effect, claimed the praise of the most indifferent, though the catastrophe with which such exertions were terminated must excite the regret of every feeling mind. No nation had more reason to regret it than England; yet to the ministers of this country no blame or censure whatever was imputable. Every thing that wisdom could suggest, that comprehension could embrace, that foresight could provide for, or prudence regulate, had been prepared and collected by this country in conjunction with the powers that had espoused the same cause. It was not mere paper statements of the great force to be employed for the attainment of that end; but before the 1st of October, the day on which the first instalment was made, a substantial and accurate account was given of the real and efficient force which was then in the field, and which amounted in Austrians to 314,000 men, and Russians to 180,000; the latter had arrived at their appointed stations at least two days previously to the time stipulated; and from their position and readiness to act the happiest expectations might have been indulged. No calculations could have supposed that the enemy would have been in readiness to commence hostile operations before the whole force had arrived at its due destination; nor could the enemy, in effect, have had an opportunity of trying their fortune or their strength, if the plans adopted and agreed upon by the other coalesced powers had been minutely adhered to. From an attentive perusal of the documents, which he should now submit to their lordships, it would, he said, be abundantly manifest, that it was from no deficiency of wisdom, of foresight, and of circumspection in the plan of operations, that it had failed, but from a strange and unfortunate deviation from the system which had been generally proposed and mutually agreed upon. With the misfortunes that have followed that deviation every one was acquainted. They were great and disastrous to an extent beyond the surmise of human sagacity, and they have led to consequences equally distressful and humiliating. But the conduct of Austria, and of her unfortunate sovereign under such circumstances, said his lordship, are not to be lightly considered. The dilemma to which he was reduced was trying in the extreme; and the minds of Englishmen would withhold any opinion which did not rest as fairly upon the spirit and the determination evinced by the emperor, and by the dangers and sacrifices he has exposed himself to, as upon the calamitous issue in which were exhausted so many efforts and so many lives. In bringing forward these additional documents, it was the object of the noble lord to ground upon them a confirmation, that nothing of the calamities and disasters that had befallen the South of Europe was imputable to the councils of this country. There were more withheld that would place the assertion in a clearer and more convincing point of view, and they were withheld solely from motives of delicacy and consideration for the situation of other powers. All the documents to which he alluded would soon be placed in other hands; and it would be with the judgment and good sense of his successors to make public more of them, or to approve the motives that on his part had suspended their publica-

tion. After avowing the rectitude of his own conduct, and paying the highest compliments to the talents of Mr. Pitt, whose influence pervaded and directed all those transactions, Lord Mulgrave concluded with moving "That the several documents, which he held in his hands, be laid on the table, in fuller illustration and proof of every thing he had advanced, and as furnishing proper grounds for the discussion of that great question which might hereafter be brought before their lordships."

In the house of commons, Mr. Fox moved for leave to bring in a bill to enable a person holding the office of auditor of the exchequer to hold also the office of a commissioner of the treasury. The object of this bill was to legalize the holding these two appointments, by enabling the auditor to appoint a deputy for discharging the duties of that office. He had stated before, when he gave notice of this motion, that he entertained no doubt himself on the subject; yet, as others might, it was the wish of the noble lord concerned, that nothing should be withheld from the house connected with the transaction in question. As the idea had gone abroad that the auditor of the exchequer was a check upon the lords of the treasury, he should advert to that circumstance. The fact was, that he was no check upon them, and it was absurd to suppose that any officer whose appointment was in the gift of the lords of the treasury could be any check upon them. He hoped, therefore, that no difficulty would be felt in complying with this measure. Nobody, Mr. Fox, thought, would be of opinion that the office should be given up by the noble lord which it was intended he should fill, and on that account he trusted that no objection would be felt to the bill. In the reign of George I., lord Halifax gave the auditorship nominally to his brother, while he virtually continued in the enjoyment of it himself. The noble lord might, in the present instance, act upon that precedent, but he was better pleased that the transaction should wholly rest on legislative grounds. He therefore should beg leave to bring in the bill. On the motion being put,

Mr. Rose said he was of opinion that no doubt could be entertained on the subject, and he was certain that he could convince the house that the two offices were incompatible. By the act of King William, which regulated the course of the exchequer, the office of auditor was rendered a distinct office, and the two had not been held since by any person. This act directed, that no money should be issued from the exchequer without the order of the auditor, signed by the clerk of the pells. As to the circumstance of the appointment of the auditor by the commissioners, and his being, therefore, no check upon them, he had only to observe, that an order from the commissioners for the issue of money from the exchequer would be null and void without the signature of the auditor. The course of the exchequer he took to be this—When the house voted a certain sum of money for a certain service, suppose a million; if the commissioners issued an order for more than that million, the auditor, to whom the votes of that house were sent, would not sign it, and would therefore be an efficient check upon the commissioners of the treasury. Instances of this kind he had himself known. There was another provision in the act, which was,

was, that the auditor should prepare and draw the orders by the directions of the commissioners of the treasury. Every gentleman must see the incongruity of the same person giving and receiving these directions in virtue of his different offices. The case of lord Halifax did not apply; he did not hold the office of auditor till he had resigned his former offices. If a deputy were to be appointed, it would be for the house to consider how far he could be a check upon the commissioners. Another case had been referred to on a former day, viz. that of Mr. Pelham; but though he had been appointed first lord of the treasury in 1743, the auditorship of the exchequer did not become vacant till 1751, when it was given to his son-in-law, whether in trust, or in fact, he was incompetent to say. The cases were therefore different, and this bill could not pass without altering the whole course of the exchequer.

Mr. C. W. Wynne denied that the auditor was intended as a check upon the commissioners of the treasury: he read from the statute-book a paragraph, which, he contended, proved that the office of auditor was designed to be a check upon the issue of money voted for one service to the use of another, and not as a check upon the commissioners. He saw no reason why a deputy might not be appointed: no evil could arise from the appointment of a deputy, that would not equally arise from the appointment of the original. There had indeed at former periods been a practical objection to the appointment of the same person to both offices, which did not at present exist; the auditor of the exchequer had a percentage on the money issued, he had now a fixed salary.

The attorney general was desirous of removing any of the difficulties that might be felt with respect to this measure; for of all the new appointments, no one afforded him more satisfaction than that of the noble lord to the one which he was to fill; he hoped that no obstacle would oblige him to accept any other in place of it. He was desirous that the bill should pass through every stage that day, consistent with the forms of the house, in order that gentlemen might come down the next day prepared to decide upon it. The auditor did appear to him, on the testimony of his right honourable friend, a practical check upon the commissioners; and it would be for the house to consider how far a deputy, appointed by, and removable at, the pleasure of one of those commissioners, would be such a check. He thought it would be more proper to appoint a trustee to hold the office, under a responsibility for the performance of its duties.

Mr. Fox did not object to the appointment of a trustee, and Mr. Rose said that this amendment would do away his objections to the measure. The bill was accordingly brought up, and read a first and second time, and ordered to be committed on the next day. It was at length passed in both houses, under the title of A bill for empowering the auditor of the exchequer to nominate a trustee to execute the duties of the office, &c.

From the 4th of Feb. to the 10th, the business in both houses was not of sufficient importance to be recorded in this brief historical sketch; it related to matters of form, and to the issuing of writs for members in the place of those who had accepted of places of profit in the new administration.

On the 10th, Mr. Whitbread moved for leave to bring in a bill to indemnify all such persons, as should be required to give evidence on the impeachment of lord Melville, and who had served under him in the navy office. The reason that induced him to bring forward this motion was, that several lawyers had given it as their opinion, that questions which Mr. Trotter would be required to answer, might, if answered, expose him to the dangers of a prosecution. To obviate this difficulty, a bill had been brought in to indemnify persons in that situation from the consequences of a criminal prosecution. At the instance of sir William Elford it was intended to extend to civil as well as criminal prosecutions. The lords, however, struck out the part that related to civil suits, and the bill itself was finally rejected in the commons. Another had been adopted as far as related to criminal prosecutions. The judges had been consulted, but had not given their opinion; it was however of great importance to the ends of public justice that the sentiments of the judges should be known before they proceeded on the circuit; which was the more requisite, as it was certain that the evidence of Trotter was indispensably necessary. He, therefore, after some other remarks, moved to bring in a bill that should indemnify persons in the situation of Trotter from the consequences of any civil suits, to which they might otherwise be liable. The motion was seconded by sir William Elford; when leave was given to bring in the bill, which was carried through all its stages in the house of commons, and on the 12th was presented to the lords.

In the house of peers on the 13th, lord Holland moved that the "impeachment witnesses, indemnity bill" should be read a second time on the Monday following.

Lord Hawkesbury did not mean to oppose the motion, but wished to call the attention of the house to the bill which had already been before the house, and which went to indemnify persons giving evidence on the impeachment of lord Melville, both from criminal and civil suits. With respect to the civil indemnity, certain questions had been referred to the judges, with a view of ascertaining whether persons were legally justified in refusing to answer questions, the result of which might subject them to a civil suit. The judges not having answered the questions, he suggested whether it would not be advisable now to refer similar questions, for the opinions of that learned body, before they proceeded to the bill.

After some observations from lord Holland, on the necessity of having the opinions of the judges as speedily as possible, it was agreed that they should be ordered to attend on Monday. On that day they were all present, when

Lord Eldon called the attention of the house to the bill, which he considered as an *ex post-facto* law: he then proposed that certain questions be put to the judges. He could not help observing, that the principle of the bill attempted to be established, claimed the most serious consideration of their lordships, lest it might bring down upon them the reproaches of posterity. The bill expressed doubts as to the liability of a witness to answer a question which might involve him in a civil suit. It was the first time that he had heard there was any doubt upon the subject, although he was aware that there was high legal

authority

authority against him. He wished, however, their lordships to be fully aware of the nature of the bill, which went, as it might happen, to give persons sums of money (for it was the same thing, whether the money was actually given, or whether they were freed from any process for a sum claimed by the public,) for giving evidence at their lordships' bar; and not only were such persons, on that account, discharged from any process on account of debts due to the crown, but from any process on account of debts due by them to individuals. He saw so many objections to the bill, that he could not help recurring to the speech of lord Hardwicke upon a bill of a similar nature, which was before the house in the year 1742, when that great man concluded by observing, "that he would much rather be the object of the bill than the author of it." His lordship concluded by moving to refer to the judges three questions, the object of which was to ascertain, Whether, according to law, a witness had a right to demur to the answering any question, relevant to the subject under investigation, the answer to which might tend to acknowledge a debt recoverable by a civil process? or which might render him liable to civil process generally? or which might render him liable to a civil process at the suit of the crown, for the profits of any public money converted to his own use?

Lord Holland denied that there was any provision in the bill which would authorise the construction, that a witness giving evidence under the sanction of its provisions would be thereby exonerated on account of debts due from such witness to private individuals.

The judges, being applied to, requested till Thursday se'nnight to consider of the questions; which was, after some observations from the lord chancellor Erskine, agreed to. In the mean time

Lord Eldon, on the 24th, moved for the appointment of a committee to search for precedents of bills similar to that in question. The more he considered that bill, the more it appeared to him unconstitutional and unsafe; it went to give a degree of power to the other house of parliament that might prove dangerous to the liberties of the people, and repugnant to the ends of justice in matters where their lordships were to sit as judges. It gave a power to prosecutors, which prosecutors should never possess: viewing it in this light, he thought it expedient that a committee be appointed to search into precedents of similar bills, in order that from their report some light might be derived to guide the conduct of the house on the present occasion. This motion was agreed to: and on the 27th, the order of the day was read for the attendance of the judges, who were all present, to give their answers to the questions referred to them; the first and second of which went to enquire whether according to law a witness could demur to answer a question, which might render him liable to an action for debt, or to a suit for the recovery of the profits of public money? and the third was, to ascertain whether a witness, who, in making a full and fair disclosure, was excused from certain debts, could not be legally objected to, on the ground of his being interested?

The lord chief justice Mansfield delivered the opinion of the judges, which, with respect to the first two questions, would, he feared, leave

their lordships in nearly the same state of doubt in which they were before, the judges themselves being divided in opinion upon them. Those who thought that a witness, in such case, could not demur, might be prepared to give a decisive answer; but with respect to those who were of a contrary opinion, that opinion was qualified by a great number of exceptions, which it was not their province to descant upon, under the general terms of the questions, and upon which, indeed, it would be scarcely possible for them, under a general question, to give a decided opinion. With respect to the third question, they were unanimously of opinion, that a witness in the situation described, on condition of his making a full and fair disclosure, could legally make no difference with respect to his evidence, he being bound by his oath, by law, morality and honour, to declare the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

Lord Auckland expressed his disappointment at the opinion that he had heard from the judges, which he had expected would have been decisive. He begged leave to propose another question, "Whether, according to law, any officer, or agent employed under any officer, entrusted with the application of public money, could demur to answer any question relative to the matter in issue, the answer to which might render him liable to any suit respecting the application of such money?" This question he was willing to withdraw, if any other noble lord suggested a better mode of attaining the same object.

The answers of the judges were, at the suggestion of the clerk, demanded in writing. The answer to the third question was similar to that given verbally by the lord chief justice. The answer to the other two questions stated, that they were so general in their nature that the judges could not give a satisfactory answer.

Lord Eldon said that more specific questions could not be framed, without going into the merits of the case which was to come before them by impeachment, and upon which their minds should be kept perfectly clear till it came before them in evidence.

Lord Holland protested against the opinion given by the judges upon the first two questions, as in its tendency it was unconstitutional. He did not conceive that it rested with the learned judges to say that a question referred to them was too general; they were bound by the practice of parliament to give a specific answer, when their lordships required one. He conceived that the house had a right to an answer from the learned judges upon any abstract point of law, and that such an answer should be in the affirmative or negative. In this case the answer delivered *viva voce* by the learned chief justice, and that delivered in writing, were at variance. From the former it was clearly to be inferred that the learned judges differed in opinion respecting the answer to be given, while the paper delivered in at the table was the answer of all the judges, and stated that which he was anxious should not be considered by the house as an answer that it was proper to admit.

Earl Stanhope said his noble friend had mistaken the practice of parliament: it had been constantly the custom in the case of Mr. Hastings to refer questions to the judges, on specific points and individual cases. He could not admit

admit the propriety of requiring an answer from the learned judges to a question respecting an abstract point of law. Such a question might involve both negative and positive relations; and it was not possible for the judges to give a general answer of Yes or No, to a question that might admit of a thousand exceptions to the general rule laid down. He intended, unless it were done by some other person, to propose a general law upon the subject, by which the evidence given by a person, respecting any matter in issue, should not be afterwards made use of in any way against him.

The lord chancellor observed, that it was clear from the statement of the learned chief justice, that the learned judges had not declined to answer the question, on account of its being of too general a nature, but that they had differed in opinion with respect to the subject matter which that question involved, and therefore they could not return a general answer either one way or the other. He looked up with reverence and respect to the opinion of the judges, and wished for their opinion, which the house had a right to demand. The variance between the verbal statement of the chief justice and the answer delivered in at the table, was obvious to the house; it was also clear that the difference of opinion among the judges was not as to the form of the question, but upon the merits of the question itself. Under these circumstances he thought the house was entitled to call for an opinion of the judges delivered *seriatim*.

Lord Grenville, lord Hawkesbury, the earl of Radnor, and lord Eldon—all concurred in the opinion that the judges should be heard *seriatim*; which being agreed to, lord Holland moved that the consideration of the bill be deferred till Tuesday.

On the 28th, after the usual routine of business, the judges proceeded to deliver their opinions on the questions referred to them. Mr. baron Sutton was understood to say that, as a general principle, a witness might be required to answer a question which did not involve him in a criminal prosecution, but which acknowledged a debt recoverable by a civil suit. Mr. baron Graham was of the same opinion.

Mr. justice Chambre took a similar ground of argument, contending that a witness under such circumstances might be required to answer, otherwise a witness could not be compelled to answer, because the answer might affect his interests, and in that case it would scarcely be possible to obtain the truth, or to do justice between party and party. He admitted, however, that there were exceptions to the general rule. In this opinion Mr. justice le Blanc and Mr. justice Lawrence concurred.

Mr. justice Grose contended that there was no established rule of law, nor any precedents of sufficient authority, by which a witness could be required to answer, when the effect of that answer might be to render him liable to a civil action, in consequence of his being forced to acknowledge a debt, or that he was wrongfully in possession of any property, or to make any other acknowledgment injurious to his interests.

Mr. justice Rooke concurred in the same opinion: he deprecated the establishment of a principle that should compel persons to make such acknowledgments as might be ruinous to themselves and their families, while on the other hand, in

in order to avert such consequences, they would have a strong temptation to perjury. He referred to the case of lord Keith, who, being unwarily led to acknowledge having acted erroneously in his situation of commander in chief, was afterwards subjected to a verdict, with 10,000*l.* damages.

Lord Ellenborough moved that the further hearing of the judges should be postponed till the next day—When

Mr. Baron Thompson said he could find nothing satisfactory on the subject involved in the questions referred to the judges, but he was of opinion that a witness under the circumstances mentioned was not compellable to give evidence of facts which might be afterwards used against himself.

Mr. justice Heath was of opinion that witnesses under such circumstances were compellable to answer.

Lord chief baron Macdonald deprecated the consequences which would ensue from the establishment of such a principle, as that a witness was not compellable to answer where that answer might tend to acknowledge a debt recoverable by a civil suit; as in that case a witness interested to the amount of five shillings, by refusing to give evidence, might defeat the just claim of a party to ten thousand pounds. In the court in which it was his lot to preside, it would also be productive of the worst consequences, as in revenue causes witnesses would on such a ground very frequently demur, and prevent the truth from being ascertained.

The lord chief justice had ever considered it as an established point of law, that a witness was not compellable to answer any question that might subject him to a civil action; this was the opinion of lawyers of the greatest eminence: it was so decided by lord Kenyon, in a case where an action was brought by a person against another who had been clerk, for money alleged to have been received for the use of the plaintiff. After a variety of arguments in justification of his opinion, he concluded by asserting, that a witness under the circumstances mentioned was not compelled to answer.

Earl Stanhope, from the difference of opinion that prevailed among the judges, proposed a bill for the purpose of enacting that the evidence given by witnesses should not be afterwards made use of against themselves, except in cases of wilful and corrupt perjury.

Lord Eldon, after the bill had been read a first time, said he concurred with the noble earl in his opinion, as to the necessity of making some legislative provision upon this subject, but the mode of doing it must be matter for mature deliberation. He did not think the bill proposed by the noble earl would answer the purpose; as in many cases it would be of no consequence whether their evidence was used against themselves; the very disclosure, in many instances, being sufficient to point out the means by which such facts might be proved in another manner. He was aware of the necessity of enacting some legislative provision on the subject, as now the question had been mooted, and the opinions of the judges were known. He had always considered the law to be, that witnesses were compellable to answer under the circumstances referred to; such he believed was the opinion of lawyers of the first eminence, and he had

no

no doubt that the decision of lord Kenyon was wrong.

The lord chancellor coincided in opinion with his noble and learned friend, as to the necessity of some legislative provision, but thought the present bill was inadequate to the purpose. He also concurred with his noble and learned friend in his opinion as to the law with respect to the questions referred to the judges. He had never heard a single doubt started on the subject;—he did not recollect the case said to have been decided by lord Kenyon. He was, however, perfectly convinced, upon the circumstances stated with respect to that case, that the decision of lord Kenyon was erroneous, although he always looked up to that noble and learned lord with the greatest reverence and respect.

Lord Ellenborough wished for a declaratory bill on the subject, to which earl Stanhope declared himself inimical; and his bill was ordered to be printed.

Lord Eldon and the lord chancellor agreed to prepare a declaratory bill on the subject: and on the 7th of March

The lord chancellor, quitting the woolsack, observed to their lordships, that in consequence of the opinions delivered in that house by the judges, upon the questions referred to them, he had thought it his duty to introduce a bill declaratory of the law respecting the compelling of witnesses to give evidence. A difference of opinion certainly prevailed among the judges; but the majority was so great in favour of the affirmative of the proposition that evidences were compellable, that he took that to be now the recognised principle of the law. Of the eleven judges who gave their opinions in the house, seven were for the affirmative and four for the negative. Upon the authority of the former, he had framed the bill which he would now present to the house. The principle of it, as well as the necessity which occasioned it, would come under discussion on a second reading, when he understood a noble and learned lord intended to propose introducing a proviso into it.

Lord Eldon stated, that he had prepared a clause to save the law on the question. He had no doubts himself upon the point; but four of the judges having stated that the general proposition admitted of many exceptions, he thought it advisable to engraft a proviso upon the bill.

Lord Holland, after a brief detail of the progress of the *impeachment witnesses, indemnity bill*, brought in last session, and of the bill then before the house, concluded by moving to discharge the order for summoning their lordships, observing that he should fix no other day for the second reading, until something definitive was done respecting the proposed declaratory law. This law was again discussed on the 11th of March, when the

Lord chancellor, to render the security of witnesses more complete, proposed to insert the words, "any penalty or forfeiture of what nature soever," instead of the mere words "penalty or forfeiture."

Earl Stanhope thought, that from declaratory bills, like the present, many evils might arise; and that, if the principle were admitted, bills of this description might hereafter be obtained, to declare that to be the law, which was not so: and though seven of the judges, as well as the noble chief justice of the king's bench, had stated it to

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be the law, yet, if the opinions of many eminent judges, now no more, on the contrary side were taken into the account, they would be found to constitute a majority. Their lordships might think, perhaps, that he intruded his opinions on legal subjects; but he felt confident in his own knowledge, having, with an able attorney at his elbow, read through the whole of the statutes, from magna charta to the present time—a piece of drudgery to which, he would venture to say, no one who had heard him had ever submitted. He had no objection to the enactment of what the bill stated to be law, if he thought the house would afterwards pass his bill for the protection of witnesses. He moved to leave out the declaratory words in the bill.

The lord chancellor objected to the polling the opinions of dead as well as living judges, for the purpose of ascertaining on which side the majority was to be found, as such a system must put an end to the jurisprudence of the country, by rendering of no avail the decision of the judges in any case, unless they were supported by a majority of the opinions of judges who were no more. He would give up the bill altogether, rather than give up the declaratory part of it: if his noble friend would turn over the statutes again, he would find several acts of this description, where the law, upon certain subjects, having fallen into doubt, was declared, in order to remove the doubt. After a few more words from lord Stanhope, the lord chancellor, and lord Auckland, the bill was passed, and was ordered to be reported the next day.

Earl Stanhope then moved that his bill, "for the discovery of truth," should be read a second time the next day.

March. 12.—Lord Eldon, in order to save the exceptions which existed to the general rule laid down in the bill, proposed a proviso, the first part of which enacts, that the court shall not repel an objection made by a witness to answer, where such objection is made specially, and on specific grounds stated, but shall decide on such objection according to the law as it appears to them. It is lastly enacted, that a witness shall not be compellable to answer any question which he could not be compelled to answer as a defendant in a court of equity, on a bill being filed against him.

Earl Stanhope objected to this proviso, which, he said, instead of declaring the law, left it to the judges of each court to decide what was law, thereby, instead of removing doubts, rendering them still more doubtful. He also considered the clause to be unconstitutional, as it sent the judges of the courts of common law to the courts of equity, to learn by what law they were to decide.

The lord chancellor defended the clause, because, as from the opinions of the judges there were exceptions to the general rule, it was necessary to provide against them. With respect to courts of equity, the law of evidence was the same in those courts as in the courts of law, and therefore the objections upon this head fell to the ground, as the clause merely directed in fact that the laws of evidence should be resorted to.—Some further conversation ensued between several of the peers, when the clause was received, and added to the bill; but on the 17th of March, when the business was again brought under discussion,

discussion, it was agreed, after much debate, to commit the whole of the proviso, and leave the bill as it originally stood, merely declaratory of the law. The bill, thus amended, was finally passed and sent to the commons, where the subject of the proviso clause was also brought forward by the

Master of the rolls, who said that the object of the bill was to declare the law as it had been delivered in the opinions of the majority of the judges. They declared that, generally speaking, witnesses could not refuse to answer, on the ground that by so doing they would subject themselves to a civil suit. This declaration implied exceptions, though it was not mentioned what they were; it was, however, necessary to take care that whatever exceptions existed should not be set aside. The judges had given their opinion with a limitation: in the bill there was no limitation. The only limitation that could be meant by the judges was, that the rule should not be more compulsory on witnesses in a court of common law, than upon a defendant in equity answering a bill. To make the bill conformable to the opinion of the judges, he proposed a proviso, stating, first, that the rule should not be more compulsory on witnesses in a court of law, than upon defendants in equity. And, secondly, that the judges were to decide with respect to exceptions, in the same way as if the act had not passed.

The solicitor general objected to the proviso, because he thought it clear that a court of law ought not to take its rules of evidence from a court of equity. The doctrines of equity were of a comparatively modern date: those of law ought to stand upon their own grounds, without reference to the practice of the courts of equity. The objects in law and in equity were different. In equity, the purpose of a bill was to compel a defendant to answer against himself. In law, the object was to protect a person as much as possible from giving evidence against himself. The principles too were quite different; and, important as he thought it was that this bill should pass, he would much rather that it should be rejected, than that it should pass with this proviso. The bill, as it stood, expressed the opinions of the judges. It provided that a witness should not be excused from answering SOLELY on the grounds that the answer might subject him to a civil suit. But there were exceptions to the general rule, and these were left open as before.

The attorney general contended that the bill did not express the sentiments of the judges. They had given their opinion with a qualification, but here was no qualification. The *modes* of obtaining evidence, and not the rules, were different in law and equity. One buys for a valuable consideration, another presents an equitable title; yet in equity the former is protected. It is the same in the courts of law; but the origin of the rule was in the courts of equity, and the exceptions consequently originated there, for no grounds were to be found for them in law. He therefore supported the proviso.

The master of the rolls agreed that the judges of law ought not to resort for rules to courts of equity, but this was not the point: the object was to declare the law according to the opinion of the judges. Now the judges had meant some limitation, and the rule of equity was the only one they could mean, for there was

none in the books of law. He mentioned two cases upon which the judges seemed to rest, and in these it was determined that the witnesses could not be compelled to answer questions to which a defendant in equity might demur. According to the genius of the old law, no man could be required to answer, where the answer might prove a debt against himself, more than in cases where it might prove him guilty of felony. The object of the English law was not to reduce a person to the dilemma either of accusing himself or of being guilty of perjury. In equity, a defendant was required to answer against himself; but there were exceptions to the rule. This bill went further, and allowed no exceptions. According to the law, no man could be forced to answer in a case where he might be exposed to risk of any sort. The rule then was found in equity, and the judges themselves had gone to equity for it, and he only followed them there. As to the law judges going to equity, the statute of uses forced them to go there; for what did they know of uses till they found them in Chancery?

Mr. Percival thought, that the declaratory law would go beyond the opinion of the judges, and therefore agreed to the propriety of adding the proviso, if the bill was to pass.

Mr. Fox was satisfied that it would be better that the bill should not pass, than pass with such a proviso. He agreed that this bill was of peculiar importance, both because it was respecting a rule of daily application, and because there was a great difference of opinion respecting it. The judges had expressed, that "generally" a witness is obliged to answer questions that may even expose him to a civil action. The words of the bill are, That a witness cannot decline to answer, "solely," because such answer might expose him to a civil action. The word "solely" left the question still open to the judges, and did not take away any of the exceptions now existing. A witness might, after the passing of this act, decline to answer a question, not solely because it would expose him to a civil action, but because it might expose him to a particular sort of action, from which he was protected by the rule as it stands at present, subject to the exceptions which the judges meant. The passing the act in its present shape would only establish the present rule, but would not take away any of the existing objections. He believed the opinion of the judges to be right, but his opinion could add nothing to the weight of their authority. He knew that there had been at all times excellent judges, attached to the common law of England, and who would not travel into the courts of equity to learn the principles which were to determine the admission of evidence at law. In the present instance, the twelve judges who had delivered their opinions stated nothing of the practice of the courts of equity; he presumed, therefore, that their opinions were merely declaratory of the rule of evidence at law, and he should think it acting contrary to their opinions to introduce a proviso of a different nature. A proviso, to the same effect as that now proposed, had been introduced into the house of lords, and was at first received; but it was afterwards debated, and the sense of that house was so decidedly against it, that it was withdrawn. He said

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the proviso was useless, and thought it was highly necessary that the law should be settled upon this point.

Sir Vicary Gibbs considered the bill in no other light than as declaratory of what the majority of the judges had decided to be the law upon the case, and so far he certainly approved it; but, at the same time, he thought it behoved the house to exercise the utmost caution in adopting any proviso, by way of qualification, without being sure that it was a species of qualification reserved by the judges in laying down the general principle. The committee, before they adopted any amendment of that sort, should be convinced that it was coincident with the opinions of the judges. He was, therefore, decidedly against the proviso.

The question being then put upon the proviso clause, it was carried in the negative; and the bill being gone through was ordered to be reported next day: and on the 28th the solicitor general moved the order of the day for the third reading of this bill, when a long, learned and elaborate discussion took place, which it is not necessary to detail. The bill was then passed.

On the 3d day of March the earl of Bristol made a motion, of which he had given previous notice, respecting lord Ellenborough's seat in the cabinet. He assured their lordships that he was not actuated in this business by any narrow sentiments of party feeling, but that he was influenced entirely by his veneration and regard for the constitution, and his anxiety for the public welfare; nor would he have brought forward any motion, could he have induced his majesty's ministers by private application to retract the measure which had caused so much anxiety and distrust, viz. the appointment of the lord chief justice of the court of king's bench to be one of his majesty's cabinet ministers. Failing in these efforts, he considered it to be his duty to introduce a motion upon the subject, not for the purpose of embarrassing his majesty's ministers, or impeding their measures, but in order to bring into discussion a great constitutional question. With respect to the question itself, it had been admitted that lord Ellenborough was one of the members of what was called the cabinet, in support of which the case of lord Mansfield was quoted as a single precedent; and it cannot be doubted that the circumstance of his being chief justice and cabinet minister at the same time had clouded the lustre of his name, and laid him open to attacks to which he would not otherwise have been liable. Such a measure in its principle appeared to be utterly unconstitutional. The separation of the judicial from the legislative and executive power, had always been considered by the best writers as essential to the existence of public liberty and the welfare and happiness of a state. On this subject Montesquieu had dwelt with peculiar emphasis. To blend and amalgamate in the same person the judicial and executive functions, must in many cases be productive of the most serious consequences, while at the same time the public could never feel satisfied with the justice administered under such circumstances. The chief justice might, as a cabinet minister, concur in ordering a prosecution for a libel upon his majesty's ministers, and afterwards, as chief justice, have to try the very person

against whom he had ordered a prosecution; and this, too, for a a libel on himself, as one of the ministers. It might be said that the jury would decide on the case; the punishment, however, must be meted out by the very chief justice who was himself the party libelled. He protested against the dangerous tendency of such a principle, to the extension of which, if once admitted, there could be no limit. If it could be admitted that the chief justice might be a cabinet minister, the same principle might be extended to all the judges of the courts at law, and thus every distinction between the judicial and executive functions would be completely at an end. In delivering these opinions, he meant nothing personal to the present chief justice, for whose character he had the highest respect; he knew that the conduct of that noble and learned judge could not in the slightest degree be influenced by his situation as cabinet minister; but it was not enough that he was of this opinion, or that their lordships were of that opinion, but the public should be satisfied that there was no ground for suspecting that justice might not be duly administered. His ideas upon this subject were sanctioned by judge Blackstone, who had expressed himself clearly and decidedly upon the subject, and who declared that the judicial ought to be kept entirely separate and distinct from the legislative and executive functions, in order to maintain the constitution and preserve entire the liberties of the people. His lordship concluded by moving That it is inexpedient, and derogatory to the constitutional administration of justice, to summon to any committee or assembly of the privy council, any of the judges of his majesty's courts of common law.

Lord St. John thought that the present motion would afford a good opportunity for removing all objections, and of silencing every alarm which lord Ellenborough's appointment could possibly have caused. He could not help, however, expressing his surprise that the noble earl should assert that there existed only a single precedent; there surely were many: but he must first complain that the question was merely an abstract question. It stated the existence of no real evil; it dwelt only upon the apprehensions that some evil might result from it. To agitate, therefore, a mere abstract question of such a nature at the present moment, is not only idle but injudicious, and may give rise to difficulties of which the noble mover is not aware. Such questions should not be incautiously or wantonly indulged in. For his part, he looked only to the statutes for the law of the land; and if he found they warranted the appointment in question, and that there was no room for public alarm, no discussion of a mere speculative nature should prevent him from giving his negative to the motion. He should not ransack former times for precedents to justify the appointment; he would refer to the precedents at the time of the revolution and subsequent to that period. He should refer the noble earl to the authority of sir Edward Coke, and there he would see that not only the most eminent lawyers were consulted upon matters of law, but also on the gravest matters of high state policy. To consult the chief justices on such points was then no novel matter, indeed they were among the chief advisers of

of the crown. The noble lord took a short review of what regarded the question from the time of Edward the third, and argued that throughout the whole period the privy council was constituted nearly as it is at present. Let the situation of sir Francis North be recollected, and that of almost every one of the chief justices of the common pleas, all of whom, invested with the same pretensions, were members of the privy council. If he referred to the time of queen Anne, the same practice prevailed, and the lord chief justices of both benches were appointed members of the executive government: Could it therefore be said that the case was reduced to the authority of a single precedent? But if arguments of a similar tendency were to be looked for from analogy, they would occur in abundance. Upon a general survey, therefore, of the question, there could be found nothing in precedent, or in practice, or in analogy, that furnished any just ground for the noble earl's motion; he therefore hoped that he would withdraw it.

Lord Eldon would not argue this question under any personal or political bias. Sooner than be supposed to be actuated by disrespect towards the noble and learned lord whom it more particularly concerned, he should wish to have been absent altogether from the discussion: but he felt himself bound in duty to be present, and he thought that the appointment in question was unconstitutional. It was acknowledged not to be illegal, but perhaps what was legal might not always be constitutional: on these points, however, he could abide by the decision of the learned lord himself. He was confident that the learned lord was as sensible as he could be that it was not merely the simple administration of justice that could secure the right, and satisfy the minds of the people: they anxiously looked to its pure and unsuspected administration, and from such principles alone could they confidently rely upon the due preservation of their rights and liberties. Such were his feelings and opinion respecting the character which the administrators of justice should be thought to possess, and those he was equally satisfied were the sentiments of his noble and learned friend. Lord Mansfield, it is true, had been a member of what is called the cabinet; but this very circumstance hung like a weight upon that great man for nearly thirty years of his life, and his opinions respecting the habeas corpus had created a jealousy not easily allayed. On the point of the expediency of the appointment much might be said. When he in his capacity of attorney general had to contend against sedition and treason, had these cases been tried in the court of king's bench, what would have been the conduct of the lord chief justice had he been a member of the cabinet? Were he not to attend the privy council where evidence was taken on these cases, then he would have been a minister without performing his duty as such; or if he did not attend the king's bench, then he would have omitted his duty as a judge, when the characters and the lives of his fellow-subjects were at stake. Should he be called on, like lord chief justice Eyre, first to be consulted on the steps to be taken, and then to sit in judgment upon the persons accused, he should feel reason to hesitate; indeed he could never think this

conduct the most honourable part of that learned lord's life.

The earl of Carlisle thought the present motion had an obvious tendency to throw discredit upon the present administration, and weaken the confidence so justly reposed in them. Upon this ground he had a right to take his stand; and when an administration had been formed, comprising such great and splendid talents, he had a right to say that no motion ought to be brought forward on light and trivial grounds, that could tend to throw discredit upon their conduct. He therefore objected to the motion, because it could be productive of no good, and might tend to excite doubt and distrust in the minds of the people. The motion therefore was improper: if there was no evil existing, it was improper to excite doubt and distrust; and if there was an evil, it proposed for it no remedy. It frequently happened that writers made use of general expressions, without considering all the consequences to which they might lead. Thus, with respect to the quotation from Blackstone, stating that the judicial functions ought to be entirely separated,—such a separation was well known not to be admitted in the constitution of England. Independently of chief justices having been peers and legislating in that house, the house itself united in its own body the legislative and judicial functions. There was no end to the consequences of speculative theories of this kind, which merely asserted abstract propositions without affording any conclusion applicable to purposes of real utility.

Lord Boringdon urged the incompatibility of the two offices of cabinet minister and chief justice, to be not merely a circumstance discernible only by refined minds, but which was obvious to the most common observer. Much anxiety and distrust had, he contended, been excited in the public mind by the appointment of lord Ellenborough to a seat in the cabinet, and something ought to be done to allay these feelings. After other instances referred to by his lordship, It was well known, he said, that the judges of the courts of common law held their offices for life, or at least could only be removed for misconduct. It might happen that a judge, who was also a cabinet minister, might in his office of judge administer justice with unsullied honour and unimpeachable integrity, but who, as one of the king's ministers, might be impeached at their lordships' bar for high crimes and misdemeanors: he would then be placed in the singular situation of attending half his time as a judge upon the bench to administer justice, and the other half at their lordships' bar in his own defence.

Lord Sidmouth was convinced that this question might be fairly met, and put an end to, upon broad constitutional principles. He admitted that the noble earl (Bristol) was actuated by the purest and most disinterested motives; but he could not help deprecating any motion which went to deprive his majesty of the advice and assistance of the chief justice of the king's bench, which in the present instance might be deemed a great public calamity. The precedents already adduced had completely, in his opinion, established the principle of the chief justice being called to advise and assist in the council of his majesty; and it was remarkable that in the reign of queen Anne the

chief justice of the king's bench was not only an adviser of the council of regency, but one of the council of regency itself, which was to exercise the functions of royalty. He should therefore conceive himself to be acting upon the soundest constitutional principles in giving the motion his decided negative.

Lord Mulgrave said it was a peculiar circumstance that the present administration, which had to boast itself of containing all the great and eminent talents of the nation, should have thought it necessary to go out of the way to make the chief justice of the king's bench a member of the cabinet. They could not want him on the score of political assistance, nor, in truth, could he have been able to devote much time to political studies. The situation of a cabinet minister was indeed totally incompatible with that of chief justice; since to mix with the provisions, inquiries and directions for a prosecution, was inconsistent with an unprejudiced trial afterwards. A chief justice of the king's bench holds a situation independently of the pleasure of the crown: not so a member of the cabinet. Suppose then that an address should be presented to the throne to dismiss the noble lord from his presence and councils for ever, with what grace, after his dismission from the cabinet, could he retain his situation as chief justice of the king's bench? Upon every consideration, therefore, he should vote for the motion of the noble earl.

The earl of Caernarvon said he had paid great attention to the subject, the importance of which seemed to diminish in every step of the inquiry. He could find no trace of an objection made in any period of our history, nor of any specific danger imputed to a practice which had subsisted from the earliest times to the present moment. "I came down, however," says his lordship, "to this house, not without expectation that I might hear from noble and learned lords what had escaped my researches; and here I find that not a single circumstance can be adduced from whence danger may be inferred; no present abuse, no existing evil has been pretended. The noble and learned lord (Eldon) has admitted that the appointment is legal; he did not say it was unconstitutional, but inexpedient. It is therefore the learned lord's opinion that the king may constitutionally do that which he ought not to do; and the clear result of that opinion seems to be, that it is expedient for this house to censure the king for the legal and constitutional exercise of his royal prerogative. I learn from the noble mover, that it is expedient to wrench from the king's hands an acknowledged, unabused prerogative for ever, because some passages in Montesquieu and Blackstone have alarmed his imagination with inexplicable dangers; but the learned chief justice is not by his appointment such a minister of state as Blackstone describes, and does not come within the scope of his observation. The same writer, in another passage, treating of the councils provided by the constitution for the king, mentions the judges of the courts for law matters. The noble mover, however, thinks that the king should remain in ignorance of the law, rather than consult the judges provided by the constitution for his advisers in this matter. The noble lord objects to the king's advising with the judges in his cabinet coun-

cil, though he has reconciled his mind to the constant appointment of the chancellor to that situation, because the latter holds an office during the king's pleasure, which the former do not. The judges are also of council to the house of lords, and may be of the privy council; in both these situations all the effects must result from the same person holding the joint situation of counsellor and judge. The noble earl, therefore, would not obtain for the constitution that melioration which he proposes and expects from his motion; for it would still remain inherent in the principles of the constitution, in the privy council, in the king's power of consulting the judges individually and collectively, and in the construction of the house of lords: a total alteration, therefore, in the frame and texture of the constitution must follow, to give effect to his motion. It was incumbent on the noble mover to have shown that, at the period of the revolution, a specific change was made in this point, before he could be entitled to bar the search into antiquity. I will, however, mention an instance, which I think the most important of the older precedents, and which is the only one omitted by a noble lord. It is drawn, indeed, from turbulent times, but the very turbulence strengthens the inference drawn: I refer to the reign of Richard the second, when justice Tresilian, a favourite and cabinet counsellor to that unfortunate monarch, was impeached by the commons and condemned to death. Many of the judges, who were consulted upon law points, were also impeached and found guilty of treason: but they were not charged the one for sitting in the cabinet though a judge, nor the others for answering the legal questions put to them; but distinctly for giving bad advice and bad law, to the subversion of the constitution. This is therefore a strong instance of the unreproved exercise of the royal prerogative at that early period. The precedents already adduced have filled the whole intervening space to the late instance of lord Kenyon, and no objection to the practice has been pretended in that whole space, except in the case of lord Mansfield; but, even in this, it is certain that the imputation neither disquieted lord Mansfield, nor prevented lord Kenyon's appointment."

Lord Auckland gave a concise historical narrative of the instances in which the office of chief judge had been joined with that of privy council or statesman. Lord Coke gave an account of the memorable privy council of twelve, to which all matters of state were referred, and of which he was one: and from the earliest instance on record, in the thirteenth century, when Hubert de Burg the grand justiciary was also prime minister, it was the invariable custom of the constitution to make the chief justice a member of the king's council in all matters of state. The revolution made no change in this respect. Lord Hardwicke held the office of lord chancellor and chief justice of the king's bench at one and the same time, and for six months he sat in the cabinet. It was never then considered as at all incompatible with the principles of the constitution. Lord Mansfield was an efficient member of the cabinet for five years of the reign of George the second, and for six years of the present reign, and it had never been imputed to him as an impropriety.

Lord Hawkesbury spoke against the appointment, because he said it was calculated to take from the just authority of the king's government. For the noble and learned lord personally he had the highest respect and reverence. He could feel no other than joy at seeing him in the king's confidential councils. It was only as lord chief justice that he objected to him; he saw in his mixed character of politician and judge serious and alarming inconveniences: these the noble lord illustrated by examples. It had been asked, Why begin at the Revolution? Why not go back to the more remote parts of our history? Because it was not wise to go back to unsettled times for precedents; —because, before that time, the judges were not independent of the crown; and if they did not go back to bad times, the sole instance of such an appointment was lord Mansfield, for the case of lord Hardwicke was not to be mentioned as an example. In that case there was a special cause; and if special circumstances could be mentioned as a reason now, their lordships would never have heard of the present motion. Such was the case in 1788, when lord Kenyon was summoned to the cabinet; but, up to the present instant, lord Mansfield was the only chief justice who had ever been appointed to a permanent place in the cabinet; and he knew that, at a late period of life, when that noble and venerable lord was again invited to take a seat there, he declined it, with a hint of his uneasiness at having ever been drawn into the situation. It was different with the office of lord chancellor: he was properly the king's adviser in matters of law, his jurisdiction made it less dangerous, and he was the only judge who was removable at pleasure. The privy council was in its nature a judicial court: they tried questions of different sorts, but in all the committees of privy council for such trials, the chief justice of the court of king's bench was not present.

Lord Holland replied to the different lords who had supported the motion, and showed the many instances of judicial characters mixing in the executive in this country; and he adduced an instance in Scotland, where the present lord justice Clerk boasted from the bench of being a colonel of volunteers; and when a dispute between two members of his regiment came to be solemnly tried before him, he proposed himself to throw aside the character of the judge and settle it as their colonel.

Lord Grenville declared, that he alone was the person responsible to the country for the written advice that he had given to his majesty to call lord Ellenborough to his councils. It was legal, constitutional, and expedient. He had done it because the noble lord had an elevated mind, proper for the difficult times which we had to encounter; a firm mind to meet our dangers, and an unimpeached character in his high station to give authority to his advice: and he had chosen him that the country might see, in the difficult crisis which they were approaching, that they would have the highest legal councils.

The lord chancellor left the woolsack, and spoke against the motion. He wished the noble earl who brought it forward would follow the advice that had been given by the noble and learned lord who followed him, to the distinguished individual who was the object of it, viz. to reflect, and change his

opinion. Young as he was in that house, he would take upon himself to say that such a motion had never been made in it. If he did not vote against it, he should think that his majesty could not better exercise the prerogative which had been alluded to, than by immediately removing him from the situation which he had now the honour to hold. The motion was then put, and negatived without a division.

On the same day, in the house of commons, Mr. Spencer Stanhope introduced the discussion of the same subject. He solemnly disclaimed any disposition to throw impediments in the way of government by the course he was about to pursue. Although it happened that a similar motion to that which he proposed to make was to be brought forward that day in another place, yet he could assure the house that he did not act in concert with the noble lord who was to originate the business there. He was not unfriendly to the present administration; but the question to which he was to call the attention of the house was exceedingly interesting to the country, and had excited a strong sensation every where. He could have wished that the noble and learned lord, to whom his motion referred, had saved him the pain of making it by withdrawing himself from the situation in which he had been placed. He trusted he should be able to prove that the noble lord ought not to occupy such a place; but if he failed, he should have the consolation of affording gentlemen an opportunity of satisfying the house and the public on a subject that had given rise to so much anxiety. Here the honourable member moved that the king's speech, and the act of parliament in consequence of that speech, for securing the independence of the judges should be read. Upon this act he should take his stand. He looked upon it as a breach of this act to appoint any judge of common law to an office of emolument or power, or which was an object of honourable ambition, from which he might be removed at pleasure. Such an appointment tended to do away that independence which the bill was designed to secure. With regard to the circumstance of there being no salary annexed to the appointment, he was sure that could have little weight, as pecuniary emolument could not be supposed to have any influence upon honourable minds, compared with that of high office and dignified station. He did not mean to propose any limitation to the king's prerogative, when he could not approve of the appointment of a person to the cabinet whom he regarded as disqualified, particularly as to the judicial duty that he would have to execute in that situation. No such officer ought to be appointed an habitual adviser of his majesty. It was contrary to law and to common sense, that the same person should be judge and accuser; yet a chief justice, who had a seat in the cabinet, would often direct prosecutions in that capacity, over which prosecution he would afterwards sit as judge. Another consideration resulted from the particular case that had occurred last session, when the house directed that lord Melville should be prosecuted in the court of king's bench. That noble lord had been a member of the cabinet. If lord Ellenborough had been treasurer of the navy, he might have been in the same situation; and it would be matter of doubt whether he could be removed upon such an obvious charge, if the *quamdiu se bene*

bene gesserit applied only to his conduct in the character of judge. He was at a loss where to refer for precedents that would bear on the subject. He was aware that the case of lord Mansfield would be appealed to; but it was well known that he had been a high constitutional lawyer, and so little delicate on this head, that he felt no scruple to sit on the trial of lord George Gordon, under whose influence the riots had taken place which had produced so much injury to the public and to the noble and learned lord himself. He then came to the precedents on the other side; they all knew from history that Jefferies,—who was full as good a statesman as a judge, had been in that situation, and had been removed at the instance of that house. And in a more recent instance, the house had succeeded in obtaining the removal of a judge who had sacrificed his independence by accepting an office dependent on the board of control. Here, he observed, the question of salary had been entirely left out of consideration. It was only the sacrifice of his independence, by accepting a place from which he was removable at pleasure. His objection did not apply to the person of lord Ellenborough, who was as well qualified as any man to be a member of the cabinet, were he not already disqualified by bearing the office of a common law judge. The honourable member concluded his speech by moving resolutions to the following effect:—

1st. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this house, that it is highly expedient that his majesty's ministers of state, and confidential advisers of executive measures, should be kept totally distinct and separate from his officers who preside in his courts of justice.

2d. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this house, that the members of his majesty's privy council, whom his majesty directs to be habitually summoned to his cabinet, are, and are deemed to be, his confidential advisers of the executive measures.

3d. That for the chief justice of the king's bench to be in the practice of attending on such occasions is highly inexpedient, tending to the suspension of the constitutional execution of his judicial functions, and to render the administration of justice less satisfactory, if not less pure.

On the question being put on the first resolution,

Mr. Bond hoped that he should be able to persuade the house that there was nothing solid in the objections made by the last speaker to the appointment of his noble friend to the cabinet. He admitted, that if the noble lord had been called to a situation incompatible with his judicial functions; if he had been brought into an office that would impede the administration of justice and the law—whatever advantages might be derived from his eminent abilities, he would rather they should be all forgone than such consequences should be produced. He felt that the administration of justice was one of the greatest blessings any country could possess; it was that which secured the government and protected the people; but he wished the house to consider what would be the effect of calling lord Ellenborough to the cabinet. He was already independent, and had obtained the highest rank in his profession. He stood in that proud and exalted

situation in which no object could be presented to him to swerve from his duty. He was a public character, too, more under the observation of the public than any individual in the nation. All the business of his court was public, and there was a greater variety of cases submitted to its decisions than to that of any other court of justice. After many other compliments to the noble and learned judge, he said, As to the supposition of the incompatibility of the two offices, from the circumstance of the possibility of suspicion being entertained with respect to the administration of justice, the honourable gentleman stated the suspicion in the first resolution, and gave it up in the last, where he admitted the purity. If the purity of the administration of justice was doubted, then there might be ground for suspicion; but when that is admitted, the administration of justice must be satisfactory. What was the end the gentlemen proposed? What was the object of their record? What the end of their innovation? It had not been stated that the appointment was unconstitutional, illegal, or unprecedented. It was not unfair, therefore, to assume that the omission stated what amounted to an admission that it was not so. With regard to the effect of the chief justice prejudging a case from the discussion it might undergo in the cabinet, that would apply equally to all magistrates, who first examined the case by the testimony of witnesses, and afterwards sat at sessions. With respect to precedents, he admitted that it was better to look for them in modern times, though he could not allow that no instance was to be taken antecedent to the reign of George the third, to show the non-existence of that jealousy which in the present time began to display itself. In the reign of Edward the third it was enacted, that the chancellor and the king's chief justice should follow his majesty, in order that he might not want the advice of sages learned in the law. Here the honourable member introduced the precedents of modern times, which have already been quoted in the debate of the other house; and he added, that it should be recollected that this was the first time that mischievous effects had been ascribed to such a measure as that now under discussion. When it was considered that the measure had received the sanction of so many learned and upright judges; that it had been acted upon in the best periods of our history; and that now for the first time it was asserted that the appointment of the noble and learned lord would have the effect of corrupting the administration of justice; he implored the house not to remove a nobleman of such integrity and independence from the means of contributing to the public service by his counsels and advice. He concluded by moving that the order of the day be now read.

Mr. Canning said, there was one mode by which, if the services of lord Ellenborough were necessary in the cabinet, they might have been obtained without any objection whatever; and that was to have placed him at the head of his profession. He was sure, after the panegyric pronounced by the right honourable gentlemen upon the virtues and independence of that noble lord, he could not suppose that he would wish to cling to a place for life rather than accept a precarious

rious one. The objection that governed his opinion upon that subject was, that, by accepting a place from which he was removable at pleasure, he did away all the confidence that was produced by the independent circumstances of his other office. Would it be argued that the fear of his removal from the cabinet would have no effect on a chief justice? Would it be contended, that a seat in that cabinet was not an object of ambition? If ever there was a period that proved this more than any other, it was the present; for never had there been an instance in which such objects had been pursued with so much ardour and anxiety. The pure administration of justice was the great blessing which this country had to boast of; the peculiar advantage of our constitution, which had stood unimpaired amidst the shock of parties, and survived and flourished even amidst the troubles and distractions of rebellion, and the salutary effects of which nothing, he hoped, would be done this day to disturb. The noble lord, who was the immediate object of the motion, was in the administration of an office that had required all the intelligence and all the feelings of which man was capable. What he particularly complained of was, that the bench of justice, instead of being looked up to as the summit of elevation the law afforded, was to be, by the precedent of the noble lord's appointment, constituted the spring of a new ambition from which those who had obtained it were to start forward on a new career. Henceforth the study of the law would be cultivated for the attainment of a chief justice's seat merely as a step in the ladder of promotion, and as facilitating the access to greater honours. This was an evil so great to the constitution, that it could not be permitted to establish itself without the utmost mischief. It was no objection that it was not to be found directly prohibited. It was an evil so striking, that every mind must be impressed with a sense of it; and if it should not be checked by this motion, it would at least be ultimately mended by the reflections to which the discussion of this night would give rise. It was essential to the due administration of justice, that a judge should not be called upon to decide on his judgment-seat what he had already decided on in the cabinet as a minister. This mischief was particularly likely to happen in the case of prosecutions for libels on the government. There was no excuse for the appointment but necessity or expediency. There was no necessity in this case, and the expediency was far from being such as to warrant the proceeding. There was no analogy between the situation of chief justice in the cabinet and that of lord chancellor; the one was removable from his office at the pleasure of the crown, or by address from both houses of parliament. But would the chief-justice be removed for having given bad advice as a minister; or would he, because he was a judge, be tolerated as a minister after having given such advice? As the privileges of parliament and the rights of the people were valued, this association was to be deprecated: it was to be deprecated also in regard to the prerogative of the crown, to which nothing was more hostile than a removable cabinet. The noble lord was in a situation to do honour to himself, and essential service to the country, by the steady application of the talents which he undoubtedly possessed. But if the

whole benefit of the talents of the highest individual as a cabinet minister were summed up, it would in his opinion be dearly purchased by one hour's suspicion of any deficiency in the administration of justice.

Lord Temple regretted, that when, in making a motion to remove an individual, an attack was to be made on the king's prerogative, the honourable gentlemen who brought forward the motion did not weigh better the authorities on which it was grounded. Referring to every part of our history since the formation of the constitution, no such thing as a cabinet council was known or recognised. It was not till Charles the second's time that a select committee of the privy council was specially consulted on the affairs of government; and the king, recognising the practice as an innovation, promised in future to consult the whole council. When queen Anne was on her death-bed, and a select committee of the privy council sat regulating the succession, the dukes of Somerset and Argyle came into that Tory cabinet, and enforced their right as privy counsellors to be present at its deliberations and proceedings. The cabinet ministers were responsible for their conduct and advice, not as cabinet ministers, but in respect to the offices they held, and as privy counsellors. If the resolutions were to be carried, and lord Ellenborough to be removed from the cabinet, still the object would not be attained, as the noble and learned lord may advise the king as a privy counsellor and a peer without any restraint whatsoever. The principle of the motion would go to the length of establishing that no peer could be a privy counsellor, and no privy counsellor a peer. On the examination of the rebel lords in 1745, all the papers were laid before the house of lords by the lords of the cabinet, and these sat with the others as judges, and no objection was made. After his lordship had referred to other precedents, he concluded with saying, that from the earliest periods of our history the chief justice had been one of the king's vicegerents, one of the members of the council of regency, and always summoned to give his advice on cases of great public delinquency; of course the principle of constitutional law was in favour of the appointment.

Mr. Fox spoke to the following effect: "I must say that the introduction of this subject before the house is to me a matter of surprise. It is the first instance that ever I heard of such a thing as the cabinet council becoming the subject of debate in the house. I never knew of the exercise of the king's prerogative in the appointment of his ministers to be brought into question upon such grounds as have been stated this night. If there were personal objections, there would be a fair ground for an address to his majesty to advise the removal of such a person. Where no personal objections can be stated, one must hear it recommended with astonishment that a class of officers, who were admitted to be eligible to the privy council, should not be allowed to discharge the functions of a privy counsellor; should, in fact, be excluded from the performance of those very duties, which, on his admission to the privy council, he is sworn to perform. But in truth there is nothing in our constitution that recognises any such institution as a cabinet council; but names are of small account in this question. Call the

the council what you will, still the law can know nothing of its members but as privy counsellors. As the existence of a cabinet council, therefore, has never been legally acknowledged, there is of course no legal record of the members comprising any cabinet, and we have it not in our power to state any thing of authority upon the subject, but what may have come within our own observation, or may have been communicated to us by our fathers; therefore our precedents are few, and the gentlemen on the other side appear to doubt even the few we can offer. The cabinet is not a responsible body; there are to be seen many cases in which parliament have tried to get at the advisers of any particular act: but how have they done this? The mode alone will sustain my argument, that the cabinet councils are not legally known: for, in the addresses presented on such occasions, parliament applied to know by whom any measure may have been advised. Such an application serves to show that the cabinet has never been deemed a responsible body. Examine also the several articles of impeachment on record, and you can discover no instance of any man or body of men being impeached as cabinet counsellors: not one word is mentioned which could countenance the idea of any recognition of a responsible cabinet council. Among the leaders of those who promoted the impeachment of lord Oxford were very many able men; among others, sir Robert Walpole, who was seconded by another distinguished person by no means remarkable for moderation; yet even these active able men never, in their zeal to achieve their purpose, even hinted at the existence of a responsible cabinet council, the establishment of which would have so much facilitated their success. From this, and from other circumstances that apply, I infer that such a council was never legally conceived to exist. Therefore for the first time the honourable mover proposes to recognise the existence of such a body, and, if you adopt his proposition, you will introduce a complete novelty; and, I would ask, Do you mean to stop there? If you even do, I can assure you, as far as my influence can go, I will not allow you. For, if in any shape you acknowledge the existence of a cabinet council, we must go on to make such a body known to the house and to the laws. Some gentlemen may confound the functions of what is called the cabinet council, and therefore it may be necessary to state a distinction. Councils frequently meet for the purpose of affording to the members opportunities of consulting with each other, but with no intention of communicating the result to his majesty. Indeed, upon many points, it would not only be unnecessary but improper to communicate with his majesty. On other occasions the cabinet council meet to advise his majesty in person. In the former case responsibility can attach to no one; and to whom should responsibility attach in the latter description of meetings? To the agent, to be sure, who executes the plans resolved on. This I maintain to be well-founded. For if this committee of the privy council should order any project which did not meet my approbation, against which I should protest, still if the plan were exceptionable, my protest would not avail to acquit me of the responsibility that would arise upon the execution of it.

Gentle-

"Gentlemen on the other side appeared to overlook the privy council: Is not a seat there an object of ambition, and a removal from it the cause of mortification and disgrace? These counsellors are known to the law; and if any one of them should advise his majesty, he is responsible for such advice whether he belong to what is called the cabinet council or no. With regard to theoretical principles, the name of Montesquieu has been adduced: for this writer I entertain the highest respect; but the application of his opinions to the constitution of England I am not disposed to admit: he assumes that the legislative should be totally separate from the judicial functions. But will any man attempt to apply this rule to the constitution of England? With regard to Blackstone, I demur to his authority as a great constitutional writer. That the municipal law was laid down by him with uncommon perspicuity, and that he dilated upon it with great eloquence, I am ready to admit. His purity of style I particularly admire. He was distinguished as much for simplicity and strength as any writer in the English language. Upon this ground, therefore, I esteem judge Blackstone, but not as a constitutional writer. Besides, the words quoted from this author are quite misunderstood.—When Blackstone says that a judge should not be a minister of state, he means that he shall not administer the affairs of government. But that is quite a different thing from the manner in which the gentlemen on the other side would have it understood or applied.—I now come to the specific objections made to a chief justice of the court of king's bench sitting in the cabinet. The first relates to libels: in reply, I will only say that I never heard of such a thing as the propriety of prosecuting for a libel being at all agitated in a cabinet council. Sure I am that no such discussion ought to take place there. The consideration of questions of that nature properly belongs to the office of secretary of state for the home department; with whom it rests to give orders to the attorney-general to prosecute. But the case of treason has been alluded to; upon questions of this kind, lord Ellenborough is as liable to be summoned to attend the cabinet, as a privy counsellor, as he is in his present situation. I contend, however, that he is as unlikely to be seriously prepossessed by such previous examination, as the magistrates are who commit prisoners. But I have no hesitation in saying, that when a subject of high treason comes on for discussion in the cabinet, which may afterwards be brought to trial in the court of king's bench, the absence of the noble lord, who is the subject of this debate, from any such discussion would be most becoming. But how many are the subjects connected with war and peace, with our commerce and finances, upon which a lord chief justice may be consulted without exciting the slightest jealousy or objection?"

Mr. Fox now returned to the subject of the alleged incompatibility of the legislative and judicial functions; and, adverting to the statutes which applied to this question, he quoted the acts of regency adopted in the reign of queen Anne, and that also in the early part of his present majesty's reign. By both these acts, a council to assist the regent was appointed, and it was expressly provided

vided that the lord chief justice of the king's bench should be one of the council. In such a situation, the chief justice would have to perform the same functions as lord Ellenborough would be now called on to execute. After recapitulating and enforcing his several arguments, the right hon. gentleman insisted, that the proposition before the house was supported neither by precedent, law, argument, or expediency. He assured the right hon. mover and his supporters, that he was not at all willing to court or provoke opposition to his measures; indeed, he should be glad of the support of any set of gentlemen; but, if he were to have an opposition, he particularly wished that they might always choose such questions as those before the house.

Lord Castlereagh then rose. "In stating my sentiments," says he, "on the question, I should wish to examine how far the practice of introducing a common law judge, and more especially a chief justice, into the cabinet, can be justified upon the ground of direct precedent, or even of analogy drawn from their habitual introduction into other branches of the constitution. And first, as to those parliamentary precedents, which may be considered as of higher authority than the practice of any individual, however eminent or respectable. This part of the argument rests upon the three regency acts of 1705, 1751, and 1765, in all of which the name of the chief justice of the king's bench is introduced into the council of regency. It must be admitted, that these acts give some degree of countenance to the introduction of the chief justice into a situation of political trust, connected with the administration of the executive government. But when the right hon. gentleman assumes the regency council, which was a fixed body, not removable by the regent, and composed of other persons besides the executive officers of the crown, (the princes of the blood royal, for instance, and the archbishop of Canterbury) to be similar to the cabinet either in its constitution or in its functions, he assumes more than the obvious nature of that council will warrant. The general policy of these bills was, it is true, fully discussed, but no question was separately made upon the propriety of including the chief justice. His nomination passed in silence. It is also to be observed, except during the short period of about five weeks, which elapsed between the death of queen Anne and the arrival of George the first in England, that none of these acts were ever acted upon. No experience, therefore, could be had of their practical inconvenience in this or any other instance; but the most superficial consideration of them will be sufficient to satisfy any candid mind, that their frame and constitution is wholly inapplicable to the present times. Their authority as precedents in the debates on the regency in 1788, was generally condemned, and by no individual with more ability or effect than by the noble lord now at the head of his majesty's councils, when he filled the chair of this house. We have, however, a class of precedents entitled to more consideration; namely, those commissions proceeding immediately from the crown, which vest in certain persons under the title of *custodes regni*, removable at pleasure, and bearing, in that particular, a closer resemblance to the members of the cabinet, such powers as are necessary for carrying on the executive govern-

government in the absence of the king. Of these there are upwards of twenty which occur between the revolution and the year 1755, but in none does the name of the chief justice appear. The functions of the *custodes regni* being exercised under the direction of the sovereign, and upon communication with him, the same precautions were not requisite for the security of the rights of the crown which were necessary while the king was a minor; and this observation may explain why such characters as the archbishop of Canterbury and the chief justice of the king's bench were introduced into the parliamentary councils of regency, whilst they were excluded from those immediately appointed by the crown. The single precedent of modern times, on which any argument can be founded, is that of lord Mansfield; and in referring to that solitary case, it is fair to consider it as deriving a sanction, not only from the evidence it affords of that noble lord's own opinion on the subject, but from the acquiescence of those who either sat with him in the cabinet, or suffered him to sit there unquestioned in parliament. I consider the case of lord Mansfield as the only one really in point; that of lord Hardwicke being clearly inapplicable, inasmuch as he never had a seat in the cabinet till he had accepted the seals, and only held the chief-justiceship for a few months, till his successor, chief justice Lee, was appointed. He had then ceased to act as chief justice, and had taken upon him the character and all the functions of chancellor, political as well as judicial. It might well be contended that the weight of precedent, were it stronger than it is, would only go to render it more necessary to correct the practice if it be inexpedient, as I maintain it to be. The countenance which this measure may derive from precedent, may render less censurable those by whom it has been advised or adopted. But perseverance in a bad practice cannot be justified on any such ground. I own, however, that the precedent of lord Mansfield appears to me calculated rather to serve as a beacon to warn his successors from what they should avoid, than to operate as an encouragement to them to follow his example. No judge of more comprehensive knowledge, or of more splendid talents, ever sat upon the bench, yet no one ever possessed in a less degree the confidence of the public. He was regarded with jealousy (perhaps unjustly so), as carrying his political feelings with him into court, and was never able to conquer the effects of having so intimately connected himself with the politics and the party of the day. There is every reason to believe that lord Mansfield was himself deeply impressed with the sense of his own indiscretion in having become a member of the cabinet. He certainly declined to return to it after the year 1765, and is said to have lamented to the last hour of his life that he had ever suffered himself to be placed in this anomalous and hazardous predicament. The arguments drawn by analogy, from the circumstance of chief justices being habitually members of the house of peers and of the privy council, will prove nothing in support of their being called to the cabinet upon ordinary occasions, if the purposes for which they are placed in those situations are fairly considered. The house of lords being a judicial body, and a court of appeal, necessarily requires

quires the presence of legal characters to conduct a jurisdiction, which, in practice, devolves entirely on them; and no persons can be so fit to be intrusted with this task as the chief judges and superior members of the profession, without whose aid the whole direction of the house on legal subjects would devolve on the chancellor for the time being—a circumstance by no means to be desired. So introduced into the legislature, they are certainly not precluded by any law from entering into all the heat of politics: but it is equally certain, that in so doing they would forfeit much of the respect and reverence which is now paid to them; and it would be justly imputed to them as an impropriety of conduct, not considered as the necessary effect of their being admitted into the house of peers, if they should use the privileges of the peerage in a manner inconsistent with the dignity of the judicial character. The same reasoning applies to the privy council: the greater part of the business which comes before that council is of a judicial nature, and it is therefore necessary that persons of legal knowledge and experience should habitually attend on that body. Every privy counsellor is of course bound to afford his advice to his sovereign on all subjects upon which his majesty may think fit to call for it. On many points usually discussed in the cabinet, and not in the council at large, the assistance of the chief judges may be highly necessary, and to such an occasional recurrence for advice we do not object. But it does not follow from the right of the king to call upon every individual privy counsellor for advice as often as he shall see occasion, and from the obligation imposed upon such privy counsellor by his oath to advise when called upon, that it is an expedient or a constitutional exercise of the prerogative to summon a person who is made a privy counsellor in order that he may exercise judicial functions and be resorted to for occasional assistance on subjects of a special nature, to all the secret deliberations on state affairs, without any consideration of the purposes for which he was chiefly invested with the character of a privy counsellor: and it cannot, therefore, be contended, that the circumstance of a chief justice being a member of the privy council proves the fitness or propriety of his having a seat in the cabinet. The inconveniences that may arise from his being a permanent member of the government are many and obvious. But it is said by the right honourable gentleman, If a chief justice may not habitually advise his majesty on state affairs, why make him a privy councellor? and how did it happen that chief baron Eyre tried the prisoners for treason, on whose case he had previously decided in council? The first point has been already replied to; the latter will not appear to furnish the right honourable gentleman with any ground of argument, if the nature of the proceeding be fairly considered. Chief justice Eyre was not called to the cabinet to mix himself in politics, to connect himself with the administration of the day, or to exercise any political discretion whatever. He was summoned to the privy council at large as a magistrate; in that capacity alone he acted; his duty there was to hear the evidence against the prisoners, to decide whether it was sufficient to warrant a committal, and

and for what crime. His duty was in no respect distinguishable from that of any ordinary magistrate when a charge is brought before him. It never has been contended, that a justice of peace, by committing a prisoner, stood disqualified from determining on the charge as a grand juror, or of sitting on the bench as a judge. No reasonable objection can therefore be taken to the conduct of the chief baron. But if he had been consulted in the cabinet on the political expediency of bringing those persons to trial; if he had engaged in all the councils of government at that critical period, and had stored his mind with all the secret information which he would probably, have found there, bearing more or less on the cases of those prisoners; it would be monstrous to contend that under these circumstances, and with a mind so prepared, he could with propriety have been sent to sit in judgment upon the parties accused. In these reasons the practice of introducing a chief justice of the king's bench into the cabinet, as an habitual adviser of the measures of the executive government, appears to me to derive no countenance whatever from any analogy to be drawn from the introduction of that magistrate into the house of lords and privy council: as little can it be supported by the circumstance of the lord chancellor's being always a cabinet minister, though filling a judicial situation. In the first place, the chancellor is, *ex officio*, an executive officer of state measures. All treaties or instruments, with respect to our foreign relations, all grants at home, are sealed by him under his personal responsibility: it seems therefore indispensable that he should be a party to the councils of the government. But, except on trials before the peers, he exercises no criminal jurisdiction. He holds his office during pleasure: his political functions are not less prominent than his judicial duties: his existence in both capacities depends, like that of any other member of the executive government, upon the fate of the administration of the day. It is true that he is charged with judicial functions of the highest nature, but they relate not to the life or liberty of the subject; they are of a description much less likely to be exercised, or (which is not less material to the present question) to be suspected of being exercised, under any political bias, than those of the chief justice. Decisions on property seldom attract the attention, or rouse the feelings, of the public. The struggles of party have no connection with civil suits. The chancellor could but little serve the purposes of his party, or gratify his political resentments, by unjust decisions in his court. Besides, the suitor has always an option of carrying his cause in the first instance before the master of the rolls, a judicial officer, holding his situation like any other judge during good behaviour; and there is always an appeal open to the party from the decision of the chancellor to the house of lords. In the exercise of a criminal jurisdiction there is a wide difference. In such courts cases constantly arise which call forth the passions of the people. The judge who presides on such occasions can no otherwise hope to command the respect and confidence of the public, than by standing unconnected with the questions which come before him, and totally unconcerned in the event of the proceedings. But to pass on for the present

present from the consideration of the effects of this measure upon the character of a common law judge, should such a judge unfortunately be inclined to carry his party feelings and resentments with him to the bench, he certainly could apply them to purposes of oppression with much less control in criminal than in civil cases. A right honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. Bond) says, What has the chief justice in such cases to do but to declare the law, possibly aided by some of his brethren, the jury deciding on the fact? But, independently of the influence which the summing up of the judge must necessarily have upon the verdict, the right honourable gentleman forgets that to the judge exclusively belongs the determination of the quantum of punishment in cases where it is discretionary; and as in the infliction of fine and imprisonment there is seldom any precise standard, or any fixed principles to resort to, it is obvious that in no exercise of the judicial authority may abuse more easily prevail, or (which is hardly less mischievous) will it be more readily imputed. Being unable to sustain his argument either on the ground of precedent or by any analogy, the right hon. gentleman endeavours at once to get rid of the motion, by assuming that there is no such body known to the law or constitution as a cabinet council; that responsibility cannot attach to the individuals composing such a body; and that the constitution knows no responsibility, except in those executive officers of the crown, who in their respective departments carry the king's orders into execution. However it may suit the purposes of his present argument, I apprehend the right hon. gentleman would have been very little disposed, when he was himself out of office, to listen with patience to such a statement from a minister of the crown. What would he have said, if my late right honourable friend (Mr. Pitt) had disclaimed all responsibility on account of the late confederacy on the continent, referring his opponents to my noble friend in another house, (Lord Mulgrave,) as being alone responsible for all such measures, with the addition, perhaps, of the lord chancellor, who affixed the great seal to the treaties? Would any minister have availed himself of so contemptible a subterfuge, or would the house have endured such a doctrine? Is not the cabinet, in the modern practice of the constitution, as well known to parliament, as if the existence of such a council had been an object of express legislative provision? Have not the members of the cabinet been always considered by the country, and have they not always considered themselves, whatever might have been their offices, or even if they sat there without office, as both individually and collectively responsible for the measures of government? It may frequently be more difficult to establish the fact of the participation in the guilt of any criminal measure against the minister who has only advised, than it would be to prove it against the minister who has executed it; no other evidence being required in the latter case, than the order or instrument by which the criminal act has been either directed or performed. But the greater or less degree of difficulty which may attend the proofs of the fact in particular instances, cannot affect the general question of responsibility. Independently, however, of the application of the right honourable

gentleman's argument to the present question, it is of no small importance that the country at large, and that Europe, should be informed, whether the cabinet council, generally, with the noble lord (Grenville) at its head, is to be considered as responsible for all the measures of government; or whether those alone who carry into execution the respective acts are answerable. It is right that it should be distinctly understood, whether the only security we have for the administration of foreign affairs, on wise and sound principles, is the right honourable gentleman himself; whether the military system of the country is exclusively committed to the separate responsibility of the secretary of state for the war department; and whether the first lord of the treasury's responsibility is in the present administration to be really viewed upon all questions not immediately relating to that department, in no other light than in that of an ordinary privy counsellor. If the right honourable gentleman has failed in divesting lord Ellenborough of the responsible character of a minister, summoned, as he is acknowledged to be, habitually, and not occasionally, to the deliberations of the cabinet; if he has failed to disprove the obvious inconveniences, to say the least of such an union of incompatible functions in the same person, which must perpetually compel him to abandon his duty, either as a minister or as a judge; if he has failed to produce, either from precedent or analogy, any adequate arguments to sustain a practice so obviously injurious; as little has he succeeded in establishing any sufficient grounds, either of expediency or necessity, to justify, in the instance immediately before us, the adoption of a measure which is open on general principles to the strongest objection. And first, as to the necessity of it: Admitting, which I am perfectly ready to do, the personal qualifications of the individual for such a confidential trust, will the right honourable gentleman contend that, without recurring to the king's bench, it was not possible for them to form their government? Will he maintain, that at least adequate qualifications for the cabinet might not have been found in some other quarter? I am certainly not one of those who have discovered that the present administration comprehends all the talents, all the experience, all the respectability, or all the virtue, of the country. Would it not, on the contrary, be to disparage them unjustly, to suppose that this comprehensive union of parties did not in the whole extent of the various connections of which it consists, afford the means of supplying lord Ellenborough's place, leaving him at liberty to pursue the duties of his own high situation? Can the right honourable gentleman, in justice to his own chancellor, assert, that without the introduction of lord Ellenborough the cabinet would have been destitute of adequate legal abilities? Will he contend that the addition of the learned lord's political and constitutional knowledge was absolutely requisite to the constitution of the government? To the sound constitutional principles of the noble and learned lord I beg to be amongst the first to bear testimony. His presence in the cabinet is certainly a circumstance which creates confidence, and not distrust, in my mind. Were he there without prejudice to what I must deem duties of superior importance, I should rejoice at his appointment;

appointment; but I cannot persuade myself that his place might not have been supplied by others equally entitled, on general constitutional grounds, to my confidence, who appear to have been unaccountably excluded, whilst his lordship has been most unnecessarily included, in breach of constitutional policy, if not of law. If the appointment is not sustainable on the grounds of necessity, it appears still less capable of being supported on considerations of policy or expediency. Can the right honourable gentleman contemplate the judicial system of the country; can he advert to the wise principles upon which it has been framed and improved; the care that has been taken to render the situation of a judge, not only independent of every influence, and especially of that of the crown, but to consider them as a distinct order in the community, to which the nation might look up with unlimited confidence, as entirely devoted to the distribution of justice, and removed from the political cabals or party struggles of the times? Can we thus contemplate the dignified and useful situation of a judge, acting within his proper sphere, and deem it either of light importance, or of little danger, to call upon a chief justice to descend from such an eminence, for the purpose of involving himself in all the confusion and vicissitudes of political life? What estimate the right honourable gentleman is prepared at this moment to form of the confidence or popularity which attaches to the present administration, it is not for me to surmise; but whether he is disposed to feel more or less sanguine upon this point, I am sure he has known too much of political life, to take for granted, that it may not, in process of time, and perhaps at no very distant period, become not only unpopular, but odious. Why, then, in the eyes of the nation, are the character and influence of our first criminal judge, in short, all his best means of doing good, to be unnecessarily embarked in the frail and uncertain state of this or any administration? Why is he to be thus exposed to all the jealousy, to all the hatred, to all the reproaches, frequently most unjust, which those in high political station are doomed to suffer? As long as he remains on the bench of justice, abstracted from such struggles, whatever errors he may commit, however he may find himself compelled to act in opposition to the popular feeling, his conduct will be regarded with confidence, and even his mistakes will be respected; all parties will concur in upholding him: but let him once assume the character of a party man and a politician, let him once embark in the same bottom with the administration of the day, and he is immediately exposed to all the rancour, to all the fair censure, and to all the illiberal and unjust reproach to which governments are exposed: these popular prejudices will pursue him into the courts of justice, and he will there find suspicion and insinuation substituted for that confidence and reverence which attended on him while he was only a judge. Upon the whole, I consider the removal of the chief justice of the king's bench from his natural and proper functions, for the purpose of converting him into the mixed character of judge and politician, and of making him necessarily a member of a party, to be a most unwise, and, if persevered in, a most unjustifiable proceeding; that it is in the present instance to be defended on

no grounds of necessity, or even of apparent political expediency; that it is a practice not to be supported by any analogy known to the constitution; that the only instances from statute which can be argued in any degree to countenance it, are of imperfect authority in themselves, and are laws of a special nature, standing upon their own grounds, rather forming exceptions, than tending to establish a general rule; and that the only direct precedent, namely, that of lord Mansfield, amounts, when considered with all its circumstances and consequences, to a condemnation of the measure. I deprecate the practice, as calculated to raise a feeling with respect to the judicial system of the country, which perhaps, with the exception of the period when lord Mansfield presided on the bench, has never, at least in modern times, been known to exist In all the difficulties and dangers to which the establishments of the country have been exposed, the purity of the administration of justice has never been made a matter of question: the bitterest enemies of the constitution have never ventured to utter even a suspicion against it. It is that part of our system which in the eyes of every foreign nation most exalts and distinguishes the country; it is that, the value of which is most felt at home, and is calculated, from the universal sense of its approach to perfection, and the attachment which it commands, to protect and preserve the whole. Will then the right honourable gentleman, for purposes of party or personal convenience, venture to break in upon such a system? Can he pretend to say that its existence does not, above all other circumstances, depend on the independence of the judges? or could he point out any mode by which it is more likely to be seriously brought into disrepute and suspicion, than by making the judges politicians, and by re-placing them in any degree under the influence of the crown? I am satisfied that the public opinion was never more decided on any question than on the present. Whatever may be the result of the present discussion, the more the subject is examined, the less disposition there will be to persevere in it now, or to venture to recur to it at a future day. On these grounds I have felt it my duty to state fully my sentiments on the question, and I cannot conclude without expressing to the right hon. gentleman my conviction that he will find no reason to felicitate himself upon the part he has taken upon the present occasion; that, in proportion as the subject is canvassed and understood, the deliberate judgment of the public will be against him; and I think I may venture to assure him, that whatever political sins, either past or future, he may have to answer for to his country, for none will he find them less disposed to forgive him than for thus lending himself to a measure, the tendency of which is to break down the principles upon which the sure administration of public justice, and consequently the liberties of the British nation, pre-eminently depend.

Lord Henry Petty and Mr. Sheridan spoke against the motion; Mr. Percival and Mr. Wilberforce were for it, the latter of whom spoke at great length on the subject. The question was then called for and the house divided: for the motion 65, against it 222.

CHAP-

CHAPTER III.

Debate on India Affairs—Mr. Francis's Motion relative to Money said to have been lent to Guicowar—On Mr. Paul's Motion for certain Papers—State of the Military—Mr. Whitbread's Motion for a Return of the effective Volunteer Force—Bill for increasing the Number of foreign Troops—Discussion relative to the intended new Military Plans—Committee of Supply—Ordnance Estimates, and Debates occasioned by them—Mr. Windham's Plan of Defence stated, and Debate upon it.

THE affairs of India, which have, of late years, become of the utmost importance to the welfare of this country, occupied much of the time and attention of parliament during the sessions: the motions of Mr. Francis and Mr. Paull, stated in this chapter, were but preludes to longer and still more interesting discussions on the same subject. From these, we have been led to some very interesting debates on the state of the military, and to the development of Mr. Windham's plan of defence, which had been looked for with much anxiety, as well by the friends as by those inimical to the existing administration.

Mr. Francis rose, pursuant to notice, to move for the production of a document, which, he said, was at once of considerable importance and curiosity. But yet, as it related to a subject which appeared not to excite much interest in that house or the country, it might not excite adequate attention. He did feel indeed that the subject seemed to be not only disgusting in itself, but that he had to contend with an unwilling audience. This he justly conceived too much: still for five-and-twenty years he was irresistibly impelled by a sense of duty, by a consciousness of necessity, to bring the affairs of India before parliament and the country. India was every day becoming more formidable to this country, and every thing that related to our possessions in that quarter imperatively claimed the regards of parliament. The question which he had now to submit to the consideration of the house did not refer to war or peace, or to any topic of Indian policy: it was merely a point respecting finance, and was perhaps not a bad preface to the consideration of the motion of which an hon. gentleman (Mr. Paull) had given notice for that day. Motions of this nature the honourable gentleman conceived to be particularly necessary, in consequence of the irregular manner in which the accounts respecting India were laid before the house, or rather by the neglect, for some time, to make any official communication whatever from that quarter. No budget, it was to be recollected, was at all brought forward last sessions, and the noble lord who then presided over the board of control, accounted for that singular omission (nothing similar to which had ever occurred before, since the board of control was instituted) in this singular way, namely, that the necessary accounts had not arrived from India. This was certainly strange, and he recommended it to the particular attention of his majesty's present ministers. Since the end of March,

1803, no statement had been laid before parliament of the situation of the finances of India, which was, notwithstanding, known to be alarming. If he were to ask the reason why necessary accounts did not arrive in due time to enable the minister for India to bring forward the India budget last year, it would not surely be answered that those accounts were not sent from India in due time; for any such delay would involve the direct breach of an act of parliament. But if it were said that the dispatches were intercepted, that the ship which carried them was captured, and thus that our financial account fell into the hands of the enemy; then another question would arise. It was notorious that every captain intrusted with the conveyance of public dispatches to Europe is enjoined, by order of council, to have such dispatches suspended from out of the cabin window, with a lead attached to them, in order that when the ship should be in danger of falling into an enemy's hands the dispatches should be immediately thrown into the sea. If this salutary order had not been entirely discarded, he could not, by the way, conceive how it happened that so many important communications from India, both of a public and private nature, should have been intercepted by the enemy. He was the more surprised at this, when he considered the consequences which had resulted from the frequent loss of public documents from India; with the nature of many of which, and consequently with the state of India itself, we had of late years so often become acquainted through the press of Bonaparte. This was productive of serious injury to our interests, and the cause ought to be seriously inquired into. No man indeed could deny the importance of inquiry and explanation, respecting a country which yielded an annual revenue of between fifteen and twenty millions; and yet he recollected, that in the course of the last session, in the month of January, he and the noble lord opposite (Castlereagh) could scarcely get above twenty members to attend to the discussion of its interests. The hon. member, referring to the subject of his motion, observed, that it was connected with the Mahratta war; and, as he had before stated, he expected to have seen it explained in the printed papers before the house. But disappointed in that expectation, and finding no mention whatever made of it, he felt it necessary to move for the production of a special document to explain it. In the country of Guzerat, to the north-west of Bombay, there is a prince called Gwicowar: a part of his territory has been ceded to the company, partly to make good the pay of our subsidiary force stationed at Poona, and for other objects of indemnification. Out of that fund we ought to have received a considerable revenue; but to that prince the government of Bombay have lent a sum not much less than 360,000*l*. The documents relative to this extraordinary transaction, I think, ought to have been laid before the house. The question naturally arising out of it, which I should wish to put, is, upon what ground this loan was made by a distressed company, and particularly by Bombay, which is by far the most distressed presidency in India. In the papers that have been printed, I cannot find any thing to throw a ray of light upon the subject. The company take possession of the territory

tory of Gwicowar, they hold it in his name, and the first thing done is to lend him 360,000*l*. Why, on the very face of the transaction there was something very singular, and which called for explanation. The words of the official dispatch from Bombay, relative to this prince and territory, were these—"This state," we are told, "has for its present native ruler, a chieftain of avowedly weak intellects. Our support therefore must be extended to all the operations of its government; holding as we do the immediate charge of the Gwicowar chieftain's own guard, and dividing with his troops the garrison of his capital." This money, therefore, could not be necessary to the support of this prince, all the operations of whose government were in our hands. No, it could not be wanted or advanced for any such purpose. Was there any man, he would ask, who believed that Gwicowar ever received a shilling of this loan? If there was really such a man, he could only say that that man knew nothing of the politics of India. The hon. gentleman concluded by moving, That there should be laid before the house extracts of any letters or accounts received from the presidency of Bombay, relative to the sum of Bombay rupees, 31,25,944, inserted in the account of their disbursements for the year ending the 30th of April, 1803, and said to be money lent to Gwicowar.

Mr. H. Addington said, that had he been a member of the house the preceding day when the notice of this motion was given, he would have taken the liberty of asking the honourable gentleman to postpone bringing it forward, until the board to which he (Mr. Addington) had the honour to belong should have an opportunity of considering the subject, and inquiring into the nature of the papers connected with it. This indulgence, he hoped, the honourable mover would not be disinclined to grant to a board so recently appointed. The application would not, he trusted, be deemed unreasonable, when the nature of the business connected with their office was taken into view—when it was considered that it might be necessary to look over a number of papers, which the noble lord on the other side (lord Castlereagh) knew to be pretty voluminous, before an opinion could be formed, whether it would be consistent with the public interest to accede to the object of this motion.

Lord Castlereagh was as ready as any man to acknowledge the debt of gratitude which parliament and the country owed to the honourable mover for the zeal and assiduity which he had uniformly manifested upon the important subject of our interests in India. But in order to enter into that consideration, every part of the subject should be laid before the house. The whole of the question should be completely understood. With respect to the assertion, that the India budget not having been brought forward last session was a singular and unprecedented omission, he begged leave to set the honourable gentleman right, for precisely the same omission occurred the session before he entered into office (as president of the board of control). But as to the cause of the last omission, of which the honourable gentleman had complained, it was known to have proceeded from the delay of the accounts from India, which were indispensably necessary to the prepa-

ration of the budget, and the same cause occasioned the omission which took place before he entered into office. As to the motion before the house, he saw no objection to the production of the paper referred to. When that paper should be laid before the house, and the transaction to which it alluded should be fully understood, the impression on his mind was, that the honourable mover would find the loan not to have been improvidently advanced—that it was not money lent without a just motive or without ample security, but, on the contrary, that land was assigned to the company to ensure the repayment of this loan, and that this land was placed under the company's own administration. After a few words from lord Morpeth and Mr. Grant, Mr. Francis withdrew his motion.

Mr. Paull then rose to make the motion of which he had given notice, and he entreated the house to attend to what he humbly but honestly should submit to them. He was not one of those who subscribed to the congratulation on the prosperity of the affairs of the India company. He could not be a party to the blind confidence of that house, and of the country, which had contributed to the growth of an enemy more dangerous to this nation than all the flotillas assembled on the enemy's coasts. In the first week of the session he had given notice of a motion for an inquiry into this subject. He had since moved for the production of a letter from lord Melville, in 1793, to the court of directors, on the subject of the India company's debt. When the accounts of the death of marquis Cornwallis had reached this country, he had said that the sun of English power and glory had set in India. His motion for the inquiry had been delayed in consequence of the situations of the house and the government. As soon as the papers which he should that day move for should be produced, he would bring forward his motion for a committee of inquiry without delay. These papers would not take up much time in preparing, or in reading, for his motions would be answered by six simple negatives. The non-existence of such documents would prove a gross violation of law, by which it would appear that twenty millions had been misapplied. The act of 1793, which was stated to be an act for the regulation of forty millions of subjects, and of an immense revenue, and had been brought forward by lord Melville, had been violated in every instance. By this bill it was enacted, that one million a year of the territorial revenue should be applied to procure investments for commercial purposes to be imported into this country, and bring with them all the advantages to be derived from the importation. Since 1798, no such application of a million had taken place. The act also provided for the reduction of the debt of the company to two millions, and 500,000*l.* were directed to be applied to that use and no other. No such sum had been so applied; which had caused a misappropriation of a sum of eight millions, one million more than the amount of the debt at the passing of the act. Another clause in the act provided for the increase of the dividends to ten per cent. out of the profits on the investments; and this clause, which would have been much better kept in the breach than the observance, was the only one that had been fulfilled. The increase

crease of the dividend was to take place out of the produce of the commerce, and there could be no such profits whilst the investments were made by loans negotiated in India at an interest nominally of 10 per cent. but really at 15. By this a misapplication of 3,500,000*l.* had taken place. The next clause provided for the payment of 500,000*l.* annually to the public, which had never been carried into effect. On this score alone there was a misapplication of 7,000,000*l.* which, if paid regularly, would be sufficient to extinguish 35,000,000*l.* of the national debt. The act also directed, that if the sum could not be paid, the court of directors should make a representation to his majesty's chancellor of the exchequer, to be by him laid on the table of parliament, in order that the house might judge of the validity of the representation. After the sums directed to be applied to the reduction of the debt, and in discharge of the participation of the public, the remainder of the profits was to be applied to the purpose of a guarantee fund till it should amount to twelve millions, to cover the capital of the company; yet no such fund existed. Besides the men sent out, it appeared that bullion, or specie, to the value of seven or eight millions, had been sent out for the reduction of the debt, and yet not a shilling of it had been applied to that purpose. As soon as the returns should be made to his motions, he should move for the appointment of a committee of inquiry. By this gross mismanagement, the debt, which ought to have been reduced to two millions, was now thirty millions abroad, at home it was twelve millions, and seven millions to the public. He concluded by moving, that there be laid before the house an account of all the sums that had been paid by the court of directors of the India company, pursuant to the third section of an act of the 33d of his present majesty, chapter 52. On the question being put,

Lord Castlereagh did not mean to follow the honourable gentleman through all his matter, but trusted the house would indulge him whilst he said a few words in reply to some of his positions. He could not sit still whilst the honourable member suggested that there had been a misappropriation of the company's money to a great amount, and that that misappropriation had in part taken place whilst he had been himself in office. The honourable member would excuse him in saying, that he appeared either not to know, or to have hastily read, the act which he had quoted. The honourable gentleman seemed to confound two points that ought to be kept separate and distinct, the commercial and political interests of the country. As to what he had said of the exportation of bullion, that was a subject on which much prejudice had formerly prevailed; but such prejudice was now done away, as it had been latterly found that the exportation of bullion, under such circumstances, was most profitable and advantageous to the company's interests. The honourable gentleman had also confounded the appropriations abroad with the funds at home. The act provided not for the liquidation of the debt abroad, but for its transfer to Europe. The gentleman seemed to think that this house could control the revenue in India. This house could certainly provide how any surplus that might arise should be applied, and that was all that in common sense it could do.

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The first appropriation was for the military expenditure, the next for the civil establishment, and then for the investments and the reduction of the debt. He should first inquire if there had been any surplus, and in what year, before he could complain of a failure in complying with the act. The honourable gentleman attached blame to the India company, for not having made any representation to his majesty's chancellor of the exchequer, on the subject of the sums to be appropriated under the act. But the act required such representation only in case a surplus should exist, and peculiar circumstances should render a literal compliance with the act inexpedient. He was prepared to prove, that all his statements on the budget of 1802-3 were well-founded, and that the finances of the company were then in a flourishing state, before the commencement of the Mahratta war.

Lord Folkstone supported the motion of Mr. Paull, and thought that the inquiry ought not to be confined to the two last years. The act of parliament was considered by him as an agreement, and on a breach of any of the covenants the exclusive rights should be forfeited by the company. The noble lord then commented, with much ingenuity, on the different clauses of the act, corroborating the positions of the honourable mover. If the act had been violated, such violation ought to be accounted for. This could be best judged of by referring to the act itself.

Mr. Francis had heard many extraordinary statements in that house, but never any so extraordinary as those he had heard from the noble lord (Castlereagh) that night. The first related to a matter of fact, for the proof of which he appealed to the directors, whether or not they were free in their commercial speculations. They were men of honour, and would not deny the fact; and even if they should, he should on another occasion state his reasons for doubting such a statement. The proof he could appeal to was a letter of the secretary of the board of control to the directors, stating, that the board could not allow certain investments to take place, as they might cause uneasiness to the governor general. This letter they had published. So much for their commercial freedom. Neither were they free agents as to political matters. The noble lord had then stated, that the exportation of bullion was advantageous to the commerce of the company. Bullion to pay for investments which should be provided by tribute, without any expense! He appealed to any merchant in the house, whether such a circumstance could be advantageous, whether any country that paid its balances in specie had not the advantages of trade against it. But the bullion was sent out to reduce the debt, and he asked whether it had been so applied? No man could think it. Thirteen years of the charter had now elapsed, and no surplus had ever existed. The noble lord said the funds had failed. Why had they failed? That was what they wanted to know. If there had been no surplus, the whole act had been a nullity and fallacy, as he had stated it would be to Mr. Dundas when he proposed to bring it forward. He would show before this business was over, that he had been from the beginning the real friend of the company. The company were the victims,

victims, not the authors, of the system that had been followed. He acquitted the company of every charge, but that of having omitted to come to parliament to state the facts, when their debt had been increased beyond all moderation; and the act of parliament violated in every respect. The noble lord stated the Mahratta war in excuse for neglect of the act, as if the Mahratta war were a merit. He would again call the attention of a supine parliament, and a careless public, to a subject so truly important. The noble lord opposite had represented the affairs of the company as most prosperous in the year 1803. If they were, why had not the engagements of the company been fulfilled? why had not the company's debt been reduced to two millions, in compliance with the act of parliament, instead of being accumulated to 30 millions as it was? These things called for attention; for the difficulties of the company, if not looked to and remedied in time, would ultimately fall on the country. His endeavours to serve the company had been uniform and anxious; their consideration, unwilling, ungrateful, and unfeeling. Many years since he had recommended to them to renounce the sovereignty of the Indian territory, a sovereignty which had long been but nominal, and in fact ruinous to the company's interests. What was the use of territorial acquisition to a commercial body, particularly where their political sovereignty was but nominal? In a few years the Bengal investment was obtained for nothing; that is, it was furnished from the revenue of the province. But unhappily this facility led to habits of extravagance, in consequence of which every shilling's worth of investment must at present be purchased with funds sent from home. Thus the result of territorial acquisition, in a country where they had been admitted only as traders, was a losing trade; and now the only part of the company's trade that did yield a profit, was the trade with a country where entrance was denied to them (China).

Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Francis explained.

Mr. C. Grant begged leave to advert briefly to several points which had been noticed by gentlemen on the other side. The hon. gent. over against him (Mr. Francis) had given it as his opinion, that the East India company ought to have given up the sovereignty of India, and confined themselves entirely to their commercial regulations. But he differed widely from him on that subject, and asserted, that whenever the government of India should be taken into the hands of any administration whatever, the constitution of this country would be in the utmost danger. The country had been gained by the East India company, and since their charter had been granted they had managed it with a view to the advantage of our dominions at home, and that of India itself, as well as to their own. He touched upon the great advantages that had resulted to this country from the great fortunes which had been brought into it from India, and from other causes. There had been once the best founded hopes that the company would have been able to have added a considerable sum to the revenue of this country, but unfortunate events had, for a time, destroyed these hopes. They certainly had not been destroyed from any fault of the company; for,

for, from the time that marquis Cornwallis undertook the management of the affairs of India, a plan of the utmost œconomy had been established and agreed to by them. With regard to the question about the dividends, it had been said that they arise, not from the profits of trade, but from money borrowed in India. This, however, he contended was not the case. As to the exportation of bullion, it was merely an article of commerce, like any other article, and it was found more advantageous to carry on their commercial concerns in this way rather than by barter. Europe, in its commerce with Asia, had been generally obliged to make payments in bullion, because the habits and customs of the Asiatics were such as to prevent them from feeling as much want of those commodities which we could send them, as we did of theirs. They had less occasion for our productions than we had for theirs. He did not deny, however, that bullion had been sent out to pay part of the debt; but the war had absorbed the specie so sent. With respect to the freedom of the company in regulating their own commercial concerns, this was a delicate subject. The law was, that the company should have the complete direction of India affairs, subject to the control of the superior board. He had no hesitation in saying, that no interference had taken place in their common commercial concerns, though certainly in difficult cases, and those which were partly of a political nature, such as the question of private trade, there had undoubtedly been an interference. The military, financial, and political concerns had certainly been managed by the commissioners. As to the debt of the company, it had arisen chiefly from the wars which had broke out in Europe and India. What was its exact amount he did not know at present. Probably it was above twenty-seven millions; it might be thirty, as had been stated; and he allowed, that if it was to go on accumulating in this manner, the consequences might be serious to the company and to the country at large. But no blame attached to the company or to the administration. The enormous increase had arisen from events which they could not control. He had heard of a motion for a committee to inquire into the rise and progress of the debt. But this was not necessary, as the whole might be clearly perceived from the accounts. Such a measure would spread alarm among our friends, and might give confidence to our enemies. This, he thought, was to be avoided when there was no pressing necessity for it.

Mr. Francis, in explanation, observed that he had never given his opinion prospectively, as if he meant to say that the mode of conducting the government of India ought now to be altered.

Mr. secretary Fox observed, that the few words of explanation which had just fallen from his hon. friend rendered it less necessary for him to enter particularly upon this subject. He had understood him precisely as his explanation imported. He agreed that we were not now to revert to original theories; but when we were examining into the causes of important events which were extremely complicated in their nature, it was somewhat difficult to do so without, in some measure, adverting to such original theories. He, however, did not mean to say that any alteration ought at present to take place

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in the general system of Indian government as now by law established. He had occasion to state, at a former time, that there was a wide difference between disapproving of measures at their commencement, and afterwards rescinding them when they had been some time in practice. This he had said with regard to the union with Ireland. He had also disapproved of the plan for the government of India; but what he had said with regard to the union with Ireland, he now said respecting this plan of Indian government. It was, in his opinion, a bad one from the beginning; but as it had been adopted and acted upon, it was not now to be lightly rescinded. In ninety-nine cases of this nature out of a hundred, it was better to put up with many inconveniences arising from the first adoption of a measure, than hazard worse evils by premature and ill-considered alterations and innovations. This was his opinion. Now with respect to the details of this debate, he, speaking on the part of the public, would certainly say, that it was a most monstrous proposition to assert, that in the year 1803 the state of the company was highly affluent and prosperous. To be sure, the act of 1793 only applied to the surplus of the produce. But then it supposed that such a surplus was likely to exist, otherwise it would have been perfectly nugatory from the beginning. We were surely to conclude that there might be a surplus in such case. This certainly was not too much. But when we find that from 1793 to 1803, a period of ten years, no surplus had in fact existed, and that nothing had been done on the provisions of the act of parliament, such a long experience might be sufficient to convince us that the affairs of the company had not been in the very flourishing state in which they had been asserted to be. But we must say, after the passing of this act, and the long time that had elapsed, during which nothing had been done upon it, that the fair conclusion was, either that the surplus had been misapplied, or that the country had been most grossly deluded; and that instead of being in a flourishing condition, as had been pretended, the affairs of the company had in fact been in a most alarming situation; a situation which ought to have been explained and laid open to the public, instead of being carefully concealed from the public view. In his opinion, the unprosperous condition of the company's concerns had never been sufficiently accounted for. He did not say that he had heard a great deal on the subject, but what he had heard, in general, proceeded on false facts and false principles. We ought to have the accounts of the company before us, with a view to a full and complete examination, not for the purpose of retrospective inquiry into the conduct of the managers of the affairs of India, with the intention of throwing blame upon any body, but for the purpose of warning us (the present administration) against the errors which others had committed. No objection had been made to the motion of his hon. friend near him (Mr. Francis). He had only been requested to postpone it upon a point of convenience; to which he had properly agreed. Before he sat down he could not avoid paying that tribute of praise to the industry, perseverance, and clear-sighted policy of his hon. friend, on questions relative to India, which

which they so much deserved. No merit belonging to any other who had turned his attention to these subjects, however high it might be, could possibly be put in competition with that which his hon. friend might fairly and justly claim.

After a long debate, in which several other members took a part, the papers moved for were ordered.

Mr. Whitbread on the 27th of February moved for a return of the effective volunteer force: he thought there was no subject on which it behoved the house and the country to be more completely informed than this. They had been buoyed up with the most magnificent descriptions of the state of the voluntary defence, and it was expedient to ascertain the actual fact. It was of the utmost importance, previously to the sums being voted for the clothing and expenses of the volunteer establishment, that the house should know what number of men were likely to take the field in case of emergency. He knew that his honourable friends would give the subject all the attention that its great importance demanded, and he should leave it with confidence in their hands. He should wish, not only that the number of effective men should be clearly ascertained, but that the rank of the officers should likewise be considered and arranged. He was himself in the command of a volunteer corps, and he was solicitous that neither he, nor any other officer in a similar situation, should be circumstanced in that particular in the way in which he now was. He concluded with moving that the actual returns of the different volunteer corps &c. &c. &c. be laid before the house.

General Tarleton supported the motion: the volunteers, he said, and the public at large were anxious to know whether any new measure of defence was to be adopted. It was now the period at which a campaign usually commenced, and this, added to the dangers with which the country was menaced, pointed out the necessity of expediting as much as possible any military plans that might be in contemplation. The motion was agreed to.

By a former act his majesty's government was allowed to retain to the number of 10,000 foreign troops in Great-Britain.

The secretary of war now stated, that the recruiting of the German legion had occasioned an increase of three thousand men more than was permitted by that act; he therefore wished for leave to bring in a bill to extend the provisions of the act from 10,000 to 16,000.

Ever since the new administration had accepted their situations, it was generally expected that Mr. Windham, who was known to be inimical to the volunteer system, would supersede that system by some other effective military plan of defence. On the 5th of March Mr. Long, seeing Mr. Windham in his place, asked when he would be ready to lay before the house his plan with respect to the military. His object in putting the question was, that time was very pressing in consequence of the suspension which had taken place in the progress of those arrangements, and particularly in Ireland, to which the right hon. gentleman was known to be adverse.

Mr. Windham said that on a proper occasion he should not feel the slightest objection to answer such a question, but the hon. gentleman talked of a plan to be submitted to the house: What plan? He had given notice of none, and therefore

therefore it was surely irregular to mention one as expected from him. He would not certainly be led into a premature avowal of the measures that might be in the contemplation of government, by any question that curiosity might dictate, or that might be prompted by any views to excite the impatience of the public. He admitted that the dangerous state of the country, and of the defence of the country, had been, as they must be supposed unavoidably to have been, a chief object of attention with ministers from the first moment they entered upon office. The urgency of the case was most strongly felt, and so also were the difficulties which attended the attempt to answer that urgency. Assuredly no delay would take place, but government had determined not to bring forward any measure, without ample consideration; still he hoped that the period was not very distant when the measures in contemplation would attain a maturity which would justify their being submitted to the consideration of the house.

On a similar subject Mr. Canning rose to inquire, whether the notice with regard to the additional force act was meant to be followed up. The reason for putting this question was, that, while any suspense prevailed as to the intention of ministers, this act could not have its full effect: indeed it had already ceased to operate in many parts of the country.

Mr. Windham, in reply, said that in any military arrangements which he might have the honour of submitting to the house, the act alluded to would certainly have no place.

Lord Castlereagh on the 7th of March made ten motions relative to the effects of the additional force act, which were carried without opposition, and with very little comment. They related to the number of men raised under the additional force act:—to copies of certain letters on military affairs:—for a return of the number of men raised by the recruiting service since the 1st of Jan. 1801, and for a return of the effective strength of the military from the same period.

After a motion made by Mr. Whitbread on lord Melville's impeachment, to which we shall refer in another chapter,

General Tarleton adverted to what had fallen on a former evening from Mr. Windham. When called on to state his sentiments and determination, relative to what had been called the parish bill, that right hon. gentleman had declared that it occupied no place in the means which he had in contemplation for increasing the military force of the country. Although he had been adverse to the introduction of that bill, and had voted against it, yet now, when it began to operate and produce two or three hundred men a week, he should be unwilling to repeal it, until some very efficient substitute had been provided. These sentiments were strengthened by the consideration that the declarations made by government, of their intention to repeal the act, had caused it to operate under a very great disadvantage. Another part of the right hon. secretary's conduct on which he commented, was the hostility which he manifested to the volunteer system. This certainly was not the precise time at which it was expedient to damp the high spirit of those corps, and the officers by whom they were commanded. The observations of that

right hon. gentleman were not at all calculated to increase the ardour and enthusiasm which in military men were so indispensable. We had now arrived at the 7th of March, and had heard nothing but what had been wrung from him by necessity. When he was on the opposition bench, he was always pregnant with schemes, but since his admission into power nothing had proceeded from him. These were not times, however, for mere speculation; the country did not want theorists, orators, or metaphysicians, but practical men who were able to serve her, and who were willing to exhaust their talents and shed their blood in her service. One of two things must be done; either another continental coalition must be formed to divert the efforts of the common enemy, or this country must be quickly prepared to make a formidable resistance to the danger by which she was threatened.

Mr. secretary Windham observed, that with regard to the volunteer system, he was not at liberty to enter into any justification of himself; it was not, therefore, fair to bring charges against him when he was precluded from answering and repelling them. He had been blamed for delay. Delay was a relative term: what might appear as delay in one point of view, might assume the semblance of precipitation in another. The gallant general seemed desirous of carrying the ardour and quickness of decision necessary in the field, into the cabinet. But for himself, he could not consider that time misemployed, which was devoted to the serious consideration of the important subjects alluded to; a consideration, assisted by the opinion of all those who were most competent to judge of the comparative excellence of different measures. As to the effect that his sentiments might have on the country, how was he culpable? He was in a manner compelled to declare his opinion of the general defence act. Did the hon. gentleman wish him to utter a false declaration? His opinion of its demerits was just the same as it ever had been, and he was bound to say so.

After some further discussions by the same gentlemen and Mr. Canning, the house went into a committee of supply, when 134,473 men were granted to his majesty, with a sum of money for the maintenance of the same.

When the subject of the ordnance estimates was reported, on the 17th of March,

General Tarleton made some observations; of which, the first referred to the additional force act; which, notwithstanding the ridicule thrown out against it, he understood had been extremely productive for the last six weeks, particularly in distant parts of the country where its operations had not been paralysed by the rumour of the intended change. The volunteer system had also been derided by the right hon. secretary, and yet he had brought nothing as a substitute in its place. He had been a military man for more than thirty years, and had seen some service, but his ideas of conducting war were very very different from those of the right hon. secretary; through whom, instead of that activity which the urgency of the times demanded, our military preparations were standing still, or even retrograde. The estimates now before the house were the same with those of last year, and no improvement had taken place upon them; but he

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was convinced, had a late distinguished minister lived, they would ere now have undergone much alteration. The battle of Trafalgar had made a great alteration in the state of the country; its effects were most decisive. The enemy might build ships, but these were no better than toys while they wanted seamen to man them. This victory had placed the country in a state of comparative security; but we ought to look at the opposite harbours of the enemy, and to the flotilla that threatens our shores. In the event of the enemy's landing, though the best military situations would be taken, yet he could not but object to Woolwich being the only depôt of arms. He conceived that a central depôt should be established in the heart of the kingdom; because, if the enemy were to effect a landing, it might be necessary to fight a battle for the protection of Woolwich, under disadvantageous circumstances. But were the great depôt removed to the centre of the kingdom, no such necessity could happen, and no man would fight with less ardour for such a precaution being adopted. But should the enemy gain possession of the south, he trusted that the bravery of the north would recover what had been lost.

Mr. Calcraft said, he should not follow the hon. gentleman in the topics which he chose to discuss, but confine himself to the subject of the ordnance estimates, with the merit or demerit of which those who have the direction of that branch of the public service have little to do. They found them ready formed, and, under existing circumstances, deemed it eligible to adopt them; and so far from depreciating their merits, he was ready to defend their adoption against any censure which might be thrown out against them. The noble lord at the head of that department had found that great expenditures had already been devoted to the establishment of old works, and systems of defence begun, which he deemed it more eligible to complete than to attempt the erection of new. For such others as might be wanted a large sum had been granted, which would be returned if the expenditure were deemed unnecessary by the master of the ordnance.

Lord Castlereagh expressed his hope, that it was the intention of the right hon. secretary in the war department to follow up the plan upon the eastern coast which had been recommended by his late right hon. friend. Though it did not form an article in the estimates, yet it would have been proposed had his right hon. friend been able to attend in his place; for, in his opinion, there was no object more essential; because, in presenting a strong defence on that point, should the enemy approach our coast, seeing the impracticability of making any impression in that quarter, their efforts would be thrown upon the flanks; in consequence of which they would be forced to traverse a considerable distance by sea, in endeavouring to direct their efforts to the north or south. In this case, there would be a great probability of their falling in with the heavy ships of our navy, and being totally defeated. He felt this point to be so important, that he wished to impress it upon the minds of his majesty's ministers, and to express his hope, that no attention to a false or delusive œconomy would induce them to be sparing in the expenditure necessary for absolute safety. Indeed, from what he knew of the noble lord at the head of that department, he was convinced that

the importance of this consideration would be too deeply felt to stand one moment in competition with an ill-timed parsimony. A plan of general defence was indispensable for the security of Ireland: it ought no longer to remain in a situation in which an enemy, landing with an effective force, might march from one end to the other unimpeded by a fortified post of sufficient strength to embarrass their progress. He therefore wished ministers to make up their minds to the necessity of a liberal expense, to render the system fully adequate to the pressure of the occasion. He admitted the propriety of dividing the depôts of ordnance and arms; and in pursuance of this plan a central depôt had been formed, in which particular attention had been paid to an adequate supply of small arms and of ammunition. A train of artillery had been added, fully manned and horsed; but the artillery for our navy, with its appropriate ammunition, was so ponderous as not to be very easy of removal: therefore the principal depôt still remained at Woolwich, with minor arsenals at Plymouth and Portsmouth. He did not mean to press his majesty's ministers to a disclosure of their plan of defence, if the whole were not in readiness to be brought forward: but it was extremely desirable that some explanation should be given, whether or not the additional force act was to form a part of that system. The operation of that act, which had been unjustly depreciated, could be proved to have been more effective than the enemies of the measure were willing to allow; so much so, as to merit the mature deliberations of ministers before it was wholly abandoned.

Mr. Windham said, the charge of supineness could with more propriety be retorted upon those who, from the badness of the system they themselves had formed, had occasioned all the difficulty and delay of which they complained. The noble lord, too, for whose advice and counsel his majesty's ministers felt all due obligation, betrayed great solicitude for the state of the country, and wondrous impatience to be acquainted with the system upon which they, to whom the safety of the kingdom was now confided, meant to proceed. The noble lord and his colleagues, like unskilful physicians, possibly grounded their alarms on a conscious sense of the danger in which they had left the patient, and wished now to exert their skill in advising their successors; but those successors begged leave to decline their aid, as wholly disapproving their system, and not conceiving their advice very conducive to the convalescence of their patient. Both the honourable members were solicitous to know whether the additional force act was to be continued, or what other measures were to be pursued. He would reply, that such was the situation in which the military system of the country was left by the noble lord and his colleagues, that it was extremely difficult to determine what to do. What was to be the general system he begged leave at that moment to decline explaining; but it was likely that the bill alluded to would form no part of the system. With regard to the volunteers, he would add, that on this or any other part of the plan he would not suffer himself to be betrayed into a premature disclosure.

Mr. Canning expressed his astonishment that the right honourable secretary, who formerly thought a proper

proper plan of defence a matter of so much facility as to be obvious almost to every man, should now find so much difficulty, and exhibit such tardiness in producing any plan. The house had been occupied for four years past by the complaints and invectives of the right hon. secretary and his friends against his majesty's late ministers, and in impressing upon the house and country the great hopes that were to be formed upon a broad-bottomed administration, including all the talents, character, respectability, virtue, rank, and eloquence, of the country. The object of the right hon. gentleman and his friends had been at length answered: they had got every thing their own way, and to the extent of their wishes; and yet, with all this concentration and conflagration of talents, six weeks were now elapsed, without their being able to propose any thing like a military system to please themselves. He understood it was a principle of the present administration, that the person at the head of each department was to be solely responsible for the transactions in his department; but whatever degree of confidence he might be disposed to attach to the general responsibility of the present administration, taken as a whole, he could not confide in them individually as their parts were cast, particularly in the war department; for he had no hesitation in saying, and he believed he spoke the opinion of ninety-nine in a hundred throughout the country, that the right hon. gentleman ought not to be regarded as a competent war minister. He might carry his objections still further, but his confidence was rather directed to that great superintending spirit which is supposed to have the chief direction and management.

Mr. Whitbread replied to the several arguments adduced by the last speaker, who, he said, seemed uneasy lest the volunteers should take alarm at the present suspense, as to what measures were to be adopted respecting them. He had the honour of being a volunteer, but felt no such alarm; and he was confident also that no such alarm could be felt by volunteers in general, as friends to their country, in consequence of any uncertainty under which they might remain until ministers brought forward their plan. He wished to know upon what authority the great efficacy of the additional force bill had been asserted, and how that bill, when administered by that right hon. gentleman and his friends, should be so unproductive; and yet so effective, now that they had ceased to have the management of it. In respect to the delay of which he complained, six weeks only had elapsed since his hon. friend had come into office; a period surely not unreasonably long to require for investigating the whole military system of the country, and endeavouring to form a bill free from those defects and blunders with which it was fraught under his predecessors.

Mr. Fox in reply to Mr. Canning, who had stated that the present ministry comprised all the talent in the country, and had stated it in such a manner as might lead to the supposition that they had so represented themselves, observed, that it was impossible they could have said so, when they saw the right hon. gentleman on the other side of the house. Not only the right hon. gentleman, but his colleagues

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on the same bench with him, had made such a representation impossible, particularly by the display of talent which they had already made in opposition. It was possible, some of the friends of the present ministry, thinking too highly of their merits, might from prejudice or partiality have so described them; but he thought it was hardly decent for the friends of the right hon. gentleman lately deceased, to be the first to object to that species of compliment. With respect to his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham), the right hon. gentleman had said that he had no opinion of him, nor any confidence in him as a war minister. Yet he does not propose to turn him out—but says, "Before you have matured your plan explain the nature of it." Was it a fair inference of want of confidence, to require of his right hon. friend to tell them the nature of his plan out of time? His right hon. friend admitted that he was not completely ready. Delay is complained of: it was not till the seventh of February that his right hon. friend's writ was moved. The right hon. gentleman (Mr. Pitt) to whom neither delay nor any other bad quality would be imputed, did not for four weeks after his return to power bring in his additional force bill: the time which intervened was nearly as long as in the present instance. There a single act only was to be introduced: here a new system was to be formed. There, however, no objection of delay was started, neither were any premature inquiries made into the nature of the plan which he intended to adopt. If there had been any such, how awkwardly must that gentleman have found himself, in declaring it to be built on a system such as himself had been decrying within the last three weeks! The right hon. secretary declared that he could not figure to himself any reason for putting questions like the present, but a wish to embarrass. What good motive could the persisting in it proceed from, when his friend had said he was not quite ready to bring forward his measure? If he was guilty of delay, why not bring against him a charge to that effect, and let his conduct be the subject of parliamentary inquiry? But what advantage could proceed from a premature declaration, similar to that now required? From what motive but a bad one could the wish to procure such a declaration proceed? If, before the plan of the military arrangements now in agitation had been ready to be laid before the house, his right hon. friend had at once moved for the repeal of the additional force bill, while nothing was ready to be substituted in its stead, what would the right hon. gentleman have said? Would he not have said: Here is your haste to show your triumph over the gentleman who is now no more!—could you not have waited with patience, and allowed the act to take its course till you were ready with a substitute? He would appeal to the right hon. gentleman if that would not have been his conduct; and if his friend now said that this bill formed no part of his plan, did it not follow that this was not the time to discuss its merits?—After a few words by way of explanation from Mr. Canning, the report was brought up, and the resolutions were agreed to.

On the 2d of April Mr. Windham rose, to postpone till the next day the motion of which he had given

given notice for this day, with regard to the defence of the country. This delay was, he said, as unexpected to him as no doubt it would be to the house. But the cause was the indisposition of his right hon. friend (Mr. Fox), which rendered him unable to attend. He has, said Mr. Windham, been ill for the last two days, but he is much better to-day. I have been just with him, and he thinks he shall be able to attend to-morrow: I trust he will, for I should naturally be unwilling to bring forward the subject in his absence.

According to his previous notice Mr. Windham on the 3d of April proceeded to unfold his plan of military defence. He did not know what gentlemen expected of him; but if they imagined that the moment he had taken his seat in office he was to come forward for the purpose of effectuating some great and sudden change, he could only say that such an expectation was founded on nothing that had been said by him, either before his accession to office or since. The observations thrown out, and the principles laid down, did not apply particularly to any emergency, or to any particular state of affairs; but they went to the great and important object of a general and permanent plan. Such a measure required careful and attentive consideration. It was a matter of the highest interest. He had never thought them so exceedingly bad, as to put him under the necessity of being violent, of falling to work immediately, so that instantly we might effect a great change. Changes for the better he readily admitted could not be commenced too soon; still he thought a little sooner or later was not very material. The house were to consider how to put the military establishment of the country upon a better footing than it now was, and how to provide not merely against temporary but against permanent dangers. The great mischief had existed in the false view that had so long been taken of a most important subject. The first great thing in his mind was to create, or to provide for the existence and maintenance of, what is called an army, a body separated from the rest of the community, governed by laws of its own, withdrawn from society to a certain degree—a body that neither toils nor spins, that professes neither trade nor profession but that of war, and whose great object is to destroy the enemies of the country, and therefore exempted from the public duties to which other subjects are liable. He did not mean to say that the country had not such an army already in great perfection in many respects. Though the interests of the army had always been expressed in the professions of gentlemen in parliament; though the house had been, for many years, toiling at military measures, all professedly for the improvement of the military force; yet what was done? Our heads were filled with levies *en masse*, with armed citizens, with armed nations, with notions of 800,000 men in arms, till we almost forgot the character and importance of the object we wished to attain. We thought only of getting a number of men together in any way, with the advantage of some knowledge of military tactics, and then we thought we had made up an army: but it was not a difficult thing to prove that an army without military law was a solecism. Its very existence depended upon it. Whatever objections might be made against military

laws, they were absolutely necessary in the formation of an army. These bodies of men were those who turned the fate of empires. Men did not, in general, come forward in great masses to attack others, or to defend themselves. These accumulations were very rare. Look at the battles of Marengo and Austerlitz: great as these battles were, and numerous as were the armies, and great as the slaughter must have been, yet how slight were those compared with the millions who hung upon their fate, and fell with the unsuccessful hosts! Let us then talk with some caution of the strength of nations without armies. Masses had seldom or ever done much. They might be very valuable: but they were like the iron in Swedish mines, of little advantage till forged and hammered, and brought into some useful state by the hand of the manufacturer. When we heard of the French and Austrian army advancing to meet each other, we thought only of the movements of the two armies. If *no army* opposed him, we did not think of any thing else to prevent Buonaparte from going to Vienna. After the business with general Mack, we imagined he would proceed to that capital. There was nothing in his way:—but were there no inhabitants; no warlike inhabitants with strength in their limbs or courage in their hearts, animated by loyalty to their own sovereign, and a detestation of the invader? But he proceeded through such a population, as through a medium almost as unresisting as air. That this country would do more than the continental nations had done, under such circumstances, from its public spirit, its love of liberty, and its indignant feelings towards the invader, was a sentiment very generally entertained, and which he fondly cherished; but he would not rest the safety of the country there. Look to Switzerland; the country and people peculiarly calculated to resist invasion. Every body knew the character of the Swiss: men of powerful athletic strength and stature, proverbially courageous, a nation of warriors, peculiarly attached to their country, and that country deemed almost invincible. Nothing, in fact, was safe to suppose against what our experience of the world taught us. We ought, on every consideration, to be especially careful of our regular army. If ever a French army should land in these countries, there were no less than 100,000 men of our national military force that could never possibly have seen a battle, till the very time when they would have to engage the enemy.

Having mentioned these facts, he would proceed to state those measures by which he thought the object he had in view would be best provided for on a permanent footing. It was far from his plan to arraign the present discipline of our army. There were but two ways in which we could raise men, either by choice or by force. In countries ruled by arbitrary governments, which allow the principle of force, the means are unquestionably the most direct, certain and efficacious for the end proposed. But here we must go by written laws, and act by them strictly. Some persons were disposed to raise the cry of 'compulsion:' but we did not compel men; we compelled only the payment of money. Compulsion was only used in a figurative sense; as, in the militia, we compelled one man to pay, that another might

might serve. The principle was not a good one. If we avoided the inconvenience of raising by bounty, and converted it into a fine, then we absolutely converted it into a pure tax. As to the mode of laying the sum, if we laid a million, it might not, in the state of the wealth of this nation, be considered as any thing; it might not be felt: but if we divided it into shares of 20*l.* each, we should make it operate severely on objects; we should crush many individuals; we should draw blood at every stroke. All our late schemes to obtain men had been defective; which arose from our leaving the military life destitute of proper advantages. We had been driving a false trade, and taking goods to market not worth the money we asked. The thing offered had not been worth the acceptance of the men whom we wished to engage. What then is to be done? Why, make the military life more desirable. There are two ways, bounty or ballot. There was a time when scarcely any bounty was given. Officers were even reproved in the beginning of the American war for having given recruits the sum of two guineas. Then the service stood on its natural foundation, and the bounty was the service—a military office was fairly offered to all those who liked a military life. The military life was a species of trade: in most trades it was customary frequently to pay a premium for an apprenticeship to learn the art and mystery; but here we give a man a premium to take our bargain off our hands: a proof that our system is wrong. The army can never be in its natural state, till we can revert to its situation forty years ago. In other avocations of life men could always be had by adopting proper means: why not take the usual mode of traders, by the fair operations of a fair bargain offered to the population of the country? Let recruiting have fair play:—let it go to the wakes and the fairs and other country meetings:—let it travel about as well as the additional force bill. When the trade was fair, there could be no objection to a good advertisement; but it was when the trade is an unfair one that he condemned the arts of seduction. One method of making the military life more estimable was that of raising the pay: but too much pay would soon promote licentiousness, and that would occasion a necessary increased severity of discipline, which would diminish the attraction.—There was a dignity attending the profession of arms, that animated the people with a desire of a military life. They could be paid in this way of life, by distinctions, cheaper than in any other; and government had in its hands means, possessed by no private trader, of conferring honours suited to the different ranks and conditions. But there was another thing that would assist us prodigiously; which was, altering the nature of the service to a limited term: this would bring the constitution, in one material point, to a resemblance to the armies on the continent, and to no small portion of our own. The hundred thousand men he had before alluded to, all served on such terms with respect to time. He was always fearful of making any unnecessary changes, he had that principle strong on his mind; but still he could never entertain any apprehension upon this subject. He might even say it opened the door to improved discipline, by rewards, and by lessening the frequency of corporeal punishments,

which, however, he knew could not be entirely abolished. When there were spirits in great numbers, discipline must be maintained rigidly; but he thought various means might be applied to diminish the evil, and above all by getting a better description of men into the service. His conviction was, that it would improve the discipline. Then came the subject of desertion. But if the noble lord (Castlereagh) would examine into the state of a recent act, he would find not fewer than one-fifth of the number raised had deserted. This was one of the consequences of pursuing that vicious system of purchasing by high bounties. The objection to a limited time of service which seemed to him to have most weight, was that respecting foreign and colonial service, and this was particularly important in considering a British army. But it must be admitted that this objection was a distant one, and gave time enough for the adoption of various modes of obviating any of the ill effects supposed.

In the variety of opinions he had heard upon this subject, he found that one of the objections which was principally rested upon was the enormous expense that would attend the renewing the agreements for an additional time of service. This objection, however, rested entirely upon the supposition that the present system of high bounties was to be held up: he however must suppose that the immediate tendency of improving the situation of the military service, would be to diminish the bounties, which would be from that time in a course of decrease. It was also urged that it would be a prodigious loss to our armies, if, at the expiration of every year, we were to lose so considerable a portion of our force; and those who urged that objection stated, that if the term of service were for seven years, one seventh of the whole number of the army would be reduced each year; or if the term were eight years, it would of course be one-eighth. In this calculation, however, they appeared to forget casualties, and that many must die in the service; and that therefore this proportion was not to be calculated on the same principle as a common annuity: nor would it happen that the numbers who, at the end of seven years service, could claim their discharge, would amount to the seventh part of the army; which would be to suppose that there were neither casualties nor death in the service. Neither would he allow, by any means, that it was probable that all who were entitled to their discharge would claim it; but, on the contrary, if the service were made more attractive, he thought the number would be inconsiderable. It was therefore his opinion, that, in the first place, from the reduction of the bounties the expense would not be any thing near so great as was apprehended. 2dly, That it was not all who were entitled to their discharge who would claim it: and, 3dly, He was sorry to say, that in the course of nature, and of the service, all would not live to be entitled to claim their discharge at the expiration of the appointed time of service. It was supposed that all the soldiers in foreign service would be eager to obtain their discharge. This, however, was by no means his opinion. If the choice were merely between serving in one place or another, many might wish to change the place of their service; but when the choice was only whether they should

should serve or not, he believed there were many who would be very unwilling to quit the service, although they might not exactly like the particular service that had fallen to their lot. So far, therefore, from fearing a great diminution of our army in consequence of this privilege, he felt convinced that the number of soldiers that the nation would lose by the discharges that would be so claimed, would be nothing equal to the number that it would gain by the knowledge that, at the expiration of the appointed time for service, every soldier had a right to claim his discharge. As to desertion, there were many cases where good and excellent soldiers, in some moment of caprice or passion, might be tempted to desert: he thought that the act of desertion should deprive them of the advantages of a certain number of years of their service, which might be settled in such a manner, that even a court-martial could not restore them. This, he thought, would in many cases be a proper punishment for the offence. When, however, the chance of desertion from an army for limited service was spoken of, he must say it was contrary to reason and nature to suppose that desertions would be so frequent as they would be from a force for an unlimited period. To suppose the contrary would be something like the supposition of men actually preferring smaller bounties to greater. He then proceeded to state the term of years which appeared to him the fittest for the period of military service. The inclination of his mind was, that seven years was the properest term. Seven years was a term familiar to the nation, and nothing more than the generality of all apprenticeships to trades. He thought that it was also such a term as would combine the service which the country had a right to expect, with the attractions that were to induce individuals to enter into the service. After the first period of seven years, he thought the soldier should be entitled to his discharge, and to some privileges,—at least equal to what are now given to militiamen. If the soldier should wish to renew his engagement for a second term of seven years, then he should propose that, during this period, he should have a small increase of pay, perhaps about sixpence a week additional. The reason that he named so small a sum was, that, as he had before mentioned, he knew that large sums led to licentiousness and insubordination; and therefore wished that the advantage should be given them in another shape. In the third period, he should propose a still further increase of pay; he should say, at least a shilling a week additional. At the end of the second period, as well as of the first, the soldier should be entitled to his discharge. It was also strongly the inclination of his mind, that after the expiration of the second period of service the soldier should receive a pension of some sort or another for his life. In speaking of the term of seven years, he meant that this should be the term of service for the infantry; the cavalry and the artillery required a longer time of service, as it took more time to make a good horse-soldier, or artillery-man, than it did to make an infantry-soldier. He should therefore propose, that, in the cavalry and artillery, instead of three different periods of seven years each, the first period should be ten years, the second six, and the third five years;

years; at the expiration of which periods they should have the same privileges and rewards as he had before mentioned. He could not avoid considering that such a system as that would promote the recruiting service far beyond any thing which had ever before been adopted. When men who had served their country, and distinguished themselves in its battles, should return to their homes young and unbroken in their constitution, and tell their neighbours what they had seen, and the varieties of life they had undergone, he was convinced that every man of them who so returned to his native country, and the town where he was born, would do more real and important service than he could have done in the field had he continued in the army. At the expiration of the second period of service, he considered that there should be some pension allowed; but at the expiration of the third, he thought the soldier should be perfectly a freed man, and go off with the full allowance from Chelsea. When he spoke of the Chelsea allowance, he did not mean what it now was, he meant that it should be raised considerably higher, and should be at least ninepence or a shilling a day. There were many other improvements which he was convinced would be very beneficial, but there was nothing which he considered of so great moment as the change in the manner of recruiting. Until this were adopted, he could have no hopes of any very important advantage. The plan that he had proposed, was not merely for the future provision, but also for the immediate benefit of every person in the military life, whether officers or soldiers; and its object was to make the military life as agreeable and as attractive as possible. What he had then presented was a mere outline, which would be filled up in the future stages of its discussion; and he hoped, at least, that a quantum sufficit would be retained of every thing that was likely to be useful in it. He should next come to that objection, which of all others appeared to be most relied on. It was asked, What do you mean to do with the army that is now in existence? To this he should answer, that, in strict justice and in equity, he need do nothing. Our regular army had, in point of fact, seen numbers enlist into the army of reserve, and into every description of force for limited service, for five years, or for seven years, or for whatever term that service required. This, however, could not justly be considered any hardship to those who had, antecedently to that time, entered for general service; nor did he ever hear that it had been considered a hardship. Every man's term of service depended on the circumstances of his engagement. It would be just as absurd for men who entered for low bounties, to complain that they were ill-used if greater bounties were given to other men who should afterwards enter into the service.—The regular army had been used to see every description of limited service. They were, therefore, too well used to the practice to complain of it; and besides, in the strictest equity and justice, they had no right to complain. It was, however, his intention to propose for the regular army, as a boon, that which they had no right otherwise to expect; he should propose immediately to increase the Chelsea allowance to 6*d*. 9*d*. and 1*s*. a day. This he should wish to do from

justice,

justice, kindness, and humanity to the regular army: but if he had no other motive than policy, it would be sufficient to determine him; for he knew no other means to demonstrate to the soldiers the concern that the country takes in their welfare, nor of holding out incitements to others to embark in the military profession, than by rewarding those meritorious and interesting men who had so long and so well served their country. If this were done, and it should be done immediately, every man in the army would see that he had a chance, however distant might be the period, of partaking in what the bounty of the nation had provided for its defenders, when they should have merited the rewards from their long services. According to this plan, no man would be finally discharged from service until he had served twenty-one years; but at the end of that time he should be perfectly freed, and enjoy the pension allotted to him. In the mean time, those who were in the second or third period of their service should receive the increase to their pay that he had before mentioned. Such a provision as he had described would, he was convinced, be received as a most important boon by the regular army now existing. Another great branch of the subject then presented itself to his view: it had been of late years a problem in political science, what was to be done with that part of the population of a country which could not be brought forward in the shape of an army? He had already given his opinion, that they could not well be brought forward in any of those decisive actions which usually decided the fate of nations. The difficulties of carrying the compulsory enactments of the levy en masse act into force were such, that it appeared to him much better first to try what voluntary service would do. Although that suggestion had originally come from him, it certainly was not then in his contemplation that this voluntary spirit was to be employed in such a manner as it had been in the volunteer corps which were afterwards formed. He saw that the spirit of the people was then at such a pitch, that they appeared only to demand of government, or of the house, "Tell us what we are to do to be useful to the country." Under those circumstances, it had been his opinion, that the people should have immediately been allowed an opportunity of training themselves, under the instruction of officers from the regular army appointed for that purpose. He thought there should be deposits of arms in every district, and, as he might say, shops of military instruction opened all over the country. Besides the assistance of regular officers, he thought the zeal of the gentlemen of the country might assist powerfully in training the people to arms, both by their own example, and by giving small prizes for firing at marks. All this could have been done with less trouble, and much less expense, than had been bestowed on the volunteer system. At the same time he thought it was proper, that there should be armed associations of the better sort of people, entirely at their own expense; but it was not upon such armed associations that he thought the country should principally rely in aid of its standing army. What he considered as much more likely to be effectual, was the mass of the people of the country trained to firing, with the neighbouring gentlemen, and

and military officers ready to combine them in whatever manner they could prove the most destructive to the enemy. Although he did not rely on such a force for giving battle to an invading army, yet he thought they might be brought into action in such a manner, as would fret, harass, and wear down an enemy. Besides the mischief that he conceived they would do in action, he relied upon such a force as this, as one that was likely to afford an inexhaustible fund to recruit from. Such were his ideas at the commencement of the present war, of the manner in which the zeal and spirit of the people could have been rendered more useful in the defence of the country. As an experiment, nothing could have been cheaper; for there would have been no occasion for all those distinctions and military trappings, which formed so considerable a part of the expense of the volunteer system as it was afterwards established. Instead of this system, which he had proposed, the country was all thrown into volunteer corps. This mistake was not the fault of the people, but of the government. The desire of the nation was, "Tell us what we are to do;" but when nobody told them, it was highly natural for the people, when left to themselves, to say, "Let us imitate the soldiers, and dress ourselves, and train ourselves as they do; let us learn the manœuvres they practise." After the volunteer corps were so formed, a right hon. gentleman (Mr. Pitt), for whose opinion and authority he must profess considerable respect, gave his opinion decidedly, that those corps might, with care and instruction, be brought into the shape of a regular army, and act as regular troops. It, however, always appeared to him that it was a most impracticable project to attempt to bring those masses of men, who had neither the habits nor the feelings of soldiers, who were not inured to hardship, or accustomed to military discipline and subordination, to act either with regulars or directly against a regular enemy. That right hon. gentleman (Mr. Pitt), in speaking of what he expected from the volunteer force, said, they would be sufficient "to push the invading enemies into the sea." This was an expression which he thought proceeded more from his heart than his judgment. It was, however, a most dangerous error in judgment to suppose that, because a body of men appeared well to the eye, or made a tolerable show on a parade, that they were on that account to be relied on as effective soldiers; and he was much surprised indeed at the number of inspecting-officers who returned those corps as fit to serve with regular troops. He could not conceive that the enemy would desire any thing better, than that the country should entirely trust its defence to the volunteer corps. As for courage, or confidence, it was well known, that in an army it is not sufficient to have confidence in one's neighbours. It was like the defence of a long line of fortification, which, if broken through in any point, the valour with which other points were defended would be of little consequence. If, then, a regular regiment came into action, it could not be supposed that their confidence would be the same if they were flanked by a corps of volunteers as it would be if they saw on their flank the 14th, the 28th, the 17th, the 42d, or any of those brave and well-tried regiments that had distinguished themselves

selves so much in many battles. He should not, however, deny that essential services might be derived from the volunteers, even under the present system. His general objections to the present mode of dividing the country into volunteer corps, were; first, the immense expense of the system on its present foundation; and 2dly, that he conceived it intercepted and locked up in corps, which could not be brought against an enemy, men who by another distribution might be brought against them in the regular army. He therefore thought that system was like throwing good money after bad, and that it never could succeed. He wished, however, that there should be many voluntary associations of the better sort of people, armed and disciplined at their own expense; but as to the great mass of the people, artisans and peasants, he did not wish that they might be locked up in those corps, but would rather have them loose, so that they might be attached to others of greater consequence. The mass of the people he wished to be loosely trained, and only so far as to be able soon to take their place as recruits in the ranks of the regular army. A training of that description would also be sufficient to make them very formidable to an enemy, as an armed peasantry under the direction of intelligent officers; and in either of those ways he thought they would contribute much more to the defence and security of the country, than by their being placed in volunteer corps. There were, however, other objections, of no less importance: in the first place, there was the enormous expense of the volunteers. During the three years and a half that this system had existed, it had cost government no less than five millions in allowances to the volunteers. The expense that the volunteers had themselves gone to, and the various subscriptions and contributions that had been made in aid of the system, amounted to at least as much more. He was stating it below the mark when he said, that the security which the country had derived from the volunteers for the last three years and a half was purchased at the expense of above ten millions sterling, besides the depriving our more efficient descriptions of force of many men who would otherwise have entered into them. The expense of the volunteers, then, was nearly equal to the whole of the property-tax for a year. Great as this expense was, if it produced as much security as could be had for the same money in any other way, there would be no occasion to attempt to change it. If he could realize his wish to see the great mass of the population of the country so far trained as to be able, either to act as an armed peasantry, or to recruit immediately whatever losses the regular army might receive in action, then, indeed, he should conceive that the country was invincible. Should its armies receive a check, it would immediately repair the disaster, and rise, like Antæus when flung to the earth, with redoubled vigour. The certainty of immediately repairing our losses, while the invaders could not repair theirs, must turn the victory in our favour. We should have complete regiments to oppose to the skeleton regiments of the enemy. In order to effect this purpose, there would be no occasion for any violent measures or severe compulsion. He should propose a very different course from what had

been hitherto adopted: instead of requiring a rigid discipline from the people, he should propose that sort of training which would be very easy for them to acquire, and which would answer all the purposes that he had stated. The only sort of compulsion that he should propose was, merely the necessity of training, and that only for the space of one year: the discipline necessary to enforce this training should be as mild as possible. If in this plan he appeared at all to be treading in the steps of his predecessors, it was because he would not remove any foundation stone that would fall in with the scheme of the projected building. The compulsion would be this: every man should be compellable to be trained to a certain degree, and must also consider himself compellable to serve, in case of invasion, as his majesty, in the exercise of his royal prerogative, should appoint. There would have been something more revolting in the levy en masse act, if it had really been put in force: it would have been very disagreeable and irksome for men in different situations of life to be brought together, at stated times, to the place of training, the shopkeeper with his shopman, the master with his servants, and the man of respectability with the most worthless. It was principally because these circumstances would have made the act extremely disagreeable in its operation that it was laid aside, and the volunteer corps adopted in its stead: but it was possible to have a mode of training that should be exempt from those unpleasant circumstances; and the armed volunteer corps, comprising, as he hoped they would do, the better classes, would separate themselves, in a great measure, from the armed peasantry, who should be looked to principally for recruiting the regular army, and repairing any losses it might sustain. He further proposed the reduction of the expense of the volunteer corps, which would be a saving to government of 878,000*l.*, a sum of no small importance. This alteration in the volunteer system was not intended in the way of hostility to the many respectable and patriotic individuals who had stood forward for the defence of the country in a moment of difficulty and danger; the object was merely to avoid an expense which was not attended with a degree of utility proportioned to the sum applied to the purpose. The volunteer corps were not by these means disbanded; they were only reduced to the more salutary plan on which they commenced. It must be understood, that those who were disposed to train themselves according to their own peculiarity of feeling should do it at their own expense, in every respect excepting the weapons to be employed. No exemptions would be admitted but from necessary causes, and the only privilege to which the volunteer could be entitled would be, to serve in his own corps. Thus the opulent man would be trained in the way most agreeable to himself, and would serve his country in the hour of danger in the mode most consonant to his inclination. Out of the immense mass of general population, a selection must be made, and he knew no way preferable to effecting this by lot. The persons appointed on this service might be conveniently divided into four classes: the first class being from sixteen to twenty-four; the second, from twenty-four to thirty-two; and the third, from thirty-two to forty years of age: beyond that period of life he would not recommend the performante

formance of this duty. It would be right to leave it in the discretion of his majesty, to call out which of these classes he thought proper, and also with respect to the county or district in which their exertions would be required. If in any particular situation a number of persons should volunteer on this service, their persons might be accepted in diminution of the ballot. The time required for this sort of training would be short; twenty-six days would be probably sufficient; and the compensation of 1*s.* for the loss of the half day would be adequate. It would not be required that this armed peasantry, if so it might be denominated, should be led to a distance from their ordinary residence, or be clothed in any manner different from their common raiment: on particular occasions, it might be eligible to collect them in the principal town of the county they inhabit, in the way we had heretofore adopted with regard to the national militia. The next inquiry was, How were these persons to be instructed in the use of arms? This could be commodiously effected, either by detachments from the militia of the county, or by portions of the second battalions. This arrangement would lead to a beneficial connection, to which so much commendation had been applied; a frequent intercourse between the military of the country and the mass of the people. By such means these levies would be disposed to recruit into the regular army, and this interchange of affection and interest was an incidental benefit, and on no account to be disregarded. According to the present system, the militia must be considered as classing with the regular army; it was, in fact, an army for home defence, and in this view it could not be carried to higher perfection than the condition in which we now saw it. It was not his intention to interfere at all with this part of the national establishment, any further than to continue the suspension. Whether at a future period it would be politic to diminish this department of our military establishment, might be a fit subject for subsequent consideration; but he would certainly recommend recruiting for this service on the scheme projected in Ireland, and at a limited bounty. He must again revert to the volunteers, as, in the great variety of matter to which his intention was directed, he found it difficult to assign to every observation its proper place. He would readily continue the allowance for clothing to the volunteers during the present year, but he wished it to be clearly understood that no such concession was intended to be continued. There was no subject in which he concurred more heartily with many intelligent persons with whom he had conversed, than on the monstrous absurdity of giving to such persons military rank. If the troops of the line were not to have precedency in the immediate line of their own profession, to what new state of humiliation were they next to be exposed? How so gross an error could have been committed, so revolting to all common sense and ordinary feeling, he did not know: he discerned nothing similar in the habits or practice of mankind. Would it be endured in this place, that the son of a peer, on account of his noble descent, should be permitted to claim precedency in any motion he brought before the house? Was a young lieutenant, whose parents possessed abundance of wealth, to be permitted to say to his superior officers,

"I will

"I will buy you all out, and take the command of the regiment?" Was the sensibility of the regular army to be so severely wounded?—And what was the advantage to be gained by this violation of individual honour? Was a gentleman, who had distinguished himself in the most dangerous services, to be placed under the control of a man who was utterly ignorant of the duties of the profession of arms, and who had experienced none of the perils and suffering with which that honourable occupation was conversant? In future, he would recommend that no volunteer officer should hold a higher rank than that of captain; that is, that no regular officer commanding a corps, and not below the rank of captain, should be commanded by a volunteer officer. He had almost forgotten that he was himself a volunteer officer; but on endeavouring to examine his own feelings, as his recollection was directed to his own situation in that character, he could not perceive that he was at all mortified at the surrender of his new dignities. Titles and distinctions were becoming and valuable to men in the army; but to him who had done nothing to deserve them, if not disgraceful, they were at least absurd and ridiculous, and he hoped his brother officers in the volunteers would see their absurdity, and acknowledge their misapplication. The military officer might exclaim against this plunderer of his hard-earned reputation in the language of the dramatic poet—He

> "Takes from me that which not enriches him,
> And makes me poor indeed."

He did not think it either a decent or a politic regulation, that the gay attire of the military should be assumed by the volunteers: this was among the distinctions which ought to be reserved for the former; and it seemed to him as fantastical that they should wear this raiment, as that they should strut in the array of the king's footmen, or any dress that pomp and circumstance might attach to particular offices. He trusted that the good sense of the volunteers would lead them to wear habits more modest and œconomical, and that they would perceive the indelicacy, if not the folly and vanity, of affecting to be the character to which they had no just pretension. Such was the general view he had taken of this subject, and he founded his project upon the nature of things, and upon the constitution of the human mind, as far as he could form any judgment either of the one or the other. He would by no means contend that the system was complete in its parts, or certain in its operation: he proposed it only as an experiment, gradual in its progress, but he hoped permanent in its effects. He trusted, however, that it was so far unembarrassed, that it would not be necessary that the ground should be cleared by successive acts of parliament, that the mist and dust of legislative regulation would be avoided, and that simplicity would at least be attained. He was perfectly aware, when he took a rapid review of what he had said, that he had omitted much that deserved the attention of the house; but he felt that he had already intruded too long upon its indulgence, and he would detain it only a few moments more. He did not think the number to be trained on the plan he had intimated would exceed 200,000 men. With regard to the bounty, he did not conceive it would be hastily reduced by his proposals, or that

that any immediate conspicuous operation ought, under the present circumstances, to be expected. He was a little astonished at the impatience indicated by honourable gentlemen opposite to him; he believed their additional defence bill lay dormant in the ground for a long time before it produced a single blade; for his part, he would promise no rapid growths; he would not, in the language of quackery, predict an instantaneous cure for all the disorders with which, under long neglect and mismanagement, our military system had been infected. To conclude, he would move for a bill, which was merely an accommodation of what had been called the levy en masse bill of 1803, to the present position and circumstances of the country. The motion was then read from the chair, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for repealing the said act."

Lord Castlereagh.—However widely I may differ in opinion from the right hon. gentleman in most of the positions and conclusions which he has laid down, it is not my intention to resist the introduction of any bills which are calculated to develop the system which he has this night opened to the house; neither is it my intention at present to follow him through the details of his long and elaborate statement. Future opportunities will be afforded, better adapted for such discussions. Having preceded the right hon. gentleman in the situation he now fills, and having, under the superintendance and guidance of my late right hon. friend, latterly administered the war department of the government, I feel it due not only to myself but to the house, to bring before them such a statement of the actual situation in which we left the public force, as may enable them to judge as well of the truth of the charge which the right hon. gentleman has ventured to make, as of the necessity or expediency of the change which he has thought fit to propose. I am additionally impelled to do so, from the earnest desire I must feel to discharge what appears to me a duty to my late right hon. friend. To no subject had his attention and exertions been more anxiously directed during the latter years of his public life, than to the formation of an improved military system, adapted to the exigencies of the times in which we live. It is impossible I should not feel an attempt to depreciate and unjustly to degrade every thing he had done with this view, as a heavy censure against his government, and a most injurious reflection upon his memory. In this, as in every leading feature of his political life, his fame will, I am sure, be found inseparably interwoven with the best interests of his country—it will be impossible for the right hon. gentleman to wound the former without exposing the latter; and I am convinced, more especially on a subject which for such a space of time continued to occupy the undivided attention of his unerring mind, that I shall also best discharge my public duty, by yielding to the desire I personally feel to have his exertions in the public service fairly understood and appreciated by the house. The right hon. gentleman, in opening the question to the house, has been wholly silent on the present actual amount and composition of the army. He has been as little explicit in stating to the house the points in which he considered it to be inadequate, and the extent to which he proposes to carry it. He has, however, generally laid down the expediency of endeavouring to

obtain some considerable increase of that force: in this principle I cordially agree with him. The right hon. gentleman has not denied that the quality of the regular army, so far as it goes, is unexceptionable on this highly gratifying consideration:—it is certainly only to discharge a debt of justice to the illustrious personage who now presides so much to his own honour over that army, to bear testimony to the zeal and indefatigable exertions with which he has for a series of years past followed up its improvement. At no period of our history have the science, uniformity, and discipline of the army been comparable to what it now is; and I am sure I speak the sentiments of the profession at large when I assert, that to the present commander-in-chief the British army is indebted for more solid improvement than to any, or I might say to all those who have preceded him in that distinguished trust. But to return to the present state of the army in point of numbers, and that the house may fairly estimate the merits of that system, by the operation of which it has been brought to its present standard, I am desirous of comparing the amount and composition of the army as it stood on the 1st of January 1804, being the half-yearly period in the papers on the table which immediately preceded Mr. Pitt's last return to government, with that of the army as it now stands. I select those periods, not to disparage in any degree the meritorious exertions of those who preceded him in office, whose measures for the increase and improvement of the army I shall always contend were highly vigorous and productive,—but as forming the best criterion by which the effect of that system, which it is now proposed to explode and abrogate, can best be judged of. Including militia and artillery, the gross strength of the army at home and abroad stood as follows in effective rank and file:

1st January, 1804, - -	234,005
1st March, 1806, - - -	267,554
Increase, - - -	33,549

The regular army, including artillery, as distinguished from the militia:

1st January, 1804, - -	148,486
1st March, 1806, - - -	192,372
Increase, - - -	43,886

The regular army disposable for general service:

1st January, 1804, - -	115,947
1st March, 1806, - - -	165,790
Increase, - - -	49,843

This statement, I trust, will establish to the satisfaction of the house the important increase in gross strength which our army has received during the last two years:—they will likewise observe, whilst the numbers of the militia have been reduced, that the relative strength of the regular army has been advanced; and that the increase in the disposable branch of the regular army has been still more marked, being not less than 49,843 men, or nearly that of one-half. Whilst I concur with the right hon. gentleman in deeming a further augmentation of our force necessary under the present circumstances of the country, comparing the present amount with that at which it formerly stood when at the highest, it is impossible for the right hon. gentleman to depreciate either the high condition of our existing establishment, or the system by which it has been so rapidly augmented and improved.

1st January,

1st January, 1802, - - 242,540
1st March, 1806, - - - 267,554

Present army more than at any former period, - - 25,114

Such being the actual strength and composition of the army, the next point to be ascertained is the annual waste to which the army may be deemed subject, and the presumable supply of recruits which may be reckoned on for filling up the casualties therein, and carrying the army forward to a still higher standard. Excluding the militia from our consideration in this view of the subject, and confining it to the regular army alone; by the returns before the house it appears that, independent of any considerable loss of men sustained in the field, the annual average of deaths, desertions, and discharges, for the last six years, may be stated at about 15,000 men on our present numbers: upon a like average of years, the ordinary recruiting in Europe for the regular army, exclusive of any extraordinary measures of supply, such as the reserve and additional force acts, has hardly ever sufficed to cover the actual waste of the army, independent of the augmented loss which may be expected should any active operations on an extended scale be undertaken. We must therefore submit to have our army remain stationary, if not fall back in point of numbers, unless we avail ourselves of some extraordinary means of procuring a supply of men over and above what ordinary recruiting has yet been found to furnish, which has continued for several years past to produce not more than from eleven to fourteen thousand men a year, exclusive of foreign recruiting, little apparently affected by the operation of the several measures of competition and high bounties, however much its success, according to all just reasoning, ought to have been influenced by these causes. Before I state the resources on which his majesty's late ministers relied for an augmentation of the army, it may be right to mention, that it was not intended, at least for the present, to propose to parliament to vote the army on a higher establishment in point of numbers than it was taken at in the last year; but it was their sanguine expectation, that in the course of the next year they would be able to add not less than twenty-five thousand men to its effective strength, by which the present deficiency of forty-three thousand men would be reduced more nearly to that amount which must always be expected to exist, for obvious reasons, in the establishments of all armies. Their chief reliance for effecting this important object was on the additional force act, under an improved management, which bill it is now intended to repeal, without substituting any visible measure whatever of supply in its place. The bill in question has hitherto been tried under every possible disadvantage. The house will shortly have before them a most valuable body of information on this subject, in the reports from the several inspecting field-officers who have completed a progress through the several counties. I only wish the house to consider, if, under so defective a management, this bill has already furnished the army with about thirteen thousand men, and is now steadily producing at the rate of above sixteen thousand men a year, what might not be hoped for from it, when, instead of being hardly yet put into force in one half of the counties in the kingdom, it shall be gradually brought into general

operation? I must also request, that as a measure of pressure in point of charge on the country, the house will only compare its effects with either the militia or the army of reserve, and advert particularly to the fact, that, differing from all other measures for obtaining men, by due exertion the districts may discharge themselves by finding the men free from all expense whatever. The right hon. gentleman seems determined to leave nothing untouched; the form, shape, or extent of every branch of the service is to undergo revision, and to be subjected to change. To the large supply of men rapidly wanted for the extension of our present force; to the chasm which is already occasioned in the army by inevitable casualties, liable to be much increased should the troops be more employed in the field, he has thought fit to add the progressive defalcation which must be occasioned by suffering the militia to waste down to the very low establishment of thirty thousand men, being eighteen thousand for England alone below its present standard: he also desires now to lay the foundation of a heavy annual loss of strength, which must be occasioned hereafter in the army when the measure for limiting the term of service shall begin to operate. And what does he propose to cover or counteract this obvious and formidable sacrifice of force? Absolutely nothing but his speculative assurance that more recruits will be obtained under his new system, although no change in the mode of recruiting is spoken of; and upon this ground alone, the solidity of which I shall hereafter examine, he calls upon parliament, in the midst of war, to give up a present annual supply of sixteen thousand men, capable of considerable extension, and to concur with him in adopting innovations the most serious in the constitution of the army. To the principle of improving the condition of the soldier, distinct from the proposed change in the terms of his enlistment, if applied with prudence, I am far from having any objection. So far as we can, within the limits of a rational œconomy, meliorate the condition of the soldier, and more particularly if we can, without immediate prejudice to his discipline, hold out to him rewards, to increase in proportion as his length of faithful service may add to his claim upon the liberality of the country; I am of opinion that the scheme is wise in itself, and may be productive of some good, though I conceive the right hon. gentleman is disposed to expect much more from its immediate effect, in inducing men to enter into the army, than either the value of the temptation, or the remoteness of its operation, will in any degree warrant. Whatever may be, however, its effects, it is unobjectionable in principle; but I must beg the house to recollect, that it is quite as applicable to an army enlisted as ours now is, as if the proposed change had been effected, and that it is in no degree requisite to alter the term of service of the soldier in order to give operation to this part of the plan: on the contrary, I conceive it might be added with some effect as a further temptation to men to enter into the army. The alteration of the term of the soldier's enlistment is a very different question, and perhaps amongst the most serious and delicate in its bearings, which parliament has ever been called on to discuss; it is impossible not to feel it to be the more critical, as it is

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one of those great changes of system, which once made, especially on the principles contended for, cannot be undone. Urged as this measure has frequently been by several of those who support it, particularly by the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Fox), on grounds connected with the individual freedom of the subject, I fear it is precisely one of those steps, from which, if taken in error, we cannot recede; and I do therefore hope, whatever may have been the sanction given to this scheme by individual opinions of great authority, that the house will cautiously weigh the grounds on which it is urged, and the effects to be expected from it, before they commit themselves to so serious, and, in my judgment, so fatal an innovation in the constitution of the British army. I own, much as I look with apprehension to the introduction of this vital change into the service, my objections are infinitely increased if the right hon. gentleman should persist in excluding the existing army from its application, whatever may be the precise terms of their present contract, where a great change is to be wrought in the situation of a soldier, since it is described, though I think untruly, as redeeming him from a sort of bondage. Every wise principle of liberality and policy requires, that the principle should be applied, under proper qualifications, to those who have the additional claim upon our favour, of not having been held back by any consideration of a personal nature from engaging in the service of their country. Can the right hon. gentleman mean to act towards the British army on principles of less liberality than the Austrian government did in the year 1802, on a similar occasion, towards the Austrian army? It surely cannot be wise to suffer distinctions to remain, capable of being represented as invidious, and which might have a tendency to introduce discontent and dissatisfaction into an army less subordinate and obedient than ours is. It is said, different corps in the army have at all times served on different conditions and terms of service. True it is that different regiments have; but I believe the men within the same regiment never have, without the most serious inconvenience. But this cannot be looked on as any ordinary change, or made on any ordinary considerations. It is intended as a great moral change in the soldier's situation, and to be held out to the country as such. Surely, then, if it is fit to be acted upon at all, it ought to be made, at least progressively, to attach to all those who are now in the service. But to consider what the effect of this regulation may be in filling the ranks of the army, it appears most extraordinary to me how it should have occurred to the right hon. gentleman as likely to operate successfully. For the last three years our endeavours have been directed, whilst a superior encouragement was held out to persons entering for general service, to obtain the utmost number of men possible for limited service in the regular army: this was first attempted in the army of reserve, under all the impulse of ballot and high bounties, and latterly under the additional force act. If then we have failed in obtaining an adequate supply of men, even for a service limited both in time and space, how can we expect, by taking away one of these limitations, and only enlisting men for general service, coupled with a period by two years more extended in point of time, to obtain a greater

or even so great a supply of men? What the inconvenience of the soldiers' being entitled to their discharge at the end of each period during a war is likely to prove upon experience, may best be judged of by recollecting how embarrassing this system, some years back, was found to be in the militia, notwithstanding the great comparative facility of dismissing and replacing the men when serving at home. This led to the adoption both of an extension of the period of service and the continuance of the inlistment during the war: the perpetual fluctuation of the militia was thus avoided; but the consequence upon a peace, notwithstanding the law enjoins that a proposition to re-inlist for a further term shall be made to each man previous to his being disembodied, has been found to be, that but a small proportion of the men re-engage, and that the regiments are principally composed, when re-assembled, of untrained recruits. The small proportion of the men re-inlisting in the militia, (I apprehend, on an average, not exceeding from a sixth to an eighth of the whole,) leads to another very serious view of this question. It is probable that soldiers, when stationed abroad, being at the moment removed from their homes, and from domestic impressions, may re-inlist in greater numbers; but presuming that the option will not in any case be put to the men, which I think it cannot possibly be, consistent with the professed principles of the plan, till towards the close of the period, I see no reason to suppose that the soldiers belonging to the regular army stationed at home, will not be nearly as prone to take their discharges rather than re-inlist, as the substitutes in the militia are found to be, who at present compose nine-tenths of that force. If the proposal of the right hon. gentleman is not sustainable in argument, I apprehend it is as little warranted in fair analogy, by the existing practice of any other great European military power:—the general plan of military service in Prussia does not countenance it—that of Russia affords as little sanction:—it is true, Austria, after the treaty of Campo Formio, passed an ordinance that such a system should take effect from a period then some years remote. It certainly was not in force in the Austrian army in its best days, nor do I believe it has as yet been acted upon; and we certainly know that no such regulation at present prevails in the French army. The only precedent at all in point that I have heard of, is that of Old France during the monarchy. The French army, I have understood, was then kept up by voluntary inlistment, and the soldiers were enrolled for a term of years, more extended, however, than that now proposed. But I must beg to protest against France, even at that time, being considered as in any degree a parallel case. Her population, in proportion to those serving in her army and navy, was nearly double what ours is. Her people were poor, little industrious, and prone to a military life. She had comparatively few colonies to protect, and a considerable colonial army in existence, to whom the regulation in question did not apply. Her army in peace and in war was more equal in numbers than ours is: in short, she had none of the difficulties to contend with in raising and supplying her army which we have; and in that, as in all despotic governments, the experiment might more safely be made, as the sovereign had

had always the power of military conscription, either actually in operation to fill up the deficiencies in the public force, or the right to recur to it if necessary. The advantages which the right hon. gentleman wishes to derive from it as counteracting desertion, seem to me also very much exaggerated, if not wholly unfounded. In part of his argument, though with a different view, he adverted to the great number of desertions which had taken place in the men raised under the additional force act; yet these are men raised for limited service. If the returns are examined, above one-fourth of the whole desertions of the army will be found to have taken place from amongst the men raised for limited service, although the total numbers of that description of force do not compose above one-eighth of the whole regular army. I do not quote this fact with a view of maintaining that the men being engaged for a term of years disposes them the more to desert; all I contend for is, that it does not materially prevent them; and I believe it will be found that desertion is always most frequent amongst new levies, whatever may be their engagement; and in this respect the right hon. gentleman's system will rather tend to multiply desertions, by materially increasing in the army the number of recruits in proportion to the old seasoned soldiers, who seldom are found to desert. From most of the leading features of the right hon. gentleman's schemes, for the reasons stated, I have no hesitation in expressing my most pointed dissent. I consider some of them as feeble and inefficient, and others as likely to prove injurious, if not fatal, to the best interests of the army. Were his plan even preferable in some respects to what now exists, I should deem it both unwise and unsafe to select the present moment for introducing so extensive a change: but where the innovations appear pregnant with danger in themselves, and in their nature hardly reparable if once made; where the whole proceeds upon a scheme of destroying what is now efficient, upon slight grounds of objection, without any attempts at substitution in its room, I cannot hesitate in deeming it my duty to resist, as far as depends on me, so dangerous an attempt; and here I cannot hesitate to express my confident persuasion, had his majesty's late ministers remained in power, that they would have been at present occupied in directing the powerful army, which the country actually possesses, against the enemy's most vulnerable points, instead of wasting their own time, and that of the house, in unnecessary and hazardous experiments on the constitution of the public force. I shall close what I have felt it my duty to offer to the consideration of the house on the present important question, by shortly referring to what fell from me on a former night's debate, with respect to the state and condition in which the government, in all its leading branches, has passed into the hands of his majesty's present servants. I certainly was not then, nor am I now, disposed either to undervalue or to disguise the many and serious difficulties the government have to struggle against, more especially in their external relations, reduced as the greater part of the continent now is under the absolute power of France; and no one can feel more desirous than myself, of strengthening their hands to the utmost, that they may be enabled the better to bear up against these difficulties:

culties; but I must contend that, with respect to all the main and leading features which constitute internal strength, and afford the best means of successfully prosecuting the war to an honourable conclusion, no administration ever found themselves, on their coming into office, in a more commanding situation. The noble lord (lord Hen. Petty) has found a revenue highly and progressively productive; public credit, such as to enable him to borrow for the service of the year on terms highly advantageous to the public; and the general prosperity of the country, such as to admit of his adopting the manly resolution of raising a large additional proportion of the supplies within the year. The noble lord (lord Howick) has found a navy, on the numbers and efficiency of which it is as little necessary for me to comment, as upon their late unrivalled achievements. The right hon. gentleman (Mr. Windham) has found an army exceeding by 25,000 men the greatest army the country ever before possessed, and of a description which qualifies them to fulfil every wish their sovereign can form, with respect to their exertions, if their character and constitution be not broken down by inconsiderate and speculative innovations. I again repeat, that the government has great difficulties to surmount, but they arise from causes which my late right hon. friend, and those who acted with him, had neither the power nor the means to regulate or control. Whatever was immediately under his own guidance has been successfully conducted; and I do not hesitate to assert, that on all the essential points above alluded to, viz. the finances, the navy, and the army, compared with the difficulties and embarrassments under which they are disposed to represent themselves as taking the government, the present administration may be considered as on a bed of roses. I trust the house will pointedly discourage any attempt to tamper with our establishments at such a crisis, which require nothing but time and perseverance to render them equal to any purpose we can have in view. No case calling for any fundamental change has yet been made out; and until such necessity shall be made more evident, every consideration forbids the entering upon so hazardous an experiment.

Mr. secretary Fox.—I rise, sir, to make a few observations on what has fallen from the noble lord, and which appears to me so extraordinary, that I could not have imagined that any human nerves were sufficient to enable any one gravely to make such assertions as he has hazarded. He has told us that the country is now placed in such a state of proud splendour and universal prosperity, as never had been handed over by any ministry to their successors. Gracious God! and in what does this prosperity of which he boasts consist? Undoubtedly the navy, by the most unparalleled gallantry, and the most wonderful success, even beyond human calculation, is in a state in which the task of my right hon. friend near me is comparatively easy. But may it not be questioned whether all the merit is due to the last board? nay, whether, with a reference to the future supply and maintenance of the navy, every thing is quite so meritorious as the noble lord asserts? But, of the splendid victories achieved, is the whole credit to be concentrated in the last eighteen months? Is none due to that board

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of admiralty at which lord St. Vincent presided? none due to those who selected and appointed those officers? The noble lord, indeed, defended lord St. Vincent too; but it cannot be denied that many of his friends entertained against that gallant officer as strong prejudices as ever existed in the minds of men. But after mentioning the navy, I do not know that there is a single point on which I can subscribe to the noble lord's representation of the country. Is it in the finances that we are to seek for the proofs? Because the last administration laid very heavy burdens on the public, did that facilitate the laying on those new burdens my noble friend near me found it his duty to propose? It is true we have forty-three millions of revenue; but is it very consolatory that we have an expenditure of forty-three millions? Is there no relation between those objects? Or is it a proof of prosperity that our taxes are enormous, though they are borne with cheerfulness, because they may be necessary? Does the noble lord appeal to Ireland as that with the state of which there is every reason to be proud? Is India in the best possible state, quite prosperous and tranquil? Where then is the "bed of roses" to which we have succeeded? Really it is insulting, to tell me I am on a bed of roses when I feel myself torn and stung by brambles and nettles. But, as far as regards this country itself, we are in a state of prosperity. But surely you ought to consider the difficulties arising from other countries, as making part of our situation. The noble lord must admit, that, to use the phrase of one of his colleagues, "the continent is not in a very satisfactory state." The noble lord, however, tells us, that having succeeded to such an excellent state of things, it must be our own fault if we do not carry on affairs well. Does the noble lord then think that there is a rational prospect either of an honourable and satisfactory peace; or, that we possess the means of so carrying on the war as to compel our enemy to agree to peace; or, that we have the prospect of weakening and reducing his power? If the noble lord thinks these matters easy, I should be very happy to have his advice on the subject. He talked as if it had been the intention of the late ministers to have made an attack on some of the enemy's vulnerable points. In taking credit for the success of such a project, I must confess the noble lord seemed to boast rather too much of what might have been the event. But he spoke as if something particular had been in view. If there was, I do think that it was the noble lord's duty to tell the king's government where the enemy's vulnerable points were. It has ever been my practice, if I had any information, to give it, whoever were ministers, that it might be acted upon if useful; and I confess I should have expected the noble lord to have done so. We certainly should be glad to know what vulnerable points the noble lord believes could be attacked with success. The noble lord, indeed, though he has talked so much of complication, seems to have an understanding so formed, as to be utterly incapable of conceiving any relation between objects. He saw nothing but a large revenue, but he saw nothing of the large debt. He talks of a large army, but he does not consider that our enemy has an army, a very

very large army. Surely it is not enough to tell us of an army larger than in queen Anne's time, or even in the American war, when the relative state of circumstances is so wonderfully changed! I might, then, quit this part of the subject, saying that the state of the country is almost in every point directly the reverse of that described by the noble lord; but I would ask him, whether that most prosperous state of the country had all arisen between May 1804 and February 6th 1806? The noble lord himself may claim the merit of the prosperity of both. But will some of those very near him (Messrs. Canning, Rose, &c.) agree as to the proud situation of the country in May 1804? Nay, would not the assertion have appeared strange to that right hon. person on whose memory the noble lord has frequently drawn this evening? Was it prosperous in 1804? and What is the difference in the increase of the army since then?—Some 20,000 or 30,000 men, perhaps. With respect to the parish bill, the very circumstance mentioned by the noble lord, as to its not being executed, appears to me decisive of its being a miserably bad measure. The noble lord ascribes its non-execution to the ignorance of the parish officers. Indeed! after explanations were posted every where, and commentaries circulated by the secretary of state! But in truth it was not the ignorance of the parish officers. I know that in the part of the country where I live, within five miles of the commander in chief, the bill has never been acted upon; and it is ridiculous to say that it was solely from the ignorance of its object. The truth is, the bill was found to be absurd and impracticable, and therefore it was not executed. To come now, however, to the principal point in my right hon. friend's plan—the inlisting for a limited time: the noble lord observes upon this, that though the late Mr. Pitt was at first captivated with the idea, he came upon mature consideration to abandon it. Really I do not know what use the noble lord is to make of the opinions of that right hon. person, if he is to be administrator of them. I have read of Mark Anthony giving out memorandums and scraps of Julius Cæsar's; and I remember that considerable doubts were entertained of the truth of such vouchers of Cæsar's sentiments. All I know is, that I never heard that right hon. gentleman say in parliament that he had changed his views on the subject; nay, I have heard accounts very different indeed from those of the noble lord. For myself, I always have been, and still continue, a warm friend to the principle of inlisting for a limited time. The noble lord, observing on my right hon. friend's argument that this would facilitate the recruiting, thinks proper to allude to something he supposes me to have said respecting the hardship or bondage of the situation of men engaging in a service for life. I remember, indeed, having said on a former occasion, that I considered such a system as unsuitable to the genius of this constitution; and that, in addition to the object of policy, it would be an additional argument with me that we should get rid of what it appeared to me desirable to change. We must submit to many things in themselves unpleasant, because we cannot help them; but surely, when humanity and constitutional principle coincide with true policy, it will be an additional

inducement

inducement to every honourable mind to rectify what is amiss. What the noble lord means I cannot tell; but I see very well, not only that the proposed regulation has a tendency to remove an objection to the service, but that it has been adopted, in practice, for that end. In part of the Prussian army, contrary to the broad assertion of the noble lord, it was the custom to enter for a limited term. It was said, indeed, that Frederick the Great was not very scrupulous in executing the contract, though it was clear what was considered the tendency of the regulation; and I am convinced that with a government like this, scrupulous in its faith, the regulation would most powerfully operate as an inducement to the service. Besides, the noble lord is mistaken in his statement. All the troops of the continent were not engaged for life. Those of the elector of Hanover were for a limited service. The German corps in our own service are all for limited time, even the 60th regiment. As to the case of the East India company, put by the noble lord, it proves too much; for it is absurd to say, that men will inlist more willingly for life than for a limited time. Now with respect to the volunteers, the noble lord says, he remembers my right hon. friend having, on former occasions, said so and so of the volunteers; but I fear the noble lord only remembers his own misrepresentations of what was said. As soon as the noble lord got up I anticipated what we have heard; day by day, week after week, year after year, the same eternal repetition of the same confuted misrepresentation. Indeed he has repeated this so often, that I verily believe he has brought himself to imagine that his own answers to my right hon. friend were really the arguments used by the latter. But what was the proposal of my right hon. friend? Was it not to retain, as volunteers, those of a superior class, those able to defray their own expenses? while those who could not were to be subject to the general training. And this was the principle which seemed universally agreed upon when the levy en masse act was first considered, and it was thought an objection to that measure that all classes should be blended without distinction. Now, what is the proposal of my right honourable friend as to the general training? It is to invite, or compel, a certain portion of the whole population to be trained twenty-six times, each person having one shilling for his trouble each time; so that, if the training happened on a Sunday, it would be so much gain. Those, however, who chose to defray their own expenses as volunteers, are not to be compelled to be trained. The noble lord however asks, Will you put all those men so trained into the ranks to defend London? I answer No, because the thing must be impossible; and I apprehend that in the neighbourhood of London a sufficient number of trained men would be found to annoy the enemy, or fill up our own ranks, without calling up those from the distant counties. The effect of the training would be to give us a greater number of men, better fit than they would otherwise have been, to recruit the regiments, or to contribute in other ways to harass the enemy. It is said, But could these men defend London? Could they stop the enemy before they reached Chatham? Should the

the enemy land on our shores, we ought doubtless to fight every inch of ground; but are we to act as if that were all, and as if the whole were lost if the first stand were not successful? We must provide, however, not only to withstand the enemy vigorously in their first progress, but to have all the means of maintaining the contest with them in the worst event. Nay, I am convinced that the English people would, on such an occasion, display an energy, perseverance, and fortitude, surpassing what any nation on the continent has shown. They are in a different situation, to be sure. They are unaccustomed to the presence of an enemy in their country, and could not bear it patiently: they feel every motive of attachment to their country and their constitution. They are unshaken, in their affection to their government, by those changes of master and of companion which tend to unhinge every principle of allegiance; and they would therefore, I am convinced, give a new example of constancy, and would show that the fate of their country did not depend on the event of a single battle. Even if the first advantages were gained by the enemy, they would find hundreds of thousands, nay, perhaps millions, of Englishmen determined to maintain their liberty and independence. That the enemy would be resisted by an armed and trained peasantry, capable of harassing their progress or of serving as recruits to the regular army, I am perfectly satisfied, and I am convinced they will do it far better than any number of volunteers on the present system. Indeed the employment of volunteers as regiments and as reinforcements would be full of danger; and no friend to the volunteers would advise the experiment to be tried. It is alleged, however, that no immediate increase of the army will result from this measure, because it substitutes nothing. But, in truth, the merit of the plan is, that it proposes no complicated machinery to produce an effect which will be gained by the simple mode of recruiting. All the schemes adopted for raising men have, as far as they have been successful, only defrauded the ordinary system of recruiting, and that with a great expense, and no inconsiderable oppression. Is it nothing that the market will again be left open to the government as the only recruiter? The noble lord tells us, too, that it was the intention of the late Mr. Pitt to make an addition of 20 or 25,000 men to the army. And in fact, I have no doubt that my right hon. friend will propose, not only to leave no deficiency in the effective force already considered proper to be kept up, but will suggest any further increase that may appear necessary. It ought to be remembered that, with the exception of Russia,—a power, however, whose alliance, desirable and important as it is, must be confessed to be too remote for producing a decisive impression on the continent,—we have no ally whatever of any consequence, willing to fight for us. Such is the prosperous situation the noble lord describes. When this is considered, and the state of the continent is taken into view, it must be allowed that it is time to think of increasing our army. Both for the purpose of war, and what must be the establishment of any peace likely to be obtained, it is proper that the subject of the army should be maturely weighed. Indeed, by the circumstances

circumstances of Europe, I am ready to confess that I have been weaned from the opinions I formerly held with respect to the force that might suffice in time of peace; nor do I consider this as any inconsistency, because I see no rational prospect of any peace that would exempt us from the necessity of watchful preparation and powerful establishments. The subject of the army, therefore, must come before us in different shapes, and present itself in different views. If we cannot obtain a safe and honourable peace, of which it is impossible, in the actual state of affairs, to be sanguine; and if we do not obtain, in carrying on the war, that species of success hardly to be calculated upon; we must be reduced to that state which I, for one, cannot contemplate without apprehension, of being, with respect to Europe, the *Britannos toto orbe divisos*, and be left to our own resources and our own colonial connections; or be compelled to cultivate a system the most uphill, the most difficult, and the most perplexed, particularly after the ill success of our late continental measures, which it is possible to conceive. Yet, perhaps, upon the whole, I am more inclined to the latter system, difficult and unpromising as it is. But if we do resolve to engage in that arduous and difficult struggle, demanding every effort and every exertion, or indeed upon whatever other system we resolve to act, a large army is indispensable. Even while foreign powers court our money, they feel a degradation in accepting it, and they do not view us in a favourable light under such a connection. But whether we can have an army adequate to home defence and to foreign operation, may be doubtful. Yet I will say, that while we take due precautions for home defence, by training the population to arms, the true policy of the country is to rise superior to the panic of invasion, and to show that our force and our courage are not to be confined at home. Our enemy shows us, that by disregarding the danger of particular points, and by directing his forces where the occasion demands them, he has been able to spread his dominion, and to subdue his opponents. If that system to which I have alluded were to be adopted, a great army must necessarily be maintained. In England and Scotland, I am confident the plan proposed will have the most powerful effect on the recruiting service; and, if measures could be adopted for completely conciliating the people of Ireland, it would present a nursery of brave and excellent soldiers, more faithful, in proportion to its population, than any prince in Europe possesses.

Mr. Yorke, general Norton, sir J. M. Pulteney, and general Tarleton opposed Mr. Windham's plan. Several other gentlemen held a desultory conversation on the subject, when leave was given to bring in a bill to repeal the act of the 44th Geo. III.

CHAP.

CHAPTER IV.

Debates on Mr. Tierney's Motion for explaining the Treating Act—On the Woollen Manufacturers' Suspension Bill—Lord Henry Petty's Notice of the Budget—Mr. Rose's Observations thereon—Regulation of the Office of Treasurer of the Ordnance—Vote of Thanks to Admiral Duckworth; &c.—Budget opened, with subsequent Debates on its Principles—Debates on the Bill for regulating the Intercourse between America and the West-Indies.

ALTHOUGH we have not, as it will be seen, entered much at large into the discussion of bills that have been ultimately rejected by parliament, yet we have thought it right to deviate from the general rule with respect to Mr. Tierney's motion for explaining and regulating the "Treating Act," because we apprehend, that though it has been now rejected, yet the evils attending contested elections are still so great as must finally lead to some regulations on the subject: we have therefore given the arguments on both sides of the question. The discussion on the woollen manufacturers' suspension bill will interest many of our readers; the subject must, however, be resumed in a future volume. In the plan and debates on the budget all are concerned; it is right, therefore, that an ample view of its several parts should be found in our pages: nor have we been less anxious to collect the arguments of the various speakers on the bill for legalizing the intercourse between America and the West India islands, which met with considerable opposition from the commercial interests of the house.

March 10.—Mr. Tierney, pursuant to the notice he had formerly given, rose to bring forward his motion for leave to bring in a bill to explain and render more effectual an act passed in the reign of William III., for lessening the excessive expenses to candidates at elections for members to serve in parliament. Every gentleman with whom he had conversed on the subject agreed with him on the necessity of some measure for giving effect to an act of parliament, which had been found, by uniform experience, to fall in most cases greatly short of the object it avowed; but many were of opinion the attempt would be attended with difficulties scarcely surmountable. The object of the act in question, was to exempt candidates from the enormous demands to which they were liable, under the head of charges for the conveyance and travelling expenses of voters not resident at the place of election; and to prevent the system of bribery and corruption, which, under the pretence of such charges, might be and actually was carried on. The evils in those cases could not arise in places where the voters were all residents of the town or vicinage, but where persons claiming a right to vote at such elections resided at a distance, often at the extremity of a county, which constantly gave rise to scenes of confusion and enormous expense; for, in coming to give their votes at such elections, they uniformly claimed the expenses of their conveyance and travelling charges, and those upon the most extravagant scale, from the candidates for whom they chose to vote. Perhaps there might be no very great

great objection to allow the claim of a voter, coming from a distance to give his vote, at a considerable loss of time, to some reasonable allowance for travelling charges and necessary refreshment; but the usage of making such allowances had still thrown open a door to such extravagant demands on one hand, and gave such an opportunity for bribery on the other, that every fair-intending candidate must have long since wished to see some effectual check put to such a system. The chief difficulties had occurred in Westminster-hall, and the courts of common pleas and king's bench had differed materially in their decisions upon the subject. In the former court, an action had been brought in the case of Crickett and others, on the part of a publican, to recover from a candidate a sum for refreshments given to his voters; but chief justice Eyre was of opinion, the law could not sustain such a demand, and that it was contrary to the act of William III. Another case occurred in the court of king's bench, Guildhall: it was that of Smith and Seel, in which the elector had come from Durham, where he resided, to give his vote at Taunton, where he possessed a right of voting, for one of the candidates; but before he would give his vote he demanded thirty pounds for his conveyance and travelling expenses, and said he should not vote till he was paid. He was an itinerant musician! he had calculated the expense, and would not give his vote without receiving his demand. A suit was afterwards commenced against this man, upon the ground of bribery: but the chief justice then, in summing the evidence, found that a post-chaise from Durham to Taunton, at 18*d.* per mile, amounted to much the greater part of the charge; that the man's travelling charges must also be considered, and some little allowance made for junketing with his friends at a time of election; to which adding his loss of time, the charge altogether was not considered to be of that exorbitant kind that could justify a charge of corruption or bribery, and therefore the decision was in favour of the defendant. Notwithstanding, however, the decision of the court of king's bench in that case, every man must feel the excessive hardship imposed upon a candidate who stands the election for any place situated as Taunton is, if he were to be put to the expense of 30*l.* or 40*l.* for the conveyance of any voter from the most distant part of the country, merely because that voter chose, for his own interest or convenience, to reside out of the town where he claimed such vote, and in some other town at a distance where his mere residence gave him the right of another vote, as was precisely the case here. With respect to county elections, the case was certainly different in relation to the elector; because, voting from freeholds, often in remote parts of the country, upon which they resided, certainly it would be hard for them to travel at their own expense to a county election to vote for any candidate; and though there might be no strong objection for a reasonable allowance to the voter for conveyance, yet still it would be extremely difficult to draw the line of strict propriety in all cases, so as to guard against the abuses such a system admitted of: but upon the candidate the hardship must be still greater than in the other case, because the expenses must be incalculably more enormous. No man of moderate fortune, however respectable his talents and character, could

could pretend to stand the contest for a county against a wealthy rival. The strong point therefore to which he particularly objected, was the extreme hardship imposed upon the candidate, in being left open to the claims of the voter for his conveyance and travelling charges from one extremity of a county to the other, to exercise his own privilege, and for his own advantage. It was for this he wished a remedy; and so it was an effectual one, he should not be very fastidious as to the form. A plan had been heretofore proposed, for preventing the confusion and expense attendant on county elections, by enabling the electors to give their votes within their respective districts. He should have no objection even to such arrangement; but, from the principle avowed in the very preamble of the act to which he alluded, he held it to be the clear and obvious construction of that act, that the candidate in all events should not be charged with the expenses of conveying electors to gratify their own wishes, and, for their own advantage, to exercise their privileges. And whether the expense was to be defrayed by a county rate (though he was not quite agreed as to that), or what other mode should seem more eligible, the candidate should certainly be exempt. It might be objected, that such a construction would go to disfranchise the forty-shillings freeholders. But though that was by no means his wish, nor should he be inclined to vote for such a proposition if it were brought forward; yet he begged it might be recollected, that if the original institution of forty-shillings freeholders were considered, and the circumstances under which it took place, the original spirit of that measure would be found in no degree infringed by increasing the qualification to a much higher sum, and thereby removing, in a very great degree, the evil of which he now complained; for, if the comparative values of money in the reign of Henry VI. and at this day were duly considered, it would be found the depreciation was as fifteen to one, and consequently that a qualification of 30*l.* a year, at this day, was no more than adequate to one of 40*s.* in the former. Where then would be the hardship, if a man possessed of a freehold property of 30*l.* per annum were called on once in seven years to go at his own charge to give his vote at his county election? The effect of the present system, under which the number of 40*s.* freeholders had been so very greatly increased, was very considerably to decrease the number of candidates for elections, by the dread of the enormous expenses to be incurred by election contests; whereas the increase of qualification, by confining the elective franchise to that description of men by whom it was originally designed to be exercised, would open a wide door for admitting to that house an order of men he very much wished to see there—an order of men in which England more than any country of Europe abounded—namely, men of moderate fortune, independent principles, liberal education, and sound understanding; who well understood the constitution and the true interests of their country—and were firmly attached to the maintenance of the one and the promotion of the other. He quoted several instances in which the thanks of that house had been expressly voted at different times, after general elections, to counties

and

and towns, which had returned their representatives to parliament free of any expense. Mr. Tierney concluded by arguing forcibly, that the construction which he wished to give this bill for exempting the candidate from expenses was the one avowed by the bill itself, in proof of which the house had twice since adopted resolutions to the like effect, one of which confined the expenses of the candidate to five pounds, and subsequently, as a matter of considerable indulgence, extended them to 10*l.*, in order that he might not be entangled in trivial objects, that might involve him in contest, or tend to vacate his election. The construction for which he contended was the only principle which could throw open a door for the admission into that house of men of sound principles, moderate fortunes, and interested in promoting the commerce, the agriculture, and the general welfare of the land, instead of their being excluded, as they are at present in many instances, by men without talent, without principle, without any feeling of interest in the welfare of their country, who have done no action nor manifested any wish to promote her prosperity, or possessed any other claim than their money to the right of representative. He concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill to explain and render more effectual the aforesaid act.

Mr. Fox was certainly of opinion with the right hon. gentleman on many of the points he had stated, with respect to the heavy expenses to which candidates were put; but he felt it necessary to state thus early, that there were many other points upon which he differed in opinion from the right hon. gentleman, and that the difficulties over which he seemed to pass so lightly, were not so easily remedied as he seemed to imagine. The right hon. gentleman had expressed an opinion, that forty-shillings freeholders at this day were not the same kind of men originally intended under that qualification, and that the qualification ought to be raised to 30*l.* on account of the depreciation of money since the reign of Henry VI.: but he, for one, was not disposed to abridge the number of that class of voters, or to take away their franchises because of the scantiness of their property. He, too, was ready to recur to the origin of their franchises, and to compare it with the circumstances of the present day; and, from this comparison, he was rather rejoiced at their increase of numbers, at a period when the liberties and the constitution of this country were so much better understood than in the days of York and Lancaster, when their franchises were regulated under an aristocratical scheme, to abridge the rights of election. The right hon. gentleman, he believed, as he had professed, would not now vote to disfranchise them; but he (Mr. Fox) could not see the fairness of suggesting such a measure to others, if the right hon. gentleman thought it was one for which he himself deemed it improper to vote. He was very sensible, the right hon. gentleman's arguments would very strongly apply not only to York but to Lancaster, and to many other counties in this kingdom, and that some remedy was desirable. To a plan formerly proposed for taking the votes of the freeholders in their respective districts, or at their own residences, he was, therefore, no friend; but yet he should certainly vote for

such a regulation, in preference to any plan which should go to disfranchise any considerable number of forty-shillings freeholders; a consequence much worse, in his mind, than any inconvenience complained of on the part of the candidates. The right hon. gentleman had argued, that no man had a right to vote at an election for any town of which he was not a resident: but was he aware of the extent to which such a privation would go? or how could he reconcile the principle of disfranchising an elector, whose necessary avocations, or means of livelihood, should occasionally require his absence from the place whence he derived his right of franchise? He thought the right hon. gentleman, upon mature consideration, would not approve such a principle; for how would it operate on the militia man, who, for no other cause than his removal to a distant county for the service of his king and country, must forfeit his franchise, unless he chooses to travel at an expense wholly incompatible with his obvious circumstances in life? He stated these few objects merely that the right hon. gentleman might see he had in some degree considered the subject, and that the remedies were not quite so easy as he seemed to imagine. But if the qualification of the forty-shillings freeholders, agreeably to the suggestion of the right hon. gentleman, were to be raised to 30*l.* per annum, how was he to reconcile the continuance of the representative's qualification at 600*l.* for a county, and 300*l.* for a borough? For though he (Mr. Fox) should wish those qualifications still lower, and was as desirous as the right hon. gentleman to increase the number of candidates, and to open a wider door for the admission of such members to that house as he had described, yet surely men possessing qualifications no higher than 600 or 300*l.* a year were no more of the description of men at this day originally designated by those qualifications, than even the modern forty-shillings freeholders compared with the ancient: consequently, if the qualification of the one be advanced, so must that of the other in a limited ratio. He sincerely wished, with the hon. member, that the meaning of the act in question should not be left in doubt, and that no difficulties should stand in the way of committees in forming their decision: but he could not agree to disfranchise any man merely because he was poor. To any competent regulation clear of this, or of disfranchising any considerable number of voters in the country, he should have no objection.

Upon the 21st of March Mr. Tierney moved the second reading of this act; when

Mr. Fuller expressed his surprise, that the right hon. gentleman should submit such an important motion without saying one sentence upon the subject. To say much in its favour, he thought quite beyond the power of the right hon. gentleman or any other person. Indeed, it did not appear to his mind that such a measure could at all be sustained, for its tendency would be to disfranchise an immense proportion of the freeholders of the country. In the case even of the county he had the honour to represent (Sussex), what would be the fate of the poor freeholders who lived above eighty miles from the place of polling?—Why, that such persons, unable to defray the expense of the journey,

ney, would forfeit their votes. The same thing would, no doubt, happen in many, if not all other counties. It was enough that poor freeholders should be subject to the loss of time and the trouble of going to the hustings, without being called upon to submit to the expense of carriage from distant quarters. This expense was no material loss to the candidates, and it was to be recollected that the poor voters were only treated to this jaunt once in seven years. It would be cruel, then, to dash this trivial cup from the poor man's lips. The house should bear in mind the manner in which our sagacious enemy acted towards his people, particularly towards his soldiery, to every one of whom he occasionally appealed, complimenting him at once as the judge of his conduct, the means of his success, and the partaker of his glory. A similar policy should govern this country. Every Englishman should be taught to feel a common interest with his country and its legislature; and the best mode to encourage that feeling was by making every, even the poorest freeholder, an arbiter of the conduct of his representative. But the object of this bill would be to deprive the greater part of the poor freeholders of this important right. If such a bill were to pass, the effect would be to injure independent candidates—to exclude distant voters—and to leave the fate of an election generally to the decision of the mob of the town where it might take place. Thus, the man who could best harangue the mob, would probably be the successful candidate, to the exclusion of those independent men who were most worthy to be members of parliament; for those who would not submit to great trouble would have no chance of succeeding. Sir Edward Coke observed, that those men were not fit to be members of parliament who did not care whether they were so or not; and if this bill were to be adopted, such men would, in all likelihood, be utterly excluded; for, being prevented from paying for the conveyance of voters, being too proud to canvass, and unwilling to court the mere mob at the hustings, they would have but little chance of any voters at all.—Mr. Morris forcibly argued against the measure. His objections, he said, were so radical, that no alteration or amendment could reconcile him to its adoption, and therefore he felt this the proper stage to make his stand against it. If it were meant as a declaratory law, to explain the act of king William, he would resist it, as totally unnecessary; and if meant to go further than that act, he would resist it as improper and unjust. The giving meat and drink to voters was already prohibited by the letter of the statute of William, and there, in his judgment, the law went far enough. If it proceeded the length of forbidding the conveyance of voters at the expense of candidates, he should sincerely regret it, and among others, for the reasons stated by the last speaker. It was impossible to say what mischiefs would result from the adoption of such a bill. A vast number of freeholders would be disfranchised, not for any improper act, but merely in consequence of their inability to defray the expense of their conveyance to the hustings. The right honourable mover was reported to have said, that the removal of a voter from the place where his right of voting lay was

a matter of option: but that was not the case. For the tradesman and the manufacturer must go where his industry may meet employment, he must shift his residence to follow the market. In many if not most instances, the change of residence on the part of voters is not a matter of choice but of necessity, oftentimes painful necessity, and yet this bill would aggravate such pain. In counties, the right hon. gentleman proposed the taking of the poll at different places, in order to obviate one of the most glaring objections to his bill; but such a multiplication of polling places would be productive of confusion, and of increased expense even to the candidates. The French scarcely valued such a thing as the elective franchise; but any man who had ever seen an election in this country must be sensible how different a feeling prevailed among Englishmen, how eagerly they crowded to the hustings, and how little they were in a state to be reconciled to the relinquishment of a right they so highly prized. He was glad to think on the estimation in which the people held this important privilege, and was always happy to perceive the enthusiasm which prevailed at popular elections. The learned gentleman concluded with stating, that he could not conceive the least mischief likely to arise to the freedom of election, merely from the candidates' paying the expense incurred by the carriage of poor voters to the hustings; while very great evils were to be apprehended, if, by disqualifying candidates for merely defraying such expenses, a vast number of voters should be precluded from the exercise of their franchise.—Mr. Francis said, with regard to the bill before the house, he wondered that such an idea as the disfranchisement of any body of the freeholders could enter into the mind of the right honourable mover of this bill. He rather thought his right honourable friend did not at all meditate such a thing, although such would be the particular result of his proposition. In conjunction with his right hon. friend, he remembered to have fought many battles in the cause of parliamentary reform, and he recollected that one of the strongest admonitions of the society (the Friends of the People) with which they acted was—"not to forget their principles in prosperity;" though, to be sure, if he (Mr. F.) were to forget his principles, they were not likely to be driven into oblivion by prosperity. But to return to the association he alluded to, its great object notoriously was to extend the right of voting to every species of property, but further than that not to go. There were many, no doubt, who would go further, but he was not one. He was, perhaps, considered too moderate; for he was always adverse to universal suffrage, because the idea of such a change struck him to be extremely absurd, and the danger enormous. To be sure, this idea had now grown out of fashion. But even when it was in some degree popular, his opinion uniformly was, that power must attach to property, and therefore that nothing could be gained by the change proposed. For, if power were transferred from the men of property to the populace, the property would soon follow the power. He could never, indeed, reconcile to his mind, that any men who walked the street, that chimney-sweepers and coachmen should have a right to vote. In fact, that

valuable

valuable right was never carried to such an extreme in any nation. Even in the Roman republic there were two classes of men who were excluded from all civil privileges, excepting only the protection of the law; the one were the *capita censi*, who were merely reckoned upon for servile work; and the other *proletarii*, who were deemed fit only to get children. Exclusion from the privileges of the people had always existed in all well-regulated communities, and they were extremely proper for the security both of freedom and property. Reverting to the measure now under discussion, the honourable gentleman expressed his surprise that his right hon. friend should bring forward a proposition so contradictory to the principle to which he had alluded, respecting the extension of the right of voting to every species of property. If it were the object of the right honourable gentleman to deprive the forty-shillings freeholders of their right of voting, and to confine that right to all freeholders above thirty pounds, he should at once avow it, and in which he would have a great contradiction to reconcile. This bill was of such a nature as to give some ground for suspicion; and if the right honourable gentleman did not really entertain the intention alluded to, he should not leave himself open to misconstruction.

Mr. Tierney disclaimed the slightest intention of proposing to disfranchise freeholders under thirty pounds. On the contrary, if a proposition of that nature were brought forward, he would be among the first to oppose it.

Sir R. Buxton entreated the house not lightly to reject a measure which he thought perfectly congenial with the spirit of the British constitution. According to the principles of that constitution, a man should come into that house free and independent, and the constituent who sent him there should be free and independent also. Now the former could not be so, if he were to pay an enormous sum of money for his election; nor could the latter be so, if he were to receive money for his vote: and, disguise it as gentlemen please, the expense of carriage was a species of payment to the voter. There was a time, when, instead of members paying for their election, they were paid for their attendance; and he would be glad to see the same practice again. The hon. baronet repeated his wish. Members would be likely to enter that house not with a view to derive any emoluments from the state, but for the benefit of the country.—Mr. George Rose said that he never understood it to be the fixed general opinion of the lawyers, that defraying the travelling charges of voters was not a violation of the treating act. All doubts upon this subject would be removed by the measure under discussion. He trusted that the house would pause before they rejected such a proposition, and begged them to consider, that, if the expense of carriages were allowed, it was nonsense to suppose that refreshment and treating by the way would not follow; also whether a compensation for loss of time, which would lead to complete bribery, might not be the next proposition.—Mr. Courtenay remarked upon the purity of the principle, and the refinement of notion, which the house had witnessed in the speech of the hon. baronet over the way, and the right hon. gentleman who had just followed him. Really those two gentlemen were not only so pure themselves, but they seemed to

think they were addressing themselves to an angelic audience. No doubt the hon. baronet came into that house with the purest and most disinterested views, and had nothing in view but the good of his country; and the right hon. gentleman who followed him was inspired with equal purity, and equally discarded every consideration but that of patriotism. That right hon. gentleman had stated, that it was nonsense to suppose that a voter would go from one place to another to give his vote without receiving something more than the law would allow. No doubt the right hon. gentleman spoke from his experience. He was, it might be presumed, tolerably competent to judge upon such a subject, and so, perhaps, were others also. If, in reality, every candidate were disqualified who paid the travelling expense of poor voters to the hustings, nay, something more, the right hon. gentleman would admit that the benches on both sides would be rather thinner. For himself, he would say, that he did not like this extreme solicitude to exclude the poor from the gratification usually enjoyed at popular elections. They seldom had such opportunities, and when they offered they ought not to be shut out from them, merely on the pretence of seeking for purity. He could not approve of the use of a filtering-stone to clear away all the mud of poverty, vulgar mirth, &c. from popular elections, and let nothing but the pure water of affluence, good order, &c. trickle down to invigorate the members of that house. The right hon. mover had said, that he would not introduce a bill to disqualify freeholders under thirty pounds. But it would not perhaps be amiss to call to mind, that the bill of Henry VI. confining the right of voting to freeholders of forty shillings, was itself a bill of disqualification; and it was one advantage resulting from the depreciation of money, that the object of that disqualification law had in a great measure been defeated. But to return to the bill before the house, which he felt it his duty to resist, notwithstanding the high degree of regard which he entertained for his right hon. friend with whom it originated; he should get rid of it with a couplet of Dryden's, which was applied in the days of Charles II. to a measure similarly calculated to interfere with the popular enjoyments at elections—

"... where every man enjoys
His liberty, his property, and noise."

The attorney-general hoped to be forgiven while he in as few words as possible stated the situation in which the law of the case at present stood. The only instance in which a solemn decision on the point had taken place was that before alluded to, in the court of common pleas, in which the law was laid down as stated by his right hon. friend who introduced the bill: as to what had passed at nisi prius, he did not pretend to know. As to the state of the practices before the committees of the house of commons, that, he confessed, had been in general contrary to the decision of the court of common pleas. He had had considerable practice in matters of that kind, and he had seen several committees find that the providing of carriages to electors who resided at a distance, or supplying them with the means of providing such carriages, were not violations of the act of king William. Other committees he had seen find, that supporting such electors while absent from home, and enabling them again to return

return to the place from whence they came, were also not to be esteemed as falling under the act. For twenty years, he was certain, that had been the general plan pursued by committees: that is to say, elections were not declared void on account of such practices. But the difficulty had always been, what was properly to be ascribed to those motives, and if, under pretence of such allowance, any corruption had been exercised. Where no such excess was found, the facts already stated were not esteemed grounds on which the elections should be declared void. This was an extremely singular state of the law between our courts of justice and our parliamentary judicature. In the courts of law, an action for these expenses could not be entertained; in our parliamentary judicature, they were held to be perfectly legal. He had indeed seen committees who thought otherwise, and who had esteemed such furnishings to come within the statute of William. But what must be the case of the candidate in such an uncertain state of matters? or what could a person to whom he applied for advice say to him? He might tell him—I cannot advise you, the general turn of the opinion of the committees is so and so—that, by the act of king William, it was, at least, extremely questionable how far he was entitled to grant any of those furnishings; but still he could give him no precise advice by which he might not be injured either in a court of law or by a parliamentary judicature. Miserable, in such a state as this, must the case of the candidate be. For these reasons he wished the bill might be allowed to go through a committee, where it would be in the power of the house to determine the general rule, or admeasurement, by which conveyances for electors were to be regulated. He could not approve of the bill as it now stood. If it were to be laid down, that a candidate by conveying an elector on a coach-box from the place of his residence to the scene of the election forfeits his seat, he should esteem it, not the disfranchisement of the electors but of the candidates.

Mr. Tierney replied; and the question being then loudly called for, the house divided, when the numbers appeared,

Ayes, for the second reading, -	73
Noes, - - - - - - - - - - - -	17
Majority for the bill, - - -	56

The bill was then read the second time, and committed: it was again discussed and re-committed for the purpose of divers amendments on the 29th of April. The amendments being received, and the bill engrossed, Mr. Tierney on the 7th of June moved that it be read a third time; when

Mr. Blackburne observed that it was now more than declaratory, for it allowed carriages to the voters, which were not warranted by the act of king William. He approved the bill in its original state, but the amendment had changed its nature, and would leave the hon. mover without support from either side of the house.

Several other members opposed the third reading.

Mr. Tierney said he felt himself in an extraordinary situation, for, having brought in a bill to which there were some objections, by agreeing to remove these he lost the support that he had before, without gaining any thing to counterbalance the loss. Having entered at some length on the subject, he concluded with saying, that if the house did

not pass the bill, great mischief would be done, for it would be understood that henceforth money might be given freely.

After some observations from Mr. Fox, who opposed the bill because it went to diminish the number of electors, which, he said, ought to be particularly guarded against, the house divided: for the third reading 17; against it 42. The bill was accordingly thrown out.

Lord Temple on the 12th of March moved the commitment of the woollen manufacturers' suspension bill, which renewed a discussion that had already occupied much of the attention of the house. His lordship contented himself with barely making the motion; upon which

Mr. Moore said he did not mean to oppose the bill, but to make it more perfect. The suspension had at first taken place only for six months, before the end of which time it was expected that this business would have been settled; but it was still in the same situation as at the beginning. He had no objection to suspend the operations of the act against encroachments that had already taken place; but it was fair, that while the suspension continued, no further encroachment should be allowed, till the house came to a decision. He hoped that the members of the counties who contended for the FEW, would concede thus far to him who supported the MANY.

Mr. Lascelles, in consequence of the allusion to the *few* and the *many*, disclaimed all party views in this business: it was a subject of too much importance to admit of them. There were thirteen or fourteen statutes regulating that trade, made at an early period, most of which were not applicable to it in its present state, and doubts were entertained as to the propriety of the rest. All he wished was to have the affair investigated by government, as a great question of national policy.

Mr. Wilberforce thought the interests of the few and the many, in this case, perfectly consistent. It was the obvious interest of both that the trade should flourish. The hon. gentleman did not observe, perhaps, that he was counsel for many master manufacturers, who carried on the trade on a small scale, in their own houses, and amidst their own families, exhibiting a picture of industry, comfort, morality, and independence, of which they who had not seen them could scarcely form an idea. He did not wish to impair these, but to advance them; not, however, by extending restrictions, but in the manner in which the interests of commerce could best be promoted. He wished the affair to undergo the fullest elucidation on an early day, and to this discussion none would come with a more sincere desire of doing justice to all parties than himself; and he knew them so well that he could venture to say, that whatever, after mature deliberation, might be the decision of parliament, they would acquiesce in it.

After some other observations from Mr. Brooke, Mr Moore, and Mr. Wilberforce, lord Temple gave notice that on the following Friday he would move for a committee to examine into the state of the woollen manufacture. On that day, when his lordship had made the motion,

Lord H. Petty admitted the necessity of such a committee. For three years the suspension law had been enacted, without in the least tending to remove or even abate the evil complained of. A suspension

struck

struck him to be generally exceptionable; but, when applied to evils which it held out no prospect of curing, it was peculiarly unconstitutional and mischievous Evils of such a nature as those to which the proposed committee was to direct its inquiry, ought not to be temporised with. They should be met boldly; and when the committee should bring up its report, he trusted that the house would determine to face it with firmness, and resolve to put an end to an evil which had so long kept the country in a state of fermentation. This was the interest of the employers, the employed, and the country.

Mr. Lascelles said that the evil which it was the object of the proposed committee to correct, did not originate in the suspension law, but that this law was rendered necessary by the existence, and calculated to restrain the operation of this evil. The fact was, that a number of statutes existed, which were quite inapplicable to the present state of the woollen manufactures. Yet upon these obsolete statutes several prosecutions had been commenced; and to guard against the effects of such prosecutions the suspension law was introduced. Still he felt that it could serve only as a temporary expedient, until, as in this instance, it was determined fully to investigate the subject, and to decide what laws should continue in force, or whether any new laws should be enacted with regard to the state of the woollen manufacture.

The committee was appointed, and the several petitions from the manufacturers of Gloucestershire, Yorkshire, Lancashire, &c. were referred to it. The committee was invested with the power of reporting their opinion as to what statutes ought to be repealed, continued, or enacted upon the subject.

The suspension bill was afterwards carried through the house, and sent to the lords, by whom counsel was heard on both sides of the question; and on the 20th of March it was read a third time and passed.

On the 21st of March lord Hen. Petty gave notice that on Friday he should bring forward the ways and means for the year, and make the statement which was commonly denominated the budget. Upon which

Mr. Rose asked if it was intended to bring forward the army estimates for the year, before the motion of which the noble lord had given notice, as no instance had occurred since the revolution, of the budget having been submitted to parliament until the amount of the military expense of the country was precisely stated.

No satisfactory answer having been given to this observation Mr. Rose on the 24th rose again to state, as the mature result of a fuller consideration on the subject, that, upon the deepest researches he had been able to make, he found there was no instance of bringing forward the ways and means for the year, before all the estimates for the public service of the year were fairly before the house. This, therefore, must afford a very strong ground of objection to the noble lord's proceeding in the manner he proposed. He was aware that the supply wanted was 24,415,000*l.*, toward which the war taxes would amount to fourteen millions, and this sum would very greatly exceed the supply. Therefore, until the house should be in possession of the military and other estimates completely

for

for the year, they could not know for what purpose so large an exceeding was intended.

Lord Henry Petty answered, it was his only wish to state to the house fully the objects of public expense, and the ways and means by which he proposed to meet them.

After a short conversation on this subject, the speaker interfered, as there was no motion before the house; upon which

Lord H. Petty moved for the house to go into a committee on the bill for the better regulation of the office of treasurer of the ordnance, the objects of which were, 1. That the house might have under its view a correct regulation in the mode of expenditure, for such sums of the public money as it should think proper to vote for this branch of public service: and, 2. For securing the responsibility of the public officer charged with the disbursement of such expenditure; and to prevent, as far as possible, the misapplication of money intrusted to his charge.

The house resolved itself into a committee, and after a short debate the subject was postponed.

On the 24th lord Grenville in the house of peers, and on the next day Mr. Grey in the commons, moved a vote of thanks to admirals Duckworth, Cochrane, and Louis, on account of the late successes in the West Indies, which in both instances was carried unanimously; and on the 28th a message was brought down from his majesty, stating his intention of settling a pension of 1000*l.* a year, for life, on sir J. Duckworth. As soon as the message was agreed to be taken into consideration,

Lord Henry Petty rose to state the supplies that would be necessary for the year, and the ways and means that were proposed to meet them. He felt that a very arduous duty was imposed upon him, and he trusted he should receive, as he was conscious he should require, the whole attention and indulgence of the house. He should not go to any length in observation, and much less in speculations, not only from fear of detaining the house unnecessarily, but because he knew how infinitely more important and interesting a plain statement of facts must be, than any speculation in which he might otherwise feel disposed to indulge. He should first state the amount of the national debt, and afterwards, the means which the country is possessed of, both to meet the interest of the debt, and to operate its final extinction. To meet the interest of the debt, the country looked to the consolidated fund; but for the final extinction of it, it looked to the operation of the sinking fund. On the 1st of January 1806, the amount of the funded debt was 517,280,000*l.*, and there had been redeemed by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt 12⅝,476,000*l.* Such was the present state of the funded debt, and the operation of that sinking fund which had been established for its extinction. He next proceeded to the statement of the amount of the unfunded debt, which on the 5th of January 1805 amounted, after several deductions for anticipations, to 20,305,586*l.* The unfunded debt had also increased in the course of the last year, and amounted on the 1st of January 1806 (after making similar deductions) to 28,165,747*l.* It would therefore appear, that the whole increase, which had taken place during

during the course of last year in the unfunded debt, was 2,863,161*l.* After having thus stated the amount of the whole of the debt, it became his duty to show the house, that the country possessed the fair means of supporting the interest of this debt, great as it undoubtedly was, and for its extinction by the means of the sinking fund. The permanent taxes amounted to 32,535,971*l.*, from which, after deductions for different miscellaneous services, there remained of the consolidated fund 30,729,321*l.*, upon which was charged the interest of the national debt, amounting to 23,172,730*l.*: it therefore appeared, that the surplus of the consolidated fund, which would go to the extinction of the debt, amounted to 7,566,591*l.*, which bore to the whole debt a proportion of 1 to 68. He thought that, after having made this statement, it was impossible for him to make a better eulogium on the institution of the sinking fund, than by showing what it had already done to prevent the accumulation of the debt, and how much of it had actually been extinguished by its operation. The benefits of this wise institution were not merely prospective and in promise, but the country had already derived the most considerable advantges from it. It was a system which the nation should adhere and cling to, not merely from the considerations of good faith to those who had advanced their money on the credit of its constant operation, and the security it afforded to the financial resources of the country, but they should be attached to it from the advantages that had been found to result from it, and from its positive and tried utility. He next proceeded to state the expenditure of the year 1805, and compare it with the estimated expenditure of the present year. There was a very slight difference between the expenditure of the last year, and that which was estimated for the present. Although in some points there was an increase of expense, yet in others there was a diminution which nearly balanced it. The estimated supplies of the present year would be for the joint charge of England and Ireland, 43,669,000*l.* Of this total sum, the supplies to be voted for the navy would be (exclusive of the ordnance) 15,281,000*l.*: for the army of England and Ireland, about 18,500,000*l.* Although he could not then have the satisfaction of stating the precise services to which that sum would be applied, or even the exact amount of the estimated expense of the army, he could state that the sum he had mentioned would be very nearly what the army estimates of the year would amount to. The expense, it would be seen, did not much exceed that of the former year, as the excess in some instances would be corrected by the diminution in others. For the ordnance, including that for the sea service, the estimate was 4,718,000*l.* The miscellaneous services for England and Ireland would be 2,170,900*l.* Under this general head of miscellaneous services would be brought the expense that he was sure the house would gladly agree to: in the first place, of a provision for the family of the late lord viscount Nelson; and in the second place, to carry into effect the intention of his majesty in making an ample compensation to the brave and loyal seamen who had fought upon that memorable occasion, and were not sufficiently rewarded by the captures

tures that had been made. There was an arrear of subsidies to foreign powers, which might be estimated at a million, and there was to be a vote of credit of two millions, 1,400,000*l.* of which would be for England, and 600,000*l.* for Ireland. These sums, taken together, amounted to the sum he had stated, as the total of the joint charge of England and Ireland. To this were to be added the separate charges of England, which were, in the first place, the sum of one million to the East India company. It would be recollected, that a considerable time had now elapsed since commissioners had been appointed for settling the account between the country and the East India company. Another sum of a million had been paid before in 1803. There was also a deficiency in the malt duty, for the year 1805, of 340,000*l.* and in the ways and means of 1,707,000*l.* The interest on exchequer bills was a million, and 1,200,000*l.* was required to pay debentures on the loyalty loan. These sums, being added to the former, would make the total of the supplies for the year amount to 48,916,000*l.*; but when from that sum was deducted 5,137,528*l.*, being the proportion for Ireland, there remained, as the supplies to be furnished by England, 43,618,472*l.*

WAYS AND MEANS.

In order to meet this supply, the ways and means were, 1st, the malt and personal estate duties, amounting to 2,750,000*l.* The next article was one million arising from the produce of the ships captured before the commencement of the war. It was clear, that of this million, Ireland was entitled to her proportion of two-seventeenths. The profits of the lottery he should calculate at 380,000*l.* The profits of the lotteries for the year 1805 were 387,000*l.*, and he saw no reason to suppose that the lotteries of the present year would not be equally productive. He should next state the loan for twenty millions (two millions being for Ireland), which he had concluded that morning upon terms which he trusted would be considered advantageous to the country, and satisfactory to the house, and which he was informed had also turned out to be profitable to those who had subscribed for it. The terms were, that for every 100*l.* the subscribers should have 100*l.* in the consols, and 66*l.* in the 3 per cent. reduced, which would make the interest for the money advanced 4*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.* for every 100*l.* As to the arrears that were due on account of the subsidies to foreign powers, it was a matter of extreme difficulty, from the nature of the treaties, and the manner in which they were made, to ascertain precisely the amount of them; he considered them, however, at about a million. The war taxes was the next and most prominent article among the ways and means. All those reasons which induced the house to approve of the introduction of the system of war taxes, must now operate with additional force for continuing them and carrying them into full effect. It was in contemplation of the enormous amount of the national debt, and to prevent its further increase, that the system was first adopted of raising within the year a considerable part of the supplies of the year. This system necessarily introduced something of direct taxation. It was needless to dwell upon the efforts that had been made for this purpose, in the assessed

sessed taxes, the income tax, and the property tax. In those efforts it was sufficiently apparent, that in endeavouring to prevent the accumulation of the national debt, the house conceived that it was contending with the most formidable enemy that this country had. In the year 1793, the debt of this country was only 227,000,000*l.*, but in 1803 it was 480,572,000*l.*, being an increase of 253,372,000*l.* in the short space of ten years. It appeared, then, that in those ten years the average increase of the debt was twenty-five millions annually. The debt at present amounted to 517,280,526*l.* From this statement it appeared, that, in the present war, the annual average increase of the debt is only twelve millions, whereas in the former war it was twenty-five millions. The reason of this great difference was to be accounted for principally by the system of war taxes. Not only the credit and honour of the country, but its strength and security, derived such great advantages from this system, that it ought still to be persevered in. The first and most productive of those taxes was the property tax. Without pretending to say, that it was the most perfect that could be devised, and the most fair and equal that could be suggested, he must say, that comparatively with the preceding ones of the assessed taxes, and the income tax, it was the most equal and the most practicable. Besides its advantage in principle, it had another advantage, that it was now a regularly established tax, and considerable time and pains had been given to bring it to be productive with as little inconvenience as possible. It was proposed then, at present, that this tax should be now raised to ten per cent. He thought it would be better to carry it at once to that point which might be considered its limit, instead of proceeding by gradual augmentations, which would make the public uncertain to what point the tax would ultimately be carried. It appeared to him that 10 per cent. was the natural limit, beyond which it ought not to pass, and that it would be better and more satisfactory to the general feelings to bring it at once to that point. In the execution of this act, the inconvenience, delay, uncertainty, and frauds, which so much prevailed, were principally owing to the many exemptions which were given in the present act, and the difficulty that the commissioners found in ascertaining what claims of exemptions they should allow, and what they should disallow. It was proposed, therefore, to take away those exemptions; but as that would bear hard on a class that were entitled to the support of the house, he meant to propose that they should be indemnified in another manner. The class that he thought ought to be protected from suffering by this alteration were small tradesmen and small annuitants. Those who had no property, and lived solely by the profits of their labour, were in this respect circumstanced differently from the landed gentleman, or the man of personal property: it was an easy matter for the latter class to add labour to property (if they chose it), but it was difficult indeed for the other class to add property to labour, whatever exertions they might make for that purpose. For the relief of the small annuitants, it was intended to propose, that after they

they had paid their property tax, upon their producing at the tax-office the will or document under which they held an annuity not exceeding 50*l.* per annum, the tax-office should be authorized to make repayments. He should propose to add another million to the war taxes by increasing the customs and excise duties; seven hundred thousand of which sum should be from the customs, and three hundred thousand from the excise.

Having thus explained to the house some of the means by which he intended to meet the supplies necessary for the public service, he would next draw its attention to the new taxes which he meant to propose. The first would be an addition to the duty upon wine, the amount of which he calculated at 500,000*l.* The next would be a duty of 40*s.* per ton upon pig-iron. A few years ago, the quantity of pig-iron manufactured in this country amounted to upwards of 200,000 tons a year: he expected it would produce at least 500,000*l.* It was his intention also to protect the persons engaged in that branch of trade, by a countervailing duty upon foreign iron. The third partook rather of the nature of a regulation than a new tax; it was an equalization of the duties upon tea, which he calculated would produce 70,000*l.* per annum. The fourth new tax he had to propose was a duty upon appraisements. Property disposed of by auction was subject to a tax; and he saw no reason, when it became necessary, why property sold by appraisement, which was in its nature a species of private auction, should be exempt from a duty. This, he calculated, would produce about 66,000*l.*, amounting to about one-half the auction duty collected annually. The total of the new taxes therefore would be—

On Wine — —	£.500,000
Pig-iron —	500,000
Equalization of tea-duty —	70,000
Appraisements	66,000
Making a total of	1,136,000

He wished that he had been able to state to the house, that the burthens which he had found himself under the necessity of proposing to impose upon the country were light, but it was impossible for him to do so. They must be heavily felt by many of those classes upon which they must necessarily fall; but he was not without hopes that they would be borne willingly and cheerfully. He would not think so unworthily of his country, as to allow himself to suppose for a moment, that the burthens which the public service required, would not be supported with that fortitude, constancy, and perseverance, which were the noble characteristics of the nation in circumstances of peril or exigency. There never was a period at which a firm display of those great qualities was more necessary, if they considered the crisis in which they were placed with respect to Europe. While he looked to that confidence which he had reason to suppose the people entertained, that the money which would be drawn from them would be strictly appropriated and œconomically applied, he was convinced that every man would submit to his share of the public burthens with alacrity. If ever men were committed to principles of œconomy, those with whom he had the honour of acting were pledged to them. Should they deviate from them,

them, instead of that honest fame, of which all men were more or less desirous, they would incur the shame and disgrace of having acted contrary to the principles which they had professed and recommended.

Mr. Francis rose to express his approbation of the able manner in which the noble lord had brought forward his budget. In that able statement the noble lord had by no means disappointed his expectations, or excited his surprise; for it was no more than he was taught to hope, from his lucid mind and eminent talents. There were, however, two passages in the speech of the noble lord, to which he wished to draw the attention of the house; the one of which gave him much satisfaction, and the other extreme regret. The first was that wherein the noble lord had stated his success in having induced the directors of the bank of England to take upon them the business of receiving the duty upon dividends on the property in their hands, whereby so considerable a saving would be effected to the public, and so much of evasion of the property tax avoided; a measure which the noble lord's predecessor had stated to the house upon a former occasion, that he had endeavoured to induce the bank directors to undertake, but in vain. The other passage, upon which he felt regret, on account of the severity that must attach upon so many classes of the community, was the sudden advance of the property tax to ten per cent. per annum: he could not coincide in the sentiment expressed by the noble lord, that a gradual increase of the tax would have been more objectionable, while to double the tax at once would be the mode of reconciling it to the public; from this part of the noble lord's proposition he could not withhold his dissent.

Messrs. Rose, Percival, Fox, sir William Young, and other gentlemen, took part in the discussion, after which the several resolutions were read and agreed to; but on the 31st the subject was debated more at large. On that day

Mr. Francis rose and observed, that whatever difference of opinion might arise between the noble lord, and him, the public service would be the great object which both of them would have in view. It was a maxim founded on a knowledge of mankind, and he had now lived long enough to be enabled to speak from experience, that it was easy to do wrong at first, he did not mean moral wrong, but error and mistake, and that numberless difficulties arose out of such wrong, which could scarcely be got over, but which might have easily been prevented by a little more care and attention at the outset. These were general reflections merely, which applied to all times and to all administrations, but which were peculiarly applicable now, as the difficulties of the country had increased, and were still increasing. There were two points which, in his opinion, were deserving of the particular attention of the house. The first related to those who were declared entitled to exemptions under the property tax. It was said by the noble lord, that those who were possessed of small annuities above 50*l.* a year were to pay the tenth of their income, in the first instance, and, upon producing the deeds or wills under which they held them, they were to be entitled to the proper repayment. The difficulties here would certainly be so great, that those persons who had

had any exemptions in this way, would not be able to avail themselves of them. Here was a man who had a small annuity; he was required to pay; but in multitudes of instances it would happen that it would be impossible for such persons to lay down the money. This surely was not a reasonable thing. But then there was another difficulty. Suppose the man should be enabled to pay the money, the process which would be necessary to get the repayment would often be so tedious and vexatious, that he would rather give it up altogether. He himself had sometimes been induced rather to give up his claims to repayments, when he had been overcharged, than undergo the fatigue and trouble necessary to do himself justice. What then would be the situation of a poor man who might perhaps have a trade to attend to? The noble lord had been charged with having thrown a gloom over the situation of the country with respect to its finances. He did not think that the charge was well founded. But if the noble lord had done so, he would probably have been nearer the truth. He could not believe that the country could be in prosperity that presented any of the following features. The poor were not supported by their industry, but we were obliged to share with them our incomes to the amount of six millions. This did not look like national prosperity. It was true that in this capital he never saw such an appearance of abundance as he observed at present, but he believed that this did not extend beyond the capital. In the history of France it would be found, that under the regency of the duke of Orleans, Paris was wallowing in luxury and apparent wealth, at the time when the Mississippi scheme was set on foot. But what happened next day? Why, down went the Mississippi paper, and down went Paris too. This, then, was not a criterion of national prosperity. He believed that the appearance of abundance in London was supported in much the same way as it was at Paris, by an immense circulation of paper, and our paper might be as precarious as that of Paris was. He thought that between the operation of the paper and the property tax pressing so heavily upon us, no man could know to-day what his property might be to-morrow. There was only one remedy for the danger which was hanging over us on this account; and unless this remedy could be had recourse to, he desired to hear no more about the prosperity of the country. This remedy, after long meditation upon the subject, he believed to be the resumption of payments in specie by the bank of England. Without this, he was afraid that there was no salvation from the great danger that threatened us. An act of parliament might protect the bank, but it could not justify it. The legislature, he contended, could not, in consistency with the plainest maxims of justice, force him to take paper instead of specie. He now came to the taxes. He did not mean to enter upon this or that tax, he objected to them all; to all those which went to pay the 1,136,000*l.* interest on the loan. Now this brought him to the sinking fund. He would say what he thought of it. It was a thing which required no great genius. Sir Robert Walpole and others had such a thing in contemplation. But still he gave credit to the person who established it, not for the design, but the effects of it. Now eight millions were regularly

regularly expended on this fund, and what was the effect of it? The only effect was, that it kept the three per cents. at 60. For this the nation was taxed; and when the fund increased, then the taxes would increase. When he asked whether he was the better for it? he was answered, that to be sure he paid more taxes, but that he was the better for it, because the fund had a more favourable relation to the existing debt. He confessed this; but he was neither richer nor poorer than before. But the public ought not to be crushed with taxes to support this; and the conclusion was, that some relief ought to be given to the people in the matter of taxation. How was this to be done? Why, by taking off part of the taxes which went to supply the sinking fund, unless a necessity could be shown for this; and then there must be an end of all argument.

Mr. Secretary Fox said, he should not trouble the house at any length. What the honourable gentleman objected to was not any thing new that was introduced in the present plan, but it was part of the system which had hitherto been pursued. Under the former acts, a person who had only an income of 40*l.* a year by annuity was exempted from the tax, and yet the tax was, in the first instance, collected from the person who granted the annuity. He knew many instances of this kind in the small annuities granted by the duke of Bedford, and other noblemen. The income tax operated immediately on the annuity, and was collected from the person who granted it; but if it afterwards appeared that the annuitant had no other income than this annuity, he was repaid the amount of the tax. As to the sinking fund, the honourable gentleman said, that ministers were always fond of extolling it: for his part, he must say, that he always did extol it, at the time that he was unconnected with ministers as well as at present. He did not mean to say, that the sinking fund was any extraordinary discovery that required uncommon genius: he was convinced, that any administration that could have been formed immediately after the American war, must have introduced the system of a sinking fund of some kind or other. Whether it would have been arranged as it now is, he could not say; but, although the creation of a sinking fund was at that time a matter of obvious necessity, yet he always thought that the man who did introduce the system, and place it on a proper foundation, was deserving of considerable praise; and, in that point of view, he at all times was ready to express his sense of the merit of the right honourable gentleman (now no more) who introduced it. If the sinking fund had no other effect than what had been stated, of keeping the three per cent. consols at sixty pounds, which would otherwise be much lower, it was evident that this alone was so far a positive relief to the country, that when the funds were high, the loans were contracted for at a smaller interest, and, consequently, the taxes which were to be raised for meeting that interest were also smaller. It was a matter merely of arithmetical calculation. If, instead of sixty pounds, the consols were at fifty pounds, it was most evident that the loans would be made on more disadvantageous terms. He knew that there were many able men who doubted the advantages of the sinking fund, but nothing that

he had ever heard had either altered his conviction, or even raised a doubt upon his mind. He would not say, that because it was now necessary to apply the whole of the sinking fund to the reduction of the debt, it might not be possible that the time would arrive when it would not be necessary. He knew that it was in the contemplation of that right honourable gentleman who introduced the sinking fund, that times of prosperity might come, when part of this fund might properly be applied to the reduction of the taxes, and lightening the burdens of the nation; but he could by no means think that this time had yet arrived. With respect to what had been suggested, as the only remedy for all the evils of the nation, the taking off the restriction upon the bank, he certainly wished to see that restriction at an end, and had often opposed it as unnecessary. As to the property tax, he had always opposed the gradual augmentation. He thought it was better at once to raise it to that sum which was likely to be its limit, and he thought generally, it would be the best way in the commencement of every war that the nation should know at once nearly the extent of the war taxes, which it would be called upon to pay. He thought these taxes should be settled for four or five years, if the war should last so long, and that people should not be alarmed with the fear of perpetual augmentations.

Mr. Huskisson trusted he should meet with the indulgence of the house, while he submitted to them the objections which occurred to him on some of the statements made by the noble lord previous to his moving the resolutions. But his observation should principally relate to what had been represented as the deficiencies of last year. The statement of the noble lord had made a considerable impression on his mind. It seemed to follow from his representation, either that the late chancellor of the exchequer had made an inadequate provision for the expenditure of the year, or that the ways and means had not been sufficiently productive; or, lastly, that his late illustrious friend had shrunk from his duty, in not making provision for all the demands which he foresaw as likely to be made on the public. He should, therefore, trouble the house with some remarks on the various items of deficiency, as they had been stated by the noble lord. The first was a deficiency in the produce of the land and malt duties; but this had existed every year since the tax was first imposed, and therefore could not be considered as a charge particularly thrown upon the present ministers. The second was the ordnance charges of last year, which remained unprovided for, to the amount of 560,000*l*. This, however, from a reference to past years, in which these charges had been much more considerable, might be proved to be no unusual circumstance. Again, the million to be paid to the East India company, which the noble lord had mentioned as one of the charges of the present year, could not be considered as an arrear of the last year, but as an incidental charge, which could only be provided for after it was ascertained. He had thought it necessary to make these observations on the deficiencies to be provided for in the present year, though he could not suppose they were brought forward by the noble lord with the invidious design of reflecting on the memory of his late illustrious

illustrious friend. The provision made for the family of lord Nelson was an incidental expense of the present year, similar to that which he had last mentioned. The next item of deficiency which had been mentioned was one million, which would be necessary for fulfilling our engagements with continental powers. The impression produced by this statement was, that the vote of credit for three millions and a half had been expended in those subsidies, and that one million more remained to be provided for: but the fact was, that on the 5th of January, 1806, there remained in the exchequer the sum of 1,600,000*l.* of the money raised on the vote of credit, which had been partly appropriated to other uses. The next item was, a deficiency in the ways and means of last year: but this deficiency, he contended, had generally occurred, and must always be looked for. The sum of one million, being part of the vote of credit, had been applied to the service of the navy for the present year, and therefore might be fairly considered as part of the ways and means.

Lord H. Petty in reply said, that the account of deficiencies had not been brought forward with a view of throwing any blame on the late chancellor of the exchequer. Had such been the intention, the sum total alone of their amount would have been mentioned; instead of which, every item was specified, and the house furnished with the means of judging concerning them. In the statement which he had submitted to the house, he had no view of inculpation whatever, but was only performing that duty which he owed to the house, and to the country, in laying before them the deficiencies which remained to be provided for. But if a defence was made where no attack was intended, it would be necessary to repeat what supplies were not provided for last year. He then entered into various calculations, showing that the arrears of last year amounted to about seven millions; to provide for which there were only assets to the amount of between two and three millions: so that more than four millions remained to be provided for. On the whole, when laying before the house a view of the deficiencies to be provided for, he had merely done that which he had felt it his duty to do, without meaning to cast any reflection on his late predecessor in office. He nearly coincided in opinion with the hon. gentleman (Mr. Francis) on the subject of the suspension of payments in specie by the bank. He could not consider the country as enjoying the same solid basis of prosperity, while that suspension continued, as it had done before; though still the commercial system of credit in this country was not for a moment to be compared with the Mississippi scheme. And though this was not, perhaps, the time to propose a removal of the suspension, yet such removal should be an object never lost sight of by his majesty's ministers, and the bank ought never to be encouraged to expect that it would be of constant duration.

Lord Castlereagh.—Sir, I am desirous, on the present occasion, of troubling the house with some general observations on the financial arrangements of the year. Approving as I do of the principle upon which the noble lord has framed his budget, namely, that of making an effort to raise a further proportion of the supplies within

the year, and not seeing any prominent grounds of objection to the particular taxes he has proposed, I have been solicitous to reserve any points of difference till a later stage, when I might state what occurred to me more particularly, in objection to the very unusual course parliament has been called on to adopt on the present occasion, viz. that of determining on the ways and means for the year before the army has been voted. I am not wishing to interrupt the unanimity which it is my wish should prevail on the main question. So far as this manly and wise policy, which the noble lord has acted upon, can carry with it any degree of unpopularity, I shall be most ready to share it with him, and deem it due to him distinctly to express my persuasion that, had the late government continued in office, the people would have been called on to submit to burthens of equal magnitude. I shall now proceed to state my objections to the course of our proceedings, not with any view to impede the grants in progress, but to take such notice of what appears to me to be a serious departure from the constitutional practice of parliament, upon no case of necessity, or adequate expediency, first stated to the house, as may protect us hereafter against the repetition of so injurious a proceeding. The noble lord has endeavoured to contend that, provided money raised upon the subject does not pass from under the control of this house; and provided the votes, in appropriation of such moneys to particular services, do not exceed the quantum of supply previously voted by the house, every requisite principle is satisfied. In this I must differ from the noble lord. There are two principles in themselves perfectly distinct; the one, that the public money shall not be applied without the express consent of parliament; the other, that parliament shall not burthen the people unnecessarily, and consequently shall neither by loans nor taxes impose burthens in a committee of ways and means, till the necessity for them has been ascertained by previous votes in the committee of supply. In support of this doctrine, founded equally on good sense as in parliamentary usage, he read to the house the opinion of Mr. Hatsell. Such being indisputably the true principle, I am not one of those who will ever contend, that what was meant as a protection and security for the people, shall be rendered prejudicial to their interests by its unqualified and strict application in all cases. I am ready to admit that a rigid adherence to this principle has not been, and cannot in all cases be observed; but what I do contend is, that a departure from it to the extent now proposed, and upon no assigned ground whatever, cannot possibly be justified. The surplus of the consolidated fund, which it is the policy of parliament, for many reasons, to uphold, is a small departure from the strictness of the principle; the imposing war taxes to the amount hitherto of fourteen and now of twenty millions annual produce, is certainly a greater, but still this is keeping largely within the obvious and necessary expenditure of the year, and is adopted upon distinct considerations of the wisest policy. But when the noble lord proceeds to raise the entire residue of the funds for the year before the house has determined on the amount of the army; when we are called upon to assume that what is now to be entirely new-modelled, is to cost neither more nor

less than the exploded and condemned army of last year; and this, upon the mere personal dictum of the chancellor of the exchequer, without even an estimate or account being laid on the table; it must be admitted that we are surrendering our judgment, and are proceeding merely upon confidence: the possible inconveniences are obvious: supposing the noble lord should have taken five millions more than the house may hereafter think fit to vote in supply, the people are in so much unnecessarily burthened: supposing he should have taken five millions less than, in the view of parliament, the public exigencies may require; can he, after having made his loan, and taught the contractors to expect, if not given them a pledge, that no more money would be raised, provide the necessary means with the same convenience and advantage to the public? The noble lord, not having offered a single observation to the house to justify this proceeding even on grounds of expediency, I can only state, that those which obviously suggest themselves, as having occasioned it, are not in my judgment, as at present informed, satisfactory; and first, the delay of the right honourable gentleman's plan for the reform of the army. It will be for us hereafter to judge how far this mighty change, which is to throw our financial as well as military system out of its course, was called for either by the defects of the existing system, or the merits of that which is to succeed it. The other explanation which occurs, is the possible wants of the treasury as necessitating this early loan, on the policy of contracting for which at the precise period at which it took place, I shall feel it my duty to state some doubts. How long the exchequer could have carried on the public service without this aid, it is not possible for me, with precision, to judge; but I have the noble lord's own authority for supposing that no money was wanting sooner than the 18th of April; that being the day on which I understand he at first stated to the contractors, that he should be satisfied to receive the first instalment. Having determined to make his bargain on the 30th of March, and having declared to parliament his purpose of opening his budget on that day; upon learning from the contractors, what was in itself pretty obvious, that this long interval, wholly unexampled in contracts for loans, was extremely objectionable to them, as leaving them altogether at the mercy of their subscribers, in case of any intermediate fall in the market; his lordship was obliged to change his plan, and take the first payment on the 6th of April, when the market is peculiarly unfavourable for such an operation. The bargain made is certainly in itself an advantageous one, generally speaking, for the public; but as terms are relatively good or bad, I am not prepared to say that somewhat better terms might not have been obtained, if this first instalment of 2,000,000*l.* had been to be paid in at the time the noble lord first intended, and subsequent to the time when April dividends, amounting to 6,000,000*l.*, had found their way into circulation. I am sure, if either by accelerating the estimates for the army, or postponing the making the loans, the business could have been conducted in its usual course, the house ought to have been saved from the painful dilemma in which it is now placed, of either appearing to impede the

provision for the public service, or adopting, for the first time since the Revolution, a course of proceeding in breach of the most important maxims of parliamentary practice; for although the house has frequently permitted the chancellor of the exchequer to provide for possible expenditure, not admitting of precise estimate, such as army extraordinaries and subsidies, though not previously voted in the committee of supply, they never did deliberately before acquiesce in his providing for the army at large before the estimates were considered, and voted in the committee of supply; and I trust I have stated enough to the house, to protect us against a recurrence to such practices in future. Before I sit down, I cannot avoid shortly adverting to the gloomy picture drawn by an honourable gentleman (Mr. Francis) early in the debate, of the declining and impoverished state of the country. I am perfectly ready to admit that the people are necessarily called upon to submit to heavy burthens, but I can by no means subscribe to his opinion that they seem likely to sink under them. I certainly do not deny that the pressure of taxes is severe, but I do assert that it is not such as to check or disturb in any respect the industry, and consequently the prosperity, of the country. If the honourable gentleman wishes to know what an impoverished and declining country is, let him refer back to the period when my late right honourable friend (Mr. Pitt) first took charge of the finance of the country in 1784. The manufactures and commerce declining in proportion as burthens were imposed, every new tax counteracting those in existence, and the whole falling short in produce of what they were taken at, and with difficulty providing for the permanent charge of the debt. We now find, notwithstanding the taxes are since increased so much in amount, that both the old and new duties increase every year in amount; that hardly a tax has been laid which has not exceeded the estimate in its produce; and the documents before parliament indisputably prove, that our agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, are extending themselves rapidly, even in the midst of war. We have also, in later years, been able to adopt the salutary principle of raising a large proportion of our supplies within the year, (including the war taxes now proposed, to the extent nearly of one half of our war expenditure) an effort, which could only be made by a country both highly affluent and prosperous, whilst the sinking fund, already amounting to about eight millions a year, gives us every reason to hope, that the moment is not far distant, when the comparatively small increase of debt which now takes place may be prevented even in war, and its rapid liquidation looked to with confidence on the return of peace. The noble lord well described the value of this institution to the public on a former night, by stating it as his persuasion, that had the sinking fund, on its present principles, not been established in 1786, we must ever since have made our loans on terms so ruinous, as to have incurred an annual charge for interest alone fully equal to what now covers both the interest and sinking fund of the public debt. It may, therefore, be fairly said, that a perpetual annuity of eight millions a year has been thereby saved to the nation, which, after liquidating the principal, is revertible to them. The justice

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and gratitude of parliament have left nothing to his friends to desire on this head; but, surely, a prouder monument was never raised by the wisdom and exertions of an individual to his own fame, than by this single measure, established, and inviolably adhered to, as it was through times of the utmost difficulty. Can it then be said that the country does not exhibit at this moment the most convincing signs of health and prosperity? If the public are heavily burthened, they bear it with fortitude and good-will, because they feel it is the necessary consequence of the efforts which they are called upon to make for their own preservation against the common enemy. Heavy as the pressure is, can the hon. gentleman recollect any period in the history of the country, when discontent was less apparent, or when the nation submitted with more marks of manliness, and even satisfaction, to every sacrifice the public exigency has imposed? Never did any ministers succeed to a government, when the greatest of all resources and support, namely, the public mind, was in a more happy temper to aid them in surmounting the difficulties with which they have to contend. Never did any ministers find the country, on their coming into office, more truly prosperous, its revenue more productive, or its credit higher: that such was the state of the navy, I am sure they will not deny; and I shall be prepared to maintain, when that subject comes regularly into discussion, that the same may be asserted with not less truth, with respect to the army. Finding all the main features of our national strength thus vigorous and entire, I trust they will continue to administer them upon those principles by which they have been hitherto preserved, improved, and upheld. The noble lord has done himself honour by the course he has pursued in his present budget. The despondency of the hon. gentleman will not, I trust, discourage him from continuing to tread in the path which his predecessor has marked out for him. So long as he perseveres in doing so, and as it shall be the principle of the government to maintain with firmness that system upon which their predecessors have acted, the noble lord will find me not unanxious to smooth his difficulties, and inclined to afford him my cordial support.

Mr. Rose maintained, that notwithstanding every thing which had been endeavoured to be argued to the contrary, the noble lord had certainly violated the principle of the constitution of this country, as established in the system of proposing to the house of commons the ways and means of the year, because he had proposed the ways and means before the amount of the supplies were known, which must be the case until it was known what our army was to be. As to the taxes, he desired to be understood as not intending to throw any difficulties in the way of government; for he had no wish to oppose one of them, nor should he do so when the bills were brought in; he thought it right, however, that the noble lord might hear what he had to say upon them; then he might turn them in his mind in the course of their progress, and judge how far any of his arguments ought to have any weight. In the first place, the tax on wine, he was confirmed, would not produce what it was estimated at. It was proposed to be made permanent for the war by Mr. Pitt; but he

did not apply it to the payment of the interest of the debt, although he considered it as made permanent as a mere war tax; it had increased at first, but it had fallen off; and he was aware it would not produce what it was taken at. He spoke from documents which could not mislead him on the subject; he believed, that instead of taking it at 500,000*l.* it would be wiser to take it at 300,000*l.* The tax on iron was one which Mr. Pitt had in contemplation; but it would have the effect of diminishing the produce of other articles. He spoke on this subject from the best information; for he had, under the direction of Mr. Pitt, possessed himself of information from every furnace in the kingdom, and the papers were at the service of the noble lord, as was every other information he possessed; for his object was to serve his country to the utmost of his power, and not to thwart any measures taken for its support. As to the tax on appraisements, that had also been proposed to Mr. Pitt, but it had been given up as a thing likely to be too unproductive to be entertained. With regard to the tax on tea, there were really serious objections taken to it by Mr. Pitt, particularly on the lower sorts of it, for it was, in general, used by the poorer sort of people, and this he knew from personal experience; he knew that the mass of the poorer classes not only took tea morning and evening, but also very often for their dinner; and this made Mr. Pitt very unwilling to make it the subject of taxation, as to the articles of lower prices: besides, it would not be an easy thing to find the lower-price tea in the warehouses, as they threw it about without seeming to care what became of it; and it was not injured by tossing about, as the finer teas were, so that a great deal of smuggling would take place when this duty was imposed. As to the article of tobacco, it would produce a great deal of money, for there was a large consumption of it; but here, again, it should be remembered, that the value of the article itself was about 6*d.* per pound; there was already a duty of 1*s.* 7*d* on it, and this additional 6*d.* would make the duty four times the value of the article; a great temptation to smuggling, certainly; the facility to which was the greater, as it was an article easily carried on horseback. There were many other observations which he might make on other articles of taxation proposed by the noble lord; but he should not make them, because his object was to lend all the aid in his power to government, instead of obstructing it. He then took a view of the sinking fund, of which he gave a clear and intelligent history in a few words. The first person who applied a sinking fund to the finance of this country was lord Oxford, when he was a commoner; and so much applause attended him for that measure, that in his patent of peerage it was stated that he was created a peer for it. It ended, however, in the South Sea bubble, after 500,000*l.* had been laid out upon it. The next application of a sinking fund was by sir Robert Walpole; but afterwards he delivered it up in time of peace, when it had paid one million and a half. But the real sinking fund, deserving that name, was the sinking fund of Mr. Pitt; it may be said to have been invented by him. It was said by the right hon. gentleman, that after the American war, any administration,

tion, whatever the plans of policy it might have entertained, must have adopted a sinking fund. He did not know what any administration might have done; but this he knew, that nobody ever did it as it should be done but Mr. Pitt, and by which he furnished this country with a permanent revenue, out of that which did not deserve the name of a revenue: for, when Mr. Pitt came into power, the finances of the country were only just sufficient to pay the interest of the debt, leaving nothing for any other expenditure; and in two years from that time, which was from 1784 to 1786, Mr. Pitt established a sinking fund of one million, which he kept sacred, until by its immense effect every man had become its admirer. Having said so much on those topics, he should make an observation or two on others, and that by way of dispelling all ideas of gloom as to the situation of our affairs, and for this again we were indebted to Mr. Pitt; for, during his administration, the number of the ships taken of the enemy by us are actually more than the whole number taken before that time, since the Revolution, notwithstanding the wars in which we had been engaged, and in which we had acquired so much glory, viz. in the wars of king William—in the wars of queen Anne—the war of 1742—the seven years' war—the American war, in which we gained so many victories against the French; and, putting them all together, they will not amount to what had been done in the administration of Mr. Pitt, in which no less than one hundred and ten men of war had been captured, and the possessions of the French had been taken in the East and West Indies. Almost all their colonies had become ours. We had never once been defeated in any one engagement, but had been victorious every where, our arms triumphant in every part of the world. All this during the administration of Mr. Pitt; and all this while too our revenue was in a condition infinitely more flourishing than ever, and was made the astonishment of the world, as well as the state of our trade and commerce; and our navigation extended beyond the example of any nation on the face of the globe. He said these things as the due reward of Mr. Pitt. He did not say that the situation of the present chancellor of the exchequer was not ardous; he knew it was so, but it should not be increased by any captious opposition by him; on the contrary, he should be glad to assist him in every thing in his power, and he believed he possessed some information which must be useful to that noble lord on many of the topics to which he had been alluding. He could not, however, do better than follow the system laid down for him by his predecessor in office, Mr. Pitt. He wished the present administration to thrive; and he wished that at the end of their career, whenever that might be, they might be able to render to their country as good an account of their labours in its service as had been done by Mr. Pitt; and a higher honour they could not obtain: that they might obtain it was his hearty wish.

Mr. Johnstone, Mr. Hiley Addington and others, entered into the discussion; when the several resolutions were read and agreed to, and leave given to bring in bills pursuant thereto.

In the course of the succeeding debates on the intended new taxes, lord Henry Petty abandoned that

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on pig-iron, and proposed in lieu of it one on private breweries, which was to be estimated according to the number of persons in each family, and in proportion to the amount of assessed taxes which each housekeeper paid. On the 19th of May his lordship explained the nature and extent of this intended impost, which was opposed by a great number of members, and on the 6th of June the chancellor of the exchequer gave notice that he should for the present give up the idea of taxing private brewers, and propose in its stead an addition of 10*l.* per cent on the existing assessed taxes. When the house was resolved into a committee on the following day, his lordship said he need do nothing more than state, that according to the intimation which he had before given, it was proposed to raise 10*l.* per cent. on the amount of the assessed taxes. He would accordingly move a resolution to that effect. With regard to the other motions which he had to submit to the house, it related to the exemptions which it was in contemplation to allow to persons having small incomes and large families. The object of it was to allow a deduction of four per cent. for every child, in cases of assessment under the amount of 40*l.* as far as the ratio extended, which would apply to incomes up to one thousand pounds, or between one and two thousand pounds. This would embrace the whole of the exemptions that could have been claimed, on this account, under the property tax; and besides, it possessed the advantage of being more full, general, and permanent, the exemptions under the property-tax being necessarily temporary. By this means he avoided all the inconveniences which would attend the granting of such exemptions under the property tax. He therefore concluded with moving the resolution.

In a committee on the following day, when the principle of the exemptions was debated,

Mr. Huskisson asked if the allowance was meant to be permanent, or temporary, that is to say, only to be a mitigation of the severities of the property tax. If the former, he did not think it went far enough, it ought to extend to the stamp duties, which were severely felt. If we once admitted such a principle, there was no stopping; and it was absurd to think, that a person, compelled from the largeness of his family to keep a house, the taxes of which would amount to more than 40*l.* per annum, should be deprived of the benefit of the exemption proposed; while to make it more effectual, and equally available to all, it would be necessary that a particular law should be enacted for every family in the kingdom.

Lord Henry Petty stated that it was not for him to say, whether the relief should be permanent, or only temporary; that must depend on the opinion of the house at a future period. He estimated this allowance at 200,000*l.*

Mr. Wilberforce expressed his preference to the exemptions now proposed to any which could have been given under the property tax, in so far as a man having a large family was by that very circumstance obliged to contribute in a greater degree to the assessed taxes.

Lord Holland in the house of peers, on the 21st of April, said he had discovered that there was an informality in a bill, which he intended to present that day, by which he was precluded from bringing it in,

in. He stated that it was a bill to authorise his majesty to direct the governors of the West India islands, from time to time, to permit the importation and exportation of certain articles to and from the West Indies in American vessels.

The duke of Montrose observed, that the question which the noble lord's bill involved, was one of very great importance; it was not a party question, but one which related entirely to our colonies and our shipping. There were persons who intended to petition the house upon this subject, and on that account, in addition to the importance of the question, he trusted the noble lord would not object to put off the second reading of the bill for a few days. He intended to move for papers which would prove the importance of the trade carried on by this country for the supply of the West Indies, as it would appear that it employed upwards of one hundred thousand tons of shipping and upwards of six thousand seamen. The bill was afterwards brought in, and carried through all the stages in the house of lords; but when it was sent down to the commons, it was found to be too objectionable in some points to be carried into a law. It was accordingly thrown out, and

Lord Temple moved, on the 19th of May, for leave to bring in a bill for similar purposes, which was granted. On the 22d his lordship moved the order of the day for the house to resolve itself into a committee to consider the propriety of a motion for leave to bring in a bill to enable his majesty in council to suspend, under certain circumstances, the operation of the navigation laws in our West India islands, and to permit the importation of certain articles into the ports thereof in American ships.

Mr. Rose spoke against the measure, and deprecated any proceeding upon it in the absence of so many commercial gentlemen, whose interests were materially at stake.

Mr. Fox said the question did not go to affect the commerce of the country, or the commercial interests of any body of men in it. Neither did it repeal any part of the navigation laws: it was meant merely to vest that power exclusively in the hands of the king in council by law, which had for thirteen years past been assumed by the governors of our West India islands, without law, for which they had incurred high responsibility, namely to suspend for a time, under the pressure of inevitable necessity, the operation of the navigation laws in favour of British ships. The measure now proposed, therefore, was to limit the power in safe hands: it repealed no law, it subverted no principle, and would, in fact, do no more than guard a privilege in his majesty's hands, which had been, for a series of years past, exercised by West India governors, assumed from necessity, and for which they had been uniformly indemnified by parliament.

The house resolved itself into a committee: and after a debate of some length, in which lord Temple, Mr. Rose, Mr. Fox, lord Castlereagh, and others took a part, a bill was brought in.

On the 17th of June lord Temple moved the order for the second reading of the bill; and upon the motion that counsel should be heard in behalf of the petitioners against it,

Mr. Rose said, "No man in this house rates the abilities of the right honourable gentleman opposite to me

me (Mr. Fox) more highly than I do, but he has not considered this subject with the attention it merits. He says the bill under consideration repeals no law. It is true, sir, the word "repeal" does not occur in it; but the enactments do effectually and expressly remove all the colonial restraints in the navigation act, the principle of which was established as early as the time of Richard the Second; further regulations were made for the benefit of British shipping in subsequent reigns, till that of Charles the Second, when the system was brought to nearly its present state of perfection. Under the wise and provident restrictions of the law then passed, our naval power has grown to its present strength; it is on that ground, I contend, no permanent alteration should suddenly be adopted:—the distinction between a repeal and a perpetual suspension, as in this case, will be found to be rather a nice one. The act of the 12th of Charles the Second, ch. 18. provides that nothing shall be imported into, or exported from, the plantations, except in British ships, on pain of forfeiting the ships, &c. &c. &c. Under this bill the importation and exportation in foreign vessels into and from our islands is unlimited; but we are told, that in point of fact, this act has been suspended from time to time, the truth of which, during the last and present war, partially and for limited periods, I admit; but that was, however, done under a severe and strict responsibility of the governors of the several islands, who were amenable to the secretary of state for their conduct, and on whose representation their indemnity from parliament depended; there was therefore reasonable security against the misapplication of their power, and that is completely rescinded by this measure. I will bring under the view of the committee as shortly as I can, the regulations made for governing the trade between Great Britain and her colonies, and the American states, from the time of the separation of the latter from the former. After the conclusion of the American war, the new situation in which we were placed by this event, led to an act being passed in 1783, to enable his majesty by orders in council to make regulations for carrying on the trade with America, under the authority whereof a proclamation was issued, confining the trade between the United States and our colonies to British ships exclusively. At that restriction the assembly of Jamaica, and the West India proprietors in general, became greatly alarmed, and made lively and strong remonstrances to the council against it, urging that the consequences of it must be ruinous to the islands. These complaints were immediately attended to, and the parties were fully and patiently heard before the committee for trade; they were permitted to produce evidence as long as they had any to offer, and all other persons were called upon who were thought likely to throw any light on the subject, including merchants resident in Great Britain, late governors in America, and British settlers in that country. This inquiry, conducted with the utmost impartiality, lasted two or three months, and ended in a report recommending that the proclamation confining the trade to British ships should be enforced. It could indeed have no other termination, as it was satisfactorily proved to the lords that the supplies to the islands might be regularly furnished in these ships at moderate prices;

prices; and that the sale of rum would not thereby be prejudiced. The trade was accordingly so carried on from that year (1784) to 1793, without the slightest inconvenience having been experienced in either of those respects by the islands; they were plentifully supplied with lumber and provision at moderate prices, and they found a ready and fair market for their rum and melasses. We are told, however, that this is a measure of absolute necessity. I deny that—It is also denied by persons much more capable of forming a correct judgment on the point than any of us in this committee. What is it then we ask? Not that our opinion shall at once be acted upon, but that an inquiry shall be had to prove who is right, and that a determination may be taken conformably thereto. I will undertake positively that such an inquiry shall be gone through in four or five days, at the utmost, before a committee up stairs, which would not delay the progress of the bill a single hour; if that shall be granted, I have good reason to believe it will be proved to demonstration that the opinion entertained by the noble duke before alluded to, and myself, respecting a regular supply to the islands in British ships, is a correct one; there are merchants of the highest respectability, and ship-owners, who are ready to embark in circuitous trade from hence to America, the West Indies, and home, as soon as they can be assured of convoys, if this bill shall be dropped—that can be proved before a committee. Will you then refuse to men entitled to every attention that can be shown to them, the opportunity of establishing these facts by proof, when no possible inconvenience can arise from your doing so? I believe there is no instance of an inquiry being refused in such a case: what then will be thought of our proceedings if we should shut our doors against such petitioners as are now before us, who tell us we are about to adopt a measure as injurious to the country, as it must be ruinous to them; and that if we withhold our hands, their ships, now rotting by the walls, will find profitable employment? Has this been asked for? If by any body, let us know by whom. It is true, since the bill came into the house, some West India gentlemen expressed an approbation of it; but, if an inquiry is granted, the petitioners undertake to show to those gentlemen that they could not suffer by the navigation laws being enforced, that they would send out ships, and settle correspondences to ensure a regular and ample supply for the islands, which would ensure increased means for bringing home the crops; whereas it is notorious that for want of a sufficiency of ships in the trade, more than twenty thousand hogsheads of sugar were left in Jamaica in the last years, and great quantities in the leeward islands. Can his majesty's ministers, under such circumstances as these, refuse an inquiry? I cannot be less anxious than the noble lord, or any other member, that there should be no uncertainty or fluctuation in the supplies to the colonies in the West Indies, as I have as deep an interest there, in proportion to my whole fortune, as most men in this country; many of my nearest connections have also considerable property in them: that consideration, however, cannot turn my attention from other interests both of a public and private nature: but let me not be

be understood to take any great merit to myself in that respect, because I am acting under a conviction that the islands would be as regularly and as well supplied in British ships, as they are now even in time of war, if convoys can be furnished. In time of peace nobody can doubt it —experience has put that matter completely out of doubt. I trust, therefore, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fox) will reconsider his opinion of the probable necessity for relaxing our navigation laws in peace, as the promulgation of it may do incalculable mischief if uncontradicted. If we look to the effect likely to be produced by this measure to our continental colonies, we shall not find the ground of objections weaker: the system which has been pursued since 1784, has been nearly as mischievous to these as to our navigation; instead of advancing rapidly in cultivation, as they were doing previously to that time, that has been checked, and their trade with the West Indies has fallen off very considerably, as appears by the accounts on your table. This evil is the more serious, and should be the more guarded against, as in the event of a breach with America, it is on our remaining settlements on the continent that the West Indies must principally rely for their supplies. In American newspapers, loud complaints have been made of our navigation laws having been enforced as acts of injustice, and it is notorious there is an impression of this sort in the United States; this is surely not the season therefore for abandoning the principle of them. I am confident no one can rationally doubt this, who considers with attention the relative situation of this country and America at the present moment. We are, however, about to give up gratuitously to America an important point, which it seems she has not even asked for, either as a matter of right or of favour, and which it is more our interest now than it ever before was to withhold from her. The noble lord has told us, that although the principle of the navigation law was a wise one when it was passed, it has ceased to be so; and that many instances may occur in which it may be expedient to depart from it. I am inclined to think, however, that his lordship has taken up that opinion from some recent publications, in which there are confident assertions founded on false facts. One of the authors I allude to has told you, that it is good to employ foreign ships in war, that we may have our own seamen for the navy. Can that gentleman tell us where, in such case, will be found a nursery for raising seamen to man our fleets in future? The largest proportion of your seamen certainly come from the merchant's service; and if you dry up that source, you will hereafter find the inconvenience of it, and will probably recur to a due observance of your navigation laws, when it will be too late to derive any advantage from your doing so. But however important as nurseries for seamen the shipping of Great Britain and of her colonies is, it is not exclusively to that we are to look for resources; the fisheries both at home and on the coasts of our continental colonies, as well as at Newfoundland, are very extensive and important sources; a due encouragement given to them might be essentially useful, and afford another reason for a due observance of the navigation laws. My reason for believing that British ships can carry all the articles which our colonies may want, arises from very long

long and laborious inquiries which I have made from ship-owners both in Great Britain and in the West Indies, and others who are best qualified to give information upon the subject; I am prepared even to enter on the detail as to the times when they should sail from this country, take in their lading in America, &c. &c.; but it is unnecessary to trouble the house with these particulars: I will establish the whole clearly before a committee, if I am allowed to go to one. I will undertake to prove that the planters would be regularly supplied with all they want as early as shall be necessary, and at an extra expense not exceeding two per cent. on the freight. I have only to add, that in the event of hurricanes, or other unforeseen emergencies, the governors must unavoidably have the same discretionary power to open the ports, that the government of this country always exercises in such cases at home."

Lord Temple thought it rather hard, after the subject of this bill had already been so thoroughly debated, and after the house had agreed that the petitioners against the bill should be heard by their counsel that day, that those gentlemen should have no counsel ready, and that those who brought forward the bill should now be called upon to withdraw it, and to let the regulation it proposed stand merely upon the spur of exigency. The complaint urged by the ship-owners was, that the protection of their rights under the navigation-act, should be placed exclusively under the direction of his majesty in council, instead of being left at the discretion of the governors of the West India islands, where it had hitherto in effect remained, and been so repeatedly violated. This was rather an extraordinary complaint: but he would beg to know how those governors could be judges of what was transacting in this country with respect to the supply of those islands, or how they could know what cargoes were shipped, or what convoys were upon the seas from this country for their accommodation, when, upon the slightest appearance of exigency, they should be importuned to throw open their ports to American vessels, for the attainment of supplies. Under this bill it would become the duty of his majesty's ministers vigilantly to anticipate, and timely to provide for, the necessities of those islands; and it would be time enough for the governors to assume the responsibility of the navigation laws, when the negligence of his majesty's ministers should place them in an emergency that should warrant such an assumption. As to the other general topics upon which the bill had already been so frequently opposed, it appeared to him that they had been amply refuted, and it was unnecessary for him to detain the house with offering any further arguments upon the subject.

Sir Charles Price opposed the bill, and observed that, after the fullest investigation he had been able to give it, if it passed into a law, it would be ruinous to the shipping and carrying-trade of this country, and would transfer our maritime importance, with our sailors and ship-builders, to America.

Sir W. Curtis opposed the bill, and maintained that the West India islands were regularly and sufficiently supplied from this country. He disliked the bill, because it declared that we could not in time of war supply our West India colonies.

nies. He, on the part of the shipping interest of London, pledged himself that, if this bill were departed from, they would employ their capital, and the shipping they possessed, which were at present rotting, in carrying on this trade.

Sir Francis Baring denied that British merchants could be found ready to supply the colonies in the way the hon. baronet who spoke last had stated. They could not do so on account of the very great expense. They must have three voyages:—one from this country to America in ballast; the second, from America to the West Indies, with a cargo comparatively nothing, and which the freight would exceed in value by five or six times the amount; and from this second voyage he believed there was hardly ever an instance of a vessel returning to this country.

Mr. Perceval said—I apprehend that after all that can be effected the house will upon reflection be of opinion, that there will still remain objections in principle, which will render it extremely unwise to pass this bill in any shape whatever. An hon. baronet under the gallery (sir F. Baring), whose authority on mercantile subjects stands, in this house as well as every where else, extremely high, has given us to understand, that he is decidedly of opinion, that the ship-owners of this country who oppose the bill are desiring to have the monopoly of a trade which, if they had that monopoly, they could not carry on; that the trade which they seek, and which they say they are ready and eager to enter into, is actually impracticable. Now, sir, with all the respect and deference which I most unfeignedly feel for the opinion of that worthy baronet, and without pretending to have an opinion of my own worthy to be mentioned with his upon any commercial question, I cannot forbear from remarking, that this is only opinion against opinion, and judgment against judgment; not mine against his, for that I should not have the presumption to state, but the opinion of great, intelligent, and wealthy merchants of this city, against the opinion of the worthy baronet. These merchants, thus qualified to judge, give this pledge of the sincerity and strength of their conviction, that they declare themselves ready and willing to embark in this very trade, and risk their interests on its success: and I am confident, that however valuable and deservedly eminent the opinion of the worthy baronet is upon this subject, yet the house must feel that it would be too much deference to be paid to any opinion; and I am persuaded, that no person would be more sorry than the worthy baronet himself, that such deference should be paid to his, if the house should rest so far satisfied with the authority of that opinion, as to preclude any body of men in this country from having a full investigation of a subject so interesting to them, before any final decision upon it was adopted. What I wish is, that this point may be investigated by a committee nominated by this house, in order that we may be enabled to judge between the two opposite opinions, and to determine whether those who are concerned in the trade, who are acquainted with it, who are disposed to embark their property and their interests in it, have formed the true opinion, or whether the hon. baronet is right in his? Now, sir, I do think that this house can hardly do otherwise than grant the request; it is only to follow that course which is consistent with the well-

well-understood practice of this house, constituting as it were a part of its character, the practice of giving a ready hearing to every thing that can be offered upon any subject which is before them; and more especially on a subject of such vital importance to the best interests of our trade and navigation as this is. We are entitled, and that from the admissions of the hon. gentleman who spoke last, to say that this bill is at present liable to a variety of constructions, that it is full of errors and defects, and might, if passed in its present shape, most mischievously affect our trade in the West Indies. That admission indeed, of itself, I should have imagined, might have been a tolerably good reason why the bill should not go through the house in haste; but we are told that the bill itself provides that it is never to be acted upon, except in cases of absolute necessity; and the hon. gentleman thinks there is great weight in that circumstance. It is that which seems particularly to reconcile him to the passing of this bill, that the power given to the privy council is guarded by the proof which they are required to have of the necessity of acting before they put it into execution; that they must, therefore, before they give any directions or instructions that any thing should be done in this matter, make all the necessary inquiries, and that ministers will not act blindly under the discretion when they possess it. The hon. gentleman, from his confidence in the present administration, may be disposed to give these powers, in full trust that they will use them with this discretion. But, sir, before this house gives the power to the privy council, that is, to the present ministers, which this bill is calculated to give them, I could have wished that those ministers had shown some disposition not to make an unnecessary and inconsiderate use of it; that such directions as they might give would only be from time to time, as the exigency of the case may require; and that they would so guardedly conduct themselves as to be able to correct their errors, if they should find out that their conduct was erroneous; at least it might be required, that they should have done nothing from which the contrary disposition might be inferred; that they would have taken no step without making some inquiry into the prudence of it; that, above all, they should have made no order on the subject matter of a bill which they intended to bring into parliament, before the sense of parliament had been taken on it; and that they would not have made any order whatever upon this subject at any time, under any pretence, for an unlimited period;—this is what might have been expected. My impression, sir, of the whole of the bill is most undoubtedly, that it is perfectly impolitic and unjustifiable, because it is perfectly unnecessary. The authors of the measure, indeed, found it upon necessity. They tell us their reason for introducing it, is to afford necessary relief to the colonies to save them from starving, and to enable us and them to profit by their produce. If it were necessary for these objects, I should indeed agree that these objects would justify it; but it is demonstrable, nay, it is demonstrated, that it is not necessary for them, they are attained; they have been secured by the system as it at present prevails, and which has been acted upon during the present war. In all the history of parliamentary proceedings, it seems to me, therefore, there is no parallel

to this measure. I know of nothing equal to the character of inconsiderate improvidence and impolicy which attaches to it. We are all agreed that the system of the navigation laws is most essential to our greatness and our existence, and should not be broken in upon but in cases of grave necessity: yet the noble lord's own statement, his own argument to prove that necessity, shows that it is unnecessary, distinctly proves that no such bill is required. The house would do well to consider the doubt expressed by the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox), whether the provision of this bill will not require to be extended even to a time of peace; that is to me, sir, a most alarming doubt coming from such a quarter. It is true, indeed, he stated no fixed opinion upon the subject; but he stated his mind to be in doubt upon it: and if his mind doubts whether the policy of this measure would not be applicable to a time of peace, we can have but very little hope that he or any of his colleagues will consent to institute an inquiry into the possibility of dispensing with it during war. The house will do well to consider that it is now called upon to adopt a measure, the principle of which is to legalize the suspension of that system of navigation law which has long been felt, not only in this house but out of it, not only in this country but out of it, not only in Europe but over all the globe, to have been the foundation of all our naval power, of our real strength, of all our greatness, from which is derived our glory; which has made us what we are, the envy and admiration of the world; a system adopted and followed up by the wisdom of our most enlightened ancestors, and recommended to our regard and veneration from the benefits which we have uniformly derived from it; benefits which other nations are endeavouring to grasp from us, and which such measures as these will tend to fling into their hands. Sir, these are serious considerations; and if ever there was a period when the policy of such a measure as this could be particularly doubtful in point of time, the present is that period. The world supposes, at least, that there are at this moment many serious points, points of the greatest delicacy, connected with our colonial monopoly, and our belligerent rights, as affecting our navigation system, depending between us and America. What can be the prudence, then, at this time, of adopting any measure which shall show that our principles of policy, whether respecting our colonial or our belligerent rights as connected with our navigation system, hang in any degree more loosely about us than they did at any former period? Whatever may be the sentiments of government on the measures which may arise out of these points so under discussion, whatever may be the disposition or the determination of his majesty's government on the subject of them; if, contrary to every state policy which has always guided us, our government is about to make concessions (which I trust is not the case, though I fear it is) on the subject of that main bulwark of our strength, and foundation of our power, our navigation laws and our colonial system, policy requires that they should not betray a less regard for those laws, and for that system, than was felt by our ancestors. For they will render the sacrifice

sacrifice which they may be prepared to make, of less value, by showing the light estimation in which they hold what they concede, and will purchase less returns of gratitude or other considerations for what they sacrifice. But if, on the contrary, this system of our policy is intended to be upheld; if at the time we insist upon upholding it we appear by our conduct to undervalue it, our adherence will be attributed to our pride, to our obstinacy, to our ill-will, to any thing, in short, but those true principles of just and rational policy on which alone our determination to adhere to it ought to appear to rest.

The attorney general replied to Mr. Perceval; after which Mr. Canning, in a very long and elaborate speech, gave a decided opposition to the measure. Dr. Laurence and sir John Newport spoke in defence of it; when the house divided, and the bill was read a second time.

When lord Temple moved the third reading on the 8th of July,

Sir Charles Price thought it necessary to take the opportunity of restating his objections to the bill. He said that from all his communications with West India merchants and planters, and those engaged in the trade of Canada, and also with the ship-owners of this country, he thought the present bill hostile to the interests of our commerce. He had been informed by American merchants that not less than one-third, and even one-half, of the sailors navigating American ships were British-born subjects. The present, therefore, was not the time to discourage our shipping and navigation interests, and to drive still more of our seamen into American service. For some time after the first suspension of the navigation laws in 1793, the vessels and ship-owners were fully employed as transports, so that sufficient encouragement was given to the navigation of the country; but since this resource had ceased the shipping interest had declined, and he could state, that in 1802 there was not less than a hundred of these ships with a broom at the mast-head; which fully showed the distressed situation of the ship-owners. On these and various grounds, he moved that instead of the word "now" the words "this day three months" be inserted in the motion.

Mr. Broderick seconded this motion, which was supported by Mr. Bourne, Mr. Mainwaring, sir Wm. Curtis, and lord De Blaquiere. Sir Wm. Young and lord Temple opposed it; and the latter stated that addresses were pouring in from every quarter, indicative of the existing necessity, and he trusted gentlemen would no longer deny what was so obvious and palpable. Upon this

Lord Castlereagh, in a speech of considerable length, entered his solemn protest against the principle of the bill: "I wish," says he towards the conclusion of his speech, "if ministers do not mean to use this bill for the unwise and mischievous purposes to which its powers may be applied, that they would, at least for the present, calm the public apprehensions by relinquishing it, and suffer matters to proceed as they have done for years, without any inconvenience or danger. It cannot be necessary to enable them to administer a limited and temporary aid to the islands. If it is meant to be pushed further, which the extent of its provisions justifies us in ap-

prehending, it is a fraud on parliament thus covertly to effect it. Without a more visible necessity, so much power ought not to be surrendered to his majesty's ministers, nor so many great interests be alarmed with respect to their nearest concerns. I certainly cannot justify myself, venerating as I have been taught to do the navigation laws of the country, unnecessarily placing such vital interests at the mercy of any government whatever; and I least of all am disposed so to place them at the present moment, after the sentiments that have been expressed, and the opinions it is to be presumed are entertained. I trust the house will retain those laws under its own immediate protection, as the source of our greatness, the surest preservative of our power, and the best bulwark of the British empire."

Lord Henry Petty, in reply, maintained that the naval superiority of this country depended essentially on the prosperity of the West India islands. This plan was most conducive to their advantage, and therefore must contribute to support that maritime strength which could not be too highly estimated, and could not be too zealously maintained. Then it was objected that a secret would be discovered by America, that the existence of our colonies depended on her aid. It was no secret, he said, that, after thirteen years experience afforded to that continent, the assistance of America was useful to our colonies; and if promoting this intercourse could receive from America any conciliatory construction, this was not an objection but a motive for the bill.

The master of the rolls, in a very elaborate argument, contended that this bill went to grant a power in favour of American shipping, which cannot be granted to that of our own country; and he demanded if it were possible that such a power could be conceded by a British parliament, and whether ministers were aware of the meaning of the bill under discussion. "I have shown," said the learned gentleman, "the danger of assenting to any measure of this kind without inquiry; I have shown that it is different from any measure that ever was yet adopted in parliament; I have shown that no situation in which this country can be placed can ever require such power to be given to any body of men in it; I have shown the intolerable insult which it offers to the British shipping by placing it below that of a foreign state; I have shown the ruin which will attend an attempt to put in force any thing like the extent of its provisions. Is it, then, after all this, is it too much to ask of a British house of parliament, not to destroy the best interests of the British empire by destroying its navigation, and that without the regularity of inquiry? Sir, if ever there was a time in which it was the duty of parliament to guard against the introduction of these destructive principles, by which the navigation laws are threatened with annihilation, and more particularly against giving any person in the state the power of producing that effect, the present moment is the very time; and I think that the necessity of caution is considerably increased by the very arguments which have been urged in support of this bill. Good God! sir, what has been the ground on which this bill has been defended?

Ministers

Ministers are determined, it seems, to carry every thing by storm; for they do not reason on the wisdom or the policy of the bill, but they recommend it to this British house of parliament by showing that it is of the same kind as other acts of hostility which have, at different times, and under different circumstances, been committed against the navigation laws of this country! I say, that if this bill pass into a law, a foundation will have been laid, by which ministers may come to parliament with any claim which the intoxication of successful power may dictate or suggest."

The attorney general replied, and contended that it went merely to place under the control of his majesty, in council, and by law, a practice which, for thirteen years past, had been uniformly assumed by the governors of the West India islands, without law, and upon the presumption of future indemnity. He contended also, that it was the self-same principle of control, and discretionary power of dispensing with the rigour of the navigation laws with respect to America, and the East India trade, which had existed in his majesty and the privy council ever since the conclusion of the American war, and this too under bills successively brought in by a late right honourable gentleman, and supported by his supporters, without any of those apprehensions for the safety of the navigation laws, or the ruin of our commerce, our navy, and our national power, which seemed to excite so much clamour in the vigilant guardians of our prosperity and safety.

After some additional remarks from Mr. Perceval, Mr. Windham, and Mr. Rose, the question for the third reading was carried, and the bill was passed, and ordered to the lords, where it was read a first time on the 10th: and on the 17th, after a short debate, in which lord Hawkesbury and lord Eldon opposed the measure, and lord Holland, lord Spencer, and lord Lauderdale vindicated it, the bill went through all the stages and was passed.

CHAPTER V.

Debates on the Slave Importation Restriction-Bill—Hostilities with Prussia—Mr. Perceval's Motion respecting the Volunteers—Addresses to His Majesty on Prussian Hostilities Lord Howick's Motion on an Increase of Pay to the Navy—Debates on Mr. Windham's Motion for the Repeal of the Additional Force Act—Mr. Jeffery's Motion on Lord St. Vincent's Naval Administration—Mr. Robson's Motion on the Barracks.

THE discussions on the slave restriction bill will be found interesting to our readers, and the more so as they may be regarded as introductory to further debates, that will be found in the following chapter. We have given the debates in the house of commons much at large on the repeal of the additional force, because it was undoubtedly a trial of strength between the ministers of the time and

those who had lately held the reins of government. We might, indeed, have extended the debates on this subject to any length, but we have thought it sufficient to present our readers with a detailed account of one debate in the commons, and a sketch of what took place in the house of lords on the same subject.

On the 31st of March the attorney general moved for a bill respecting the supply of certain colonies with negroes. He trusted he should have the concurrence of the house, since humanity as well as policy dictated the measure which he was about to propose, and morality went hand in hand with the best interests of the country. As the law stood at present with respect to the slave trade, negroes might be directly carried to any colony belonging to a power not at war with us, though this might contribute in time to render them our rivals in maritime strength. As there was the liberty of a direct supply to neutral colonies, the enemies' colonies had an opportunity of having an early supply from them. His majesty, it was true, had the right of preventing a supply from being sent to hostile colonies, but with regard to those that were neutral, these might be directly supplied to any extent. The consequence of which was, that not only the Spanish but even the French colonies had a ready resource; and, of course, this trade would tend materially to increase the maritime strength of our enemies, and add materially to their naval force. If this had only been a mere carrying trade, such as the exportation of cotton, there could not be so much objection to it; but the trade was an existing evil, which was tolerated at present, as far as the neutral colonies were concerned, but which ought to be confined to the British colonies. The object, therefore, was to prevent the trade from being carried on with any foreign islands. He concluded by moving "for a bill to give further effect to the order of council in 1805, respecting the importation of slaves to foreign islands." Some objections were taken in point of form, but the motion was carried.

Mr. Rose strongly opposed the second reading of the bill, as of most serious importance to the commercial interests of the country. He asked if this was the time to stop the sale of our manufactures in other places, when it was already interrupted in Europe to the amount of five or six millions annually. The exportation of these to America was nearer the value of two millions than one. This was not the only immediate advantage that would be lost, for it was by the means of this traffic that the colonies were supplied with bullion; and yet, in these circumstances, it was proposed to stop the exportation of those to Africa, both from this country and the West Indies. The interests of the merchants, manufacturers, and of the shipping, would by this means be materially injured. What object could be attained by it? It would do no more than drive the trade into the hands of the Americans, who had considerable facilities for carrying it on; for, in one instance, a ship from Africa to Carolina buried 115 slaves, and yet the voyage was profitable. He begged the house to consider what would be the consequences of leaving the manufactures of Manchester,

ter, Paisley, and other places, to go naked, and without any channel for their sale.

The bill was supported by sir John Newport, and opposed by the generals Tarleton and Gascoyne, when it was read a second time. On the third reading, May 1; it was opposed by the same gentlemen, sir Robert Peele, and sir Charles Price; upon which

Mr. secretary Fox said, that, possessing the same sentiments upon the subject of the slave trade which he had so uniformly professed in that house, it was not likely that the arguments used by gentlemen should change his sentiments. He was ready to admit, that any measure tending to depress the commerce of the country should be avoided, especially in a period of war; yet he could not see how this would happen from the regulation proposed. As to the bill having an operation gradually to abolish the slave trade, as some gentlemen seemed to apprehend, he owned he could not flatter himself in the hope that it would produce such a consequence; and if he thought it would have this tendency, instead of that being with him an argument against the bill, it was one which would render him ten times more enamoured of it: but so far from such a consequence, he thought it would only operate, some two years hence, to furnish a new argument, added to the old ones, of those who opposed that abolition, but on which, certainly, he never placed any very strong reliance. They had predicted in the same manner of the slave-carrying trade, and of every other regulation calculated to palliate the enormous abuses of that trade. With respect to the total abolition of the slave trade itself, whatever gentlemen might think of the consistency of those ministers in office, who had voted for it out of office, he would not take upon himself to answer for the opinions of all his majesty's ministers: he could answer for himself and several of those with whom he had the honour to act, that neither he nor they had ever changed the sentiments they had so repeatedly avowed upon it. They still felt it as one involving the dearest interests of humanity, and as one which, however unfortunate this administration might be in other respects, should they be successful in effecting it, would entail more true glory upon their administration, and more honour upon their country, than any other transaction in which they could be engaged. The bill was then read a third time and passed.

In the house of peers, on the 7th of May, several petitions were presented against the bill, and counsel was heard in behalf of those who opposed it. Counsel being withdrawn,

Lord Grenville rose to move the second reading of the bill. Nothing he had heard, he said, had tended to convince him that the principle of the bill was erroneous or impolitic; on the contrary, he still believed it to be a measure which was called for by every dictate of sound policy. The islands in the West Indies were now nearly all of them in the possession of this country, or of our enemies; and, if it was clear and obvious policy that we should not give advantages to our enemies, it was surely equally clear that we should not supply their colonies with slaves, thereby affording them additional means of cultivation, contributing to increase the produce of their islands, and

thus enabling them to meet us in the market upon equal terms of competition, or perhaps to undersell us. This appeared to him so obvious, that he thought it unnecessary to argue it. The first object of the bill, therefore, was to prevent British subjects from supplying foreign colonies with slaves. The same principle was also applicable to the supply of colonies captured from the enemy, and only held until peace. In the islands captured last war, and which were given up at the peace, British capital was employed to so great an extent, that the exports from those islands equalled the exports from Jamaica. All this went to benefit and enrich the enemy, and to increase their means of rivality. Another object of the bill, therefore, was to enforce the order of council, issued to restrain this species of trade, enacting, at the same time, additional regulations, in order to prevent the importation of slaves into the islands thus conquered from the enemy, and the consequent investiture in them of a large portion of British capital. No consideration relative to our commerce or our navigation could induce him to think that the slave trade ought to be continued. He considered it as a cruel and unjust traffic, which ought to be abolished. If, however, it was to be continued, it ought to be carried on under those regulations which might, at least, render it less revolting, by making it conduce to the benefit of our navigation. The third object of the bill, therefore, was to prevent British subjects from carrying on the slave trade in any other than British vessels.

The duke of Clarence said, if we were enabled to prevent any supply of slaves from being carried to the enemy's colonies, then he would agree to the policy of preventing British subjects from supplying them; but this was not the case: the colonies of the enemy would be supplied with slaves from other sources; and therefore he saw no reason why the profits arising from this trade should be taken out of the hands of British subjects. The bill, he contended, would, in its operation, greatly injure Jamaica and the Bahama islands; the former island was several hundred leagues to leeward of all our other colonies, and unless the trade with slaves to the Spanish main was allowed, it would not be worth the while of any trader in slaves to come to Jamaica, as in case, as it probably might happen, he could not find a market for them there, he would be subjected to enormous expense and loss. He therefore objected to the bill, and should take other opportunities of stating his objections.

Accordingly, on the third reading on the 16th of May,

The duke of Clarence rose, and expressed his regret that the duty of opposing the principle of the bill had not fallen upon some other noble lord. He was convinced that, if this bill should pass, it would be the complete ruin of a very considerable branch of our commerce, he meant the capital employed in the traffic of slaves. That branch of our trade gave employment to one hundred and sixty-eight ships, to two thousand seamen, and to one million of money. The quantity of English manufactures which it was the means of circulating was immense. If the trade was prohibited, it would be impossible to introduce them

them into the Spanish colonies; for it was under cover of the commerce in slaves that we were able to obtain communication with the Spanish colonies. His royal highness concluded with moving, that a certain part of the title of the bill should be omitted.

The earl of Suffolk wished the bill to pass, upon principles of humanity, religion, and morality. He suggested the possibility of cultivating the West India islands by introducing sepoys from the east, or some of the inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope.

The bishop of London could not satisfy his own mind if he sat silent upon what he must consider as a question of morality. The objections which had been urged against the present bill did not weigh much with him, for they were the same that had been advanced against the bill for abolishing the slave trade. The continuance of this traffic could not be maintained for an instant upon the score of morality, and here he was glad to find that the objections upon the ground of political consideration made no less against it. If it contributed to prevent that mortality which was always found to accompany the cultivation and breaking up of new grounds, that would be a great inducement to him to vote in support of it. He had, for a whole year, constantly attended a committee which sat in that house, to consider of the propriety of abolishing the slave trade; and the result of all he had heard was, that it was possible to keep up the quantity of negroes necessary for cultivating the West Indies without recurring to importation, or the dreadful practices to which it gave rise. Wherever that unfortunate race of men were treated with common humanity, they increased like other human beings. In Virginia, where the importation of negroes had been prohibited, a census was taken in the year 1786, and it was found that in that province their number had increased upwards of fifteen thousand in the course of three years that the trade was prohibited. He was anxious that his countrymen should be entirely disengaged from all concern in that opprobrious traffic, and therefore he would vote for the bill before their lordships.

The earl of Westmorland considered that part of the bill which it was the object of the illustrious duke to do away, as tending not only to destroy a large proportion of the trade alluded to by the illustrious duke, but also the trade carried on to the Spanish colonies in America, under the cover of exporting slaves, and which created a market for two million pounds of British manufactures. He did not object to that part of the bill which prohibited supplying with slaves colonies taken during the war, as, in the event of their being surrendered, the British capital employed only went to enrich the enemy. With respect to the abolition of the slave trade, the trade had been carried on for a long series of years under the ablest ministers whom this country had seen, and who never thought of abolishing it; the idea of the abolition first originated, within a few years past, among atheists, enthusiasts, jacobins, and such descriptions of persons. If they doubted his statements with respect to the amount of the trade carried on, let evidence be called to the bar to prove or disprove them; but, at least, the house ought to pause before they

they consented to destroy a trade of such magnitude, particularly at a time when our commerce had so many difficulties to encounter. The argument that supplying foreign colonies with slaves enabled them to rival us in the market, was one directly in favour of the slave trade.

Lord Holland believed, on the contrary, that the planters of Jamaica, and the West India planters in general, were friendly to the bill, as one tending to benefit their interests. He considered the noble earl (Westmorland) as inconsistent in his arguments, when he wished to prohibit the supply of the colonies we had conquered with slaves, and at the same time was desirous of supplying the colonies of our rivals. He doubted the correctness of the statements with respect to the trade with the Spanish colonies, as he believed that there no longer existed any necessity for carrying on that trade under the cover of exporting slaves; and indeed it was clear, if they wanted British manufactures, that British manufactures would find their way there. He declined going over the arguments which had been so often used respecting the slave trade; but if the present bill tended, as had been stated, to contribute to the abolition of that nefarious traffic, it was, in his mind, a paramount argument in its favour.

The bishop of St. Asaph said that the noble lord who had first sat down had characterized the bill before their lordships as abolition in disguise. He was no friend to any thing in disguise; but while he was in that house he would, by every means in his power, whether fair or foul, whether by open hostility or secret stratagem, labour to destroy that infamous traffic, which was no less a disgrace to humanity than it was destructive of the morals of the nation. His lordship, with that energy which is peculiar to him, urged a variety of arguments against the slave trade, and supported the bill as the first step towards its abolition. Several other noble lords delivered their sentiments; when

Lord Sheffield rose and said, he considered the bill before their lordships as another instance of the infatuated disposition to sacrifice the navigation and commerce of the empire; the object of those who looked to the abolition of the slave trade would not be in the least degree answered. The measure, however, seemed a curious mixture of the sentimental in respect to the trade in slaves, and of a job in favour of our old West India settlements, for the ruin of our new acquisitions in those parts. He would not then enter into the policy of conquering, retaining, and improving, at a great expense, acquisitions which there was every reason to believe we must relinquish on a peace; but he must say that it is oppressive, it is faithless, after the terms we had granted, and the advantage of becoming British subjects, that we should now tell the inhabitants they should not have the means of cultivating their soil, nor of carrying on their usual commerce. In addition to the strong objections which had been urged by the noble lords who opposed the bill, he must observe, that we had little or no direct carrying trade left, except to Africa and the East and West Indies; and surely at the period when Americans or neutrals participate so very largely in the East and West India trade—when we are shut out from

so

so great a proportion of the world —we should not relinquish that trade which holds out the best prospects to us. The trade to Africa is rendered odious by the insinuation of its being merely a slave trade. In the present question, the trade in slaves is perhaps the part of the least consideration; the circuitous trade to Africa, and thence to the West Indies, is that which, of all others, we stand in most need; it is a trade of barter, which, in one voyage, gives three or four profits; we acquire, in exchange for our manufactures and other commodities, all the valuable and necessary raw materials from South America which we used to receive through Old Spain, paying very heavy duties; most of which, if we could get them at all at this time, must be at exorbitant prices. He said no human expectation can be more vain than that a simple act of parliament could prevent the introduction of slaves into the numerous creeks of the West Indies, where every inhabitant is in favour of that introduction. But the attempt at prohibition would render the trade extremely severe and cruel in respect to the poor negro; because, instead of a well-regulated trade, as at present, it would become a smuggling trade, subjecting them to the greatest hardships. The papers on the table prove the extreme mischief that will arise to our carrying-trade and commerce; that we are daily becoming more dependent on the American states for the important article cotton; and that soon we should not have shipping for our carrying-trade, or for bringing home the produce of our colonies. He said he had lately stated to their lordships, that there is nearly an end to shipbuilding, except for the navy, in the several ports of England; that the discouragement is so great that very few indeed are building for the merchants' service, only two at this time in the river Thames; that the ships we have are wearing out very fast; that we shall have none to replace them, and consequently shall be obliged to give up the most beneficial and important trade to the British empire, viz. the carrying-trade. After a few words from the duke of Sussex in opposition to the bill, the duke of Clarence replied; a division then took place, when there appeared for the bill

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The bill was accordingly read a third time and passed.

On the 21st of April lord Grenville in the house of peers, and Mr. Fox in the commons, delivered a message from his majesty, respecting hostilities commenced against this country by the king of Prussia, which was ordered to be taken into consideration on a subsequent day.

Mr. Perceval gave notice of his intention to move for papers relative to the expense of the volunteers; and on the following day he said he thought it necessary to state the reasons which induced him to submit such a motion, and the objects which he had in view. This paper, he was ready distinctly and clearly to say, was meant to apply to that part of the right honourable secretary's argument upon which he seemed so much to rely in the discussion of a former evening, and which in reality formed, in that right honourable gentleman's own judgment, the strongest

strongest reason to justify his extraordinary and exceptionable proposition respecting the volunteers. The consequence of the right honourable gentleman's arrangement it could not be difficult to anticipate. It obviously must lead to one or other of these effects—either to drive three hundred thousand able, effective, and ardent men to lay down their arms altogether, and quit the service in disgust; or, if not, to keep them in, at least, a state of comparatively less utility to the country. For what was proposed that must not operate to degrade the volunteers in their own opinion, and in that of the country also? Was it not, in fact, meant to make the volunteer corps a stigmatized asylum from the operation of the compulsory levy? Could any man doubt the justice of this statement who had attended to the right honourable gentleman on a former evening, or who recollected the uniform tenor of his remarks upon the volunteer institution? The right honourable gentleman appeared to rest a good deal of his hostility to this institution on the expense which it occasioned, and therefore it was extremely desirable that the house should be informed of the real amount of that expense, distinguishing the different heads of expenditure. When this account should be laid on the table, it would be seen what part of the expense complained of could be discontinued; and gentlemen would have an opportunity of comparing the amount of the sum to be laid out with the value of the service. It would be also seen what proportion the amount of this expenditure had to the produce of the income tax, to which the right honourable secretary alluded. No doubt the expense hitherto incurred by the volunteers was considerable, but he had no difficulty in saying that a great part of that expense was such as could not recur again, and therefore could form no reason at present to support a measure that was calculated to disband a considerable part of that body, and to disgust the whole. He would be also desirous to have an estimate brought forward of the expense likely to arise from the compulsory training of the people. If the expense of the two should prove to be equal, it would be for the house to consider whether the proposed change should take place; whether Englishmen who voluntarily stood forward in the hour of peril should be disbanded, to make room for a reluctant constrained levy. It was the first time that such a proposition had been made in this country, and it required but little consideration indeed to estimate the difference between the two kinds of service. Sure he was that parliament could hardly be persuaded to adopt a measure of forcibly training, particularly where they felt it to be unnecessary; they must feel it to be unconstitutional. Having said so much as to the object of his motion, the right honourable gentleman proceeded to comment on some late proceedings out of doors upon this subject. He felt, however, that it must be confessed the disgust and discontent of the volunteers were, in a great measure, excusable. It was very natural for them to complain when such language as had been used respecting them by a government composed, for the most part, of men who originally encouraged their formation, and who almost uniformly panegyrized their conduct. When they saw any part of such a government, instead of patronizing

tronizing them, manifesting a wish to throw impediments and obstacles in their way, the same feelings which led the volunteers to quit their habits and employments to prepare for the field of war, must now dispose them to chagrin and disappointment. When they were held up as a disgrace to the military profession—when told that it was degrading to the army that they should be dressed in the same uniform with them—that it was an affront to military officers that volunteer corps should have any thing like similar distinctions—that although their want of discipline had been the general complaint heretofore, the remedy now proposed was to relax that discipline—it was no wonder if the zeal of the volunteers was in some degree damped, and their dispositions soured. But still they should not suffer themselves to be agitated, but wait in respectful confidence the decision of the legislature. The right honourable gentleman concluded with moving for "an account of all sums issued and expended for the service of the volunteers of Great Britain, from the commencement of the present war to the latest period at which the same could be made out, distinguishing each year, and also each head of service."

Mr. Fox did not rise to object to the motion of the right honourable gentleman, because, without such a motion, it was intended by his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) to lay this document before the house. But the right hon. gentleman's speech and his motion being far from the same thing, he must say, that although he acquiesced in the one, he very much objected to several parts of the other. Was it possible that the right honourable gentleman could be so mistaken as to understand that any intention existed of disbanding the volunteers? Sure he was, that if his right honourable friend entertained any such intention, he had concealed it from him. That his right honourable friend said any thing on the day alluded to to warrant such an inference, he most peremptorily and absolutely denied. It would have been rather more becoming in the right honourable gentleman to have waved any remark on this plan until it was perfectly understood; for it was quite clear that he did not understand it; and it was much to be regretted that such industry was applied to propagate a similar misunderstanding throughout the country, but, thank God, with very little success. The right honourable gentleman talked of substituting two hundred thousand men, trained according to the new arrangement, for three hundred thousand disciplined volunteers. But the right honourable gentleman did not seem to recollect that it was not two hundred thousand men merely, but the people of the country in rotation, that would be trained, in addition to the volunteers. The only change, on the whole, in the volunteer system, was merely to retain those only who should serve without pay, and that would be conformable to the original principle of their formation. Therefore the change could occasion no murmurs, unless men were predetermined to complain. He was sorry to hear of the existence of any discontent, although he was persuaded that it could proceed only from misconception. That a difference of opinion prevailed upon this question, both in and out of the house, he was perfectly convinced. He could not hope for an unanimity. But, upon a fair and full

full understanding of the measure, he had little doubt that the number of its opponents would be comparatively very few.

Lord Castlereagh listened with more satisfaction to what had fallen from a right honourable gentleman on this subject than he had done before. He now expected to find the bill extremely different from the outline that had formerly been given. The right honourable secretary had formerly said, that he had found the stage occupied by a body to whom he had radical objections. He was not, indeed, prepared to dissolve the volunteers, but they were not to understand, from their receiving clothing for the present year, that this would be continued beyond that period. The right honourable gentleman seemed to lament, that the volunteers had arrived at such a degree of discipline as to enable them, in the opinion of military men, to form the line with regular troops. His plan went to deprive them of drill serjeants and field officers, who alone were qualified to regulate their movements in case of necessity, and march them to some central point, where their services could be useful. The right honourable gentleman intended to withdraw the only means by which the volunteers could be organized, and to assimilate them to a mere armed peasantry. For his part, he thought that the volunteers would no longer deserve any dependence to be placed upon them, when deprived of officers, and drilled for so short a time. But he trusted he should find the standing army exempted from the grasp of the right honourable secretary, and that those destructive reforms, in the experiment of limited service, which were contrary to the opinions of the most experienced officers in the service, would not be adopted.

Mr. Windham felt himself called upon to reply to some observations that had fallen from the learned gentleman and the noble lord, with respect to the plan of military arrangements which he had the honour, on a former night, to submit to the house. He would again assert, that the learned gentleman's speech was full of bare-faced, undisguised mis-statements of what he (Mr. Windham) had said on a former occasion. The course of warfare which the gentlemen on the opposite side of the house seemed determined to adopt was now obvious. They appeared resolved to have recourse to all means for attaining their objects, whether right or wrong.—(A cry of No! No! from the other side of the house.) Such, at least, was the sentiment which must naturally be produced by the tendency of their remarks. It had been said that he meant to degrade the volunteers; but the meaning of what he had formerly observed was plain, and he still adhered to it. He had said that the army was lost by losing its distinctions; and that nothing could be more injurious to it than the conferring indiscriminately on volunteers those honorary distinctions which should be confined to the soldier. This was the doctrine he had then held, but he must utterly deny that any thing he had said had any tendency to degrade the volunteers. He had been also charged with the design of making the volunteer corps a kind of stigmatized asylum for those who declined compulsory service. All that he had said was, that those who, from their feelings and habits of life, did not choose to join the compulsory levy, had their option to enter volunteer associations.—

The very volunteer system itself, in its present form, rose out of this option. When his majesty was empowered to call out the *levy en masse*, every parish and district were told that they would be exempted on a sufficient number of their inhabitants forming themselves in volunteer associations. This was a measure in which the learned gentleman himself had a considerable share. Had this no effect in producing volunteers? and did he consider the volunteers as degraded by being induced, by this very measure, to form themselves into corps? How then could the learned gentleman make that a subject of reproach to him, which he himself had originally advised, and of which he might be considered as the author? How did the charge of coercion or degradation sound in the mouth of him who gave it as his opinion that volunteers had no right to resign? The militia partook of the nature of compulsory service; and how then could the compulsory levy be considered as unconstitutional and oppressive, when the very militia of the country was raised on the same principle? The learned gentleman had fastened upon an expression which he had used, namely, that of "relaxing the discipline of the volunteers." This expression, critically considered, was not, perhaps, the most proper: but he had merely employed it for the want of a better at the time to express his meaning. "Remitting their discipline" was, perhaps, the expression that ought to have been employed. All the relaxation or remission that was intended was merely that the volunteers should attend fewer drills than were at present necessary. With regard to the supposed injury the volunteers would sustain from being deprived of brigading and inspecting officers, this could hardly be considered as great, when it was recollected that at present there did not exist the power of enforcing attendance, even on those days when inspection took place. With respect to the motion which had given rise to the discussion, there could not be the smallest objection to it. The object of the motion was very different from the object of the speech with which it was accompanied.

General Tarleton said a few words; and the question on Mr. Perceval's motion was put, and carried in the affirmative.

On the 23d Lord Grenville in the house of lords moved the order of the day for taking his majesty's message respecting the hostilities of Prussia into consideration: he was persuaded that there could be but one sentiment among their lordships, and but one feeling in the country, as to the line of conduct which it was necessary to adopt; and he believed that there could be but one opinion throughout Europe respecting the conduct of Prussia. Had there existed no connection between that power and Great Britain, and no alliances of blood, friendship, and gratitude, still it would have been the interest of his majesty the king of Prussia to pursue a course different from that which had occasioned the message which had just been read. Without entering into particulars with regard to the conduct of the Prussian government, he must observe that the court had been engaged in confidential intercourse with England previously to the battle of Austerlitz; and if any reliance could be placed on assurances and treaties, we had a right to

to expect that she would be found not fighting on the side of the enemy, but sustaining the common cause of Europe against France. On the contrary, she acted as if she had been leagued with France from the beginning. Her first open act of hostility was to occupy Hanover, under pretence of covering the retreat of the British and allied army, and of securing her own frontier against the danger which might result from the establishment of a French force in the electorate of Hanover. That this was a flagrant violation of justice no one could deny, but his majesty was determined to apply to remonstrance and negotiation rather than to measures of a more serious character. Before time could, however, be given for the first temperate representation, before any explanation was offered and received, she took forcible possession of his majesty's electoral dominions. The country which she occupied a few days before, for the purpose of protecting and guarding it against the arms of France, within a fortnight after she appropriated to herself as a cession and a conquest made by France. This was the second step in the gradation of the injuries offered to his majesty. There was, however, a third step more general and injurious in its object and consequences. His Prussian majesty caused it to be notified to the British minister at Berlin, that, in obedience to a requisition from France, he must proceed to exclude the shipping of England not only from Prussia but from the ports of all the countries within the reach of her control or influence. His majesty deeply regretted that the acts of Prussia should involve in the calamities of war not only the subjects of Prussia but those of other countries. Whether any alternative remained to his majesty, it would be for their lordships to determine; to his mind there was none. He purposely abstained from making use of strong terms in speaking of the conduct of Prussia. One observation he must make, which was upon the probable mode of reasoning by which Prussia endeavoured to reconcile herself to the strange line of policy she had thought proper to pursue: "I have no enmity against you; France insists upon my ceding to her a part of my dominions: I must indemnify myself somewhere; you are my weaker neighbour, and I will wrest my indemnity from you." What could there be more monstrous, more unjust, more contrary to the principles of the laws of nations than such a proposition? He would allow that cases might occur in which a country might be obliged to cede part of her territories; but though her interests were affected, still her honour might be preserved. There was no disgrace in being the victim of necessity. It was not dishonourable to be obliged to bend to circumstances after an appeal to arms; the dishonour was in not contending against such an event, in yielding without an effort or a struggle. The grounds upon which he would move the address to his majesty were these:—the necessity of evincing that a connection did and ought to exist between England and Germany, and that we felt deeply for her interests: to convince Prussia that no power in Europe could exclude British ships from her ports with impunity: and to mark an abhorrence of that abominable principle of one power indemnifying itself at the expense of its weaker neighbour. There

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was, however, another powerful motive for proposing it, viz. to convince his majesty that they felt the insult offered to themselves, and that there was no part of his dominions in the possession of which they were not willing to defend and maintain him. In this loyal and patriotic sentiment he was persuaded every one who heard him would agree.

Lord Hawkesbury expressed his entire and unqualified approbation of the address. The electoral dominions of his majesty were invaded by France, not on account of a German quarrel, but on account of her hatred to this country. They were attacked in violation of existing treaties which stipulated and provided for their neutrality, as well as for that of the Hanse towns. Prussia was a party to those treaties, and her recent conduct was a violent infraction of the public law of Europe. That Prussia would feel the folly of the system she had embraced he was confident. The measures she had adopted against the trade and shipping of Great Britain, would recoil with tenfold force upon the commerce and navigation of Prussia. He hoped government would be impelled by this unexpected conduct of Prussia to cement more strongly the good understanding which had been fortunately established with two great Northern powers, he meant Russia and Sweden. To the firmness and sincerity of those powers, he was persuaded, we might look with confidence and satisfaction, as more than a counterpoise to the defection of Prusssia.

Lord Mulgrave said, after the complete vassalage of Prussia, he was convinced that it was impossible to be at war with France, without, at the same time, being engaged in hostility with her. The measures which had been taken had his decided approbation; they were marked with promptitude and energy, and were such as became a gr at and just nation.

The question was then put, and the address was carried *nemine dissentiente.*

In the house of commons, on the same day, his majesty's most gracious message having been read,

Mr. secretary Fox addressed the house: "I am sure that it is impossible that the message we have now heard read, can fail to excite the strongest sensation in every temper and disposition of mind which can exist in this house. In the first place, when we hear it stated that his majesty had abstained from appealing to his British subjects, on account of the violence and injustice which had been done to him in the seizure of his electoral dominions, it is impossible not to feel grateful for that kindness and mildness which his majesty has always shown to the subjects of this realm. It was with the most extreme reluctance that he could consent to involve them in war upon any ground that was not immediately and directly connected with British interests. After the sentiment of gratitude to his majesty for this tender consideration of his subjects of this kingdom, the next feeling which must be strongly excited by the message, is a feeling of just indignation at the conduct of the court of Prussia. I hope that every member, while he feels this just indignation, will at the same time perceive the propriety of uniting the most vigorous measures with a language temperate and moderate, and which does not violate that respect which had been always considered as due to crowned heads,

and ought not in the present times to be departed from. Indeed, to describe justly the measures which have been adopted by the court of Prussia against this country, they cannot be called the measures of the king of Prussia; for that sovereign is known to be of a mild and pacific disposition; nor could they be called the measures of his ministers, for no ministers could freely advise a proceeding so violent and injurious to the interests of that monarch, The measures must be considered such as his Prussian majesty had been induced to adopt, from the pernicious counsels of the enemies of this country. The origin of this proceeding is to be traced to the convention concluded at Vienna, on the 15th of December, between count Haugwitz and the French emperor: but when it is considered what was the situation of Prussia at the time that its sovereign concluded that treaty with France, it must be recollected, that its means of negotiation were still greater than what it derived from its own resources, or its own armies; and how did he apply those means? Why, to seize a part of the territories of one of those powers which had been supporting him in that rank and situation which enabled him to conclude his treaty. It cannot then be said, that this treaty, and the proceedings which followed it, were altogether the effect of fear; for, what was the necessity under which his Prussian majesty was placed? Was it merely the necessity of ceding Anspach and Bayreuth? This might have been a considerable misfortune, yet it was one which might be justified by necessity. But the sort of necessity claimed by the king of Prussia is different: he says, "Because I have lost Anspach and Bayreuth, I therefore feel myself under the necessity of seizing the dominions of some third power—not only of a third power, but of one that, from all times, and by every circumstance, I was bound to respect." This is the sort of necessity claimed by the Prussian court, and it is this which makes the case of Prussia much worse than that of any other nation in Europe. We cannot help looking with some degree of pity and contempt, on a power that can allege that it is reduced to such a necessity. It would be, in itself, a considerable humiliation or degradation to Prussia, to be obliged to give up those provinces to which it was so much attached, and which had been called "the cradle of the house of Brandenburgh." The degradation of this cession was still much increased by the conduct of the people of Anspach, who entreated their sovereign not to abandon them. Instead of lessening the ignominy of the cession, it was a great increase of dishonour, to sell a brave and loyal people for what was called an equivalent: it was an union of every thing that was contemptible in servility with every thing that was odious in rapacity. No example could be found in all the histories of war, and no mention had ever been made by the writers on the law of nations, of any power having a right to receive as a present, a country occupied during a war by one of the belligerent powers, but not ceded by the other. The house must therefore see to what extremity we are now reduced. It would be idle to say that a war with Prussia would not be a calamity. It is impossible but that it must be a calamity to this country to have the number of its enemies increased. It is also a painful

painful consideration to think that there is no mode of returning this calamity on the aggressors, which will not, in some degree, fall also on neutral and friendly nations, and even on ourselves. The house will, however, feel that there are occasions in which a manifestation of our principles and of our resentments becomes necessary, although attended with the calamities inseparable from war. Although I, for one, am not inclined to look very favourably on the present situation of this country, nor to feel so sanguinely as some other gentlemen, yet I think that, upon the present occasion, we should make a signal example of the court of Prussia; and whatever principles theorists may lay down about restoring the balance of Europe, I think we shall do more to restore the sound and true principles that ought to prevail in Europe, by showing the world, in this instance, that this country will not abandon them herself, nor consent that they shall be departed from by other nations in their transactions with her. I consider that the power of the country consists, in a great measure, in the known justice of its principles, in its moderation and forbearance; but if the court of Berlin chooses to depart from the principles of justice, and to act hostilely to this country, it must take the consequence. The French appear constantly to treat Prussia as a country that it is impossible to make a treaty or agreement with; and, in this respect, it is very likely that they are in the right. In our conduct upon this occasion, we shall have avoided a great evil, and done some good; we shall avoid the giving the sanction of this country to the spoliations which have been committed on the continent; we shall avoid the imputation of being indifferent to the fate of his majesty's foreign possessions, which would be a heavy imputation, even if it were supposed that their security was not immediately connected with the interests of this country: but, above all, we shall avoid the giving our sanction to that principle which has been lately adopted, of transferring the subjects of one prince to another, in the way of equivalents, and under the pretext of convenience and mutual accommodation. The wildest schemes that ever were before broached, would not go so far to shake the foundations of all established governments as this new practice. If we are to make exchanges, let us exchange those things which are the proper objects of exchange; let us give a field for a field, or let us exchange its stock, its oxen, and its sheep; but let us not consider the people of a country, or the subjects of a state, as matter for exchange or barter. There must be, in every nation, a certain attachment of the people to its form of government, without which no nation can subsist. This principle, then, of transferring the subjects of one prince to another, strikes at the foundation of every government, and the existence of every nation. I had, therefore, great pleasure in presenting the note delivered by me to M. Jacobi, which expressed, that no consideration of convenience or mutual accommodation, much less an equivalent, should ever induce his majesty to forget the exemplary fidelity and attachment of his Hanoverian subjects, or consent to the alienation of the electorate. I do not know that it is necessary to make any further observations; but before I sit down, I must state, that there can be no doubt but that

the shutting the ports of Prussia to British vessels is alone most clearly and unquestionably an act of hostility against this country." Mr. Fox then concluded, by moving an address of thanks to his majesty, which, as usual, was an echo of the message.

Lord Castlereagh rose to express his entire and unqualified concurrence in the address moved by the right hon. gentleman, and his cordial approbation of the sentiments with which it was introduced. From the manly manner in which the government had acted upon this occasion, it was impossible that any candid man could refuse them his praise. They had conducted themselves with a firmness so judiciously tempered with conciliation, as to maintain the dignity and resolution which pressingly became them in such a case, and, at the same time, not to shut the door against an opportunity of amicable adjustment, if the Prussian cabinet were so disposed. The right hon. gentleman who opened the motion had put the argument in favour of this country upon such broad grounds, and sustained the proceeding of his majesty's ministers by reasoning so irresistible, that he felt it unnecessary to add much to what the house had already heard. Indeed, under all the circumstances, he could not see how it was possible for our government to have taken a different course. Prussia, in becoming the instrument of France, to take hostile measures against this country, to adopt the course of annoying us that France had previously pursued, left to us no other alternative than that which had been taken.

On the 25th of April lord Howick moved the order of the day for the committee of supply: as soon as the house had resolved itself into a committee, his lordship moved for an increase of pay to the navy, nearly in the following words:

"I rise, sir, pursuant to notice, to submit a proposition upon which I am persuaded there can be but one opinion in this house. It must be equally the wish of all Englishmen to contribute to the adequate provision and comfort of a class of men who stand so high in universal estimation, as the British navy, and who have claims so peculiarly strong upon the esteem and gratitude of their country. It must, I say, be our wish not only to promote the comforts, but to secure the necessary rewards to that gallant body. Feeling this, I cannot suffer myself to entertain a doubt of unanimous support. I trust it will appear to every thinking man, that this addition, although considerable, is called for by the most pressing claims of justice and necessity, and that the country cheerfully yields to those calls, from a well deserved attention to the quarters from whence they proceed. An addition to the pay of a certain class of our navy has long been thought necessary, and that necessity has been frequently urged in vain. I was but a short time in the office which I have the honour to hold, when I found that measures were taking by means of petitions to lay the claims of this class before parliament; but I had objections to that mode of proceeding. I therefore thought it my duty to discourage it. I however took all means in my power to inquire into the case, well satisfied that, if there were any ground of complaint in any part of the navy, parliament would seize the first opportunity to remove it, and the country would be forward to applaud the act.

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The result of my inquiry has served to convince my mind that every class in the navy, from the superior officers down to the ordinary seamen, labour under disadvantages which ought to be immediately set aside. With this conviction I am of course of opinion, that no measure of relief can be effectual, that in fact any concession will lose much of its value, if partial in its application; and that the only way of doing substantial justice, and giving general satisfaction, is by raising the rates of allowance to all the classes of the navy. I shall, of course, exclude from the new arrangement those officers who received last year any addition to their pay—I mean the masters and surgeons. They were undoubtedly entitled to the attention they have experienced, but they have received their due proportion upon the scale I now propose. To all the other officers I shall extend the augmentation. I have said that I shall make no partial selection, and in this resolution I am justified by the advice of the most competent authorities, of persons best qualified to judge upon the subject. I am aware that an advance was made to the latter in 1797. But still it will be admitted that, from the enhancement of all articles of the first necessity, and the depreciation of money which has taken place within the last nine years, the demand of a farther advance to these meritorious men cannot be considered unreasonable. To establish any increase of wages proportionate to the circumstances I have mentioned, it is not my intention to attempt. Indeed such a thing would be scarcely possible. I have endeavoured to keep equally in view the degrees of rank and the merits of service; and hope I have avoided the injustice and inconvenience of any partial selection, such as prevailed in 1797, when the addition to the seamen's wages was not such as to afford them much advantage or satisfaction, and yet it created an undue proportion in their favour. By any man who reflects but a moment on the sufferings, the privations, and the services of our seamen, it is impossible that a doubt can be entertained of the propriety of affording them every means of consolation in our power. When we consider the nature of the service in which they are engaged, what must be our reflections? Withdrawn from all the enjoyments of domestic comfort, exposed to all the hazards of war, deprived of the profits and security they had on board merchant ships, from which for the most part they have been taken; the prospect, in fact, of future advancement cut off, and perhaps forfeited for ever; such has been the state of the greater part of your present seamen for years back, excepting, in some degree, that period of disturbed and agitated peace, if that could be called peace, in which you were subject to all the embarrassments, and obliged to maintain all the expenses and apparatus of war. A large proportion indeed of your seamen has been in actual service for twelve or thirteen years, and in actual service of the most toilsome, dangerous, unprofitable, and unpromising description: compelled for the most part, of late years, to encounter the inclemency of all seasons, they have had to watch the enemy in his ports, without even the hope of meeting and conquering him; which would render a British seaman indifferent to fatigue. For, the enemy having no means of

safety but in eluding the vigilance of our seamen, disappoints that thirst for conquest and glory which distinguishes our gallant tars, and which reconciles them to danger. Under such an accumulation of disadvantages, can you refuse them any comfort in your power to administer? Can you hesitate to furnish them with the means of solace on their midnight watch?—Now, as to the scale of augmentation, I propose to allow every ordinary seaman an additional pay of sixpence per week, or two shillings per month; to every able seaman one shilling per week, or four shillings per month; to all petty officers, who, according to the universal opinion, are so materially instrumental in preserving the discipline, and promoting the success of our fleets, five shillings per month. At the same time I mean that a considerable addition should take place in the number of this very useful body of men—this addition to include all those who are denominated on board, the captains of the forecastle, of the mast, of the tops and of the afterguard, who are the most active seamen on board, and to each of them I propose an increase of 9*s.* 6*d.* per month. To masters' mates and warrant officers I would give an addition of six shillings per month. As the warrant officers are retained and receive their pay during peace, as well as war, the addition to be granted them, in this instance, is only to be allowed while they are in actual service. To the master and surgeons, I have already stated, no addition is to be made. But there is a class of persons in the navy, whose claims to attention are as well founded as the general respectability of their character, I mean the chaplains; among the general advance, I propose to grant to the chaplain the appointment of school-master, which will form an addition to his revenue of twenty pounds a year. I now come to the commissioned officers, whose pay has not experienced any rise since the days of queen Ann. First, as to lieutenants, who have received but five shillings a day since that period, I should add one shilling per day; to the captains and admirals, whose pay has been as stationary as that of the lieutenants, I would also make an addition. The captains, I assure the house, although their complaints have not been so often heard, have as much ground to complain, and are as much entitled to attention, as any class in his majesty's service. To the pay of these officers, therefore, I would add four shillings per day. The gradation respecting the admirals I would arrange thus: to rear-admirals, an addition of 8*s.* 6*d.* per day; to vice-admirals, five shillings; to admirals, seven shillings; and to admirals of the fleet ten shillings. Upon this calculation, the addition under the several heads will stand thus:

Officers	£56,383
Warrant officers	7,310
Masters' mates	2,563
Petty officers	27,600
Lieutenants	26,800
Captains	27,904
Admirals	31,806
Able seamen	78,000
Ordinary seamen	30,000
Total	288,366

Or say 300,000*l.* per annum. But as the estimate for the present year is only made out from May next, I have only now to move for the grant of 193,168*l.* To the principle of this arrangement I have no fear

fear of any opposition; and if in the details any thing objectionable should occur, I shall be very willing to attend to the suggestion of any gentleman upon it. The plan of providing for those who are able to serve being gone through, we naturally turn our attention to those who are disabled by age, infirmity, or wounds, from any longer serving their country. For such persons Greenwich chest and Greenwich hospital already furnish some provision. As to the hospital, that institution has quite sufficient funds to answer its object, and any further allowance to the seamen who subsist on it would be rather liable to abuse. But, as to the chest, its funds would be insufficient for the purpose. Those in view require an addition of from fourteen to 20,000*l.* Out of this sum I would have allowed to out-pensioners a certain addition each, to be regulated according to their services and their present situation. From seven pounds a year, it should rise in gradation till it reached one shilling per day. For this sum I mean no addition to the public burthens. I propose it to be provided by a measure which will require a bill to be brought in, namely, by a grant of one shilling in the pound from all prize-money; and, in addition to this, I have no doubt of his majesty's consent to set apart, for the same purpose, all droits of the admiralty. His majesty's uniform solicitude for the comfort and rewards of the navy warrants a confidence in his acquiescence upon this subject."

The motion for the grant of 193,168*l.* with which the right hon. gentleman concluded, being read by the chairman; in reply to a question from an hon. member, lord Howick stated, that the proposed addition to the number of petty officers would amount to about ten in each ship of the line.

Lord Garlies perfectly coincided with the noble lord in the principle but differed in some respects in the application of that principle. As a naval officer, he must be a friend to any proposal for an adequate compensation being made to persons who deserve so well of their country. What was the present project? Three hundred thousand pounds were to be added to the public expense, and only a few were to be benefited by these regulations. The most essential class of men were still unprovided for in this plan; he meant the warrant and petty officers of the navy. The carpenters ought to be better provided for; they were fairly entitled to five pounds per month; it was true that in the large ships they received nearly that sum, but from a seventy-four gun ship downward, they did not enjoy this remuneration. The petty officers, who might be said to rank with the serjeants and corporals in the army, should receive three pounds per month, which is what they acquire in the merchant service. He could not object to the rewards assigned to the ordinary and able-bodied seamen; but rather than not competently provide for the warrant and petty officers, he would have left the former to the additional advantages they had to expect from Greenwich hospital, and the chest of the other meritorious institution. It was very desirable that the navy should be put upon that footing which should render it the object of voluntary service: by making the fit compensation, the compulsory means of the impress would be rarely necessary. With this view, he should wish that every

petty officer, who should not have been punished by a court-martial, and who should have regularly returned to his duty when called upon, should be entitled to a pension from the hospital, and that the benefits of this establishment should also be extended to the widows of such officers.

Lord Howick's motion being agreed to, the report of the committee was brought up on the 23th; when, after a short debate, in which lord Garlies and lord Howick were the principal speakers, the resolutions were agreed to.

Mr. secretary Windham on the 30th of April moved for the second reading of the bill for repealing the additional force act.

General sir James Pulteney rose to oppose the bill. He did not object to it from a principle of opposition to his majesty's ministers, but from the real conviction of his own mind: and whether connected or unconnected with ministers, he should have felt it his duty to have pursued precisely the same course, as it was avowedly the object of this bill to make way for the adoption of another measure to which his dislike was equally strong. His reasons for opposing the repeal of the additional force act proceeded from two distinct grounds; namely, the great military principle, and what he should call the civil or minor principle. The military principle was that by which men were to be enlisted for the service, first, for a limited term of five years, and afterwards, if they should choose it, in a second battalion, with additional bounty for general service, without limitation of time or place. This he considered as a principle perfectly consistent with the spirit and objects of military service. The second principle, or that of raising men by the influence or authority of the parish officers, he considered much less important, and, for argument sake, he was willing to give it up, as wholly inadequate to any eligible or permanent purpose; but for the maintenance of the first principle, he was not only disposed, but ready to contend. In the first place, he thought it rather extraordinary that the right honourable gentleman should propose the repeal of a bill, the leading principle of which was to give the recruit an option of enlisting either for limited or general service; and this at the very time when he avowed his intention, under this proposed modification, to adopt that principle as one of his indispensable propositions. But though the bill now proposed to be repealed gave to the recruit an option for the limitation of his services to time and place, the latter he thought the still stronger inducement, and that, if any thing could more strongly than another reconcile the recruit to enlistment, it was this. Yet it was found by experience, that in point of fact this option had no material influence whatever in preventing men who enlisted for limited service, to extend the term afterward by enlisting for general service, and for life. One of the principal arguments against raising men in this way was, that it cost double bounty. He would admit the bounty was something higher for general than for limited service; but if for the difference of six guineas per man, men were to be enlisted for life and general service, instead of temporary and local service, the difference would not exceed one hundred and twenty thousand pounds; and this was a sum which, in these times, it would

would be false œconomy to save, by forgoing so important an advantage to the service. But œconomy was not the only principle upon which the plan of the right honourable gentleman was opposed to this bill. It was said that by his plan, the men would be raised sooner than for general and unlimited service. He saw not, however, any great difference whether the men were raised in three months or in six, if they were but obtained; and it was obvious from what had already been proved, that the difference between limited and general service had not such an effect in promoting or discouraging enlistment, as the right honourable gentleman professed to think. He could not, therefore, discover any superiority in the plan he proposed, that could induce him to relinquish the principle, the advantages of which had been already so long, so uniformly, and so recently experienced. He begged leave now to offer a few observations upon its disadvantages; in doing which he should confine himself to the regulations proposed by the right honourable gentleman himself. And first, as to his proposition for enlisting men for a limited term of seven years, and discharging them at the expiration of that term, even though in the midst of war. He understood, indeed, that military opinions of high authority, of no less a person than the great lord Cornwallis, and another experienced officer, were in favour of it for home service, and in times of profound peace. But with respect to foreign service, and times of war, the general opinion of military men was decidedly against it. The right honourable gentleman, in support of his principle, had pleaded the uniform usage of foreign services on the continent, and said, that until of very late years it was the uniform practice of all Europe. The right honourable gentleman, to be sure, had not relied much upon this argument: but he should himself be glad to learn in what service of Europe such a principle had obtained. In fact, it never had been the usage of any of the continental services, to enlist men for a limited term of service without annexing the condition of 'during the war.' As to the other objects proposed by the plan, particularly that of obtaining soldiers of a superior character, he could not perceive any very prominent advantage. Discipline was the great and most desirable object, and that men of the meanest capacity generally learned in a short time, so as to enable them to practise all the manœuvres necessary in the field. He begged also to ask, whether it was probable that the way to attach a soldier to the service, or to good discipline, was to teach him to look forward perpetually to the termination of two or three years, which would free him from all subjection to the authority of his officers? He should ask also, whether the telling a soldier, that his profession was a bad mode of obtaining a livelihood, was a promising way to induce him to prefer or remain in the service, without perpetually looking forward to other views, or the imaginary comforts of other occupations? or whether a soldier on foreign service, looking anxiously forward to the termination of a short period, which must restore him to his native country and his family, was more likely to sustain fatigues and hardships, or encounter dangers, and reconcile him to all the vicissitudes of a soldier's fortune, than if he had assumed

assumed the profession for life, and was conscious that, though he might escape one danger to-day, he might fall on the morrow? The country did not seem to him in a state that could call for a measure so new and extraordinary; and circumstanced as we now stand, surely no measure could be more improper than a proposition to discharge from the service, and even in the midst of a war, or on the eve of a most important emergency, the most valuable class of men in the service, who had been rendered good soldiers by seven years service, in which they had been seasoned in various climates, and inured to all the habits of military life. It would be impossible to attach men to a mode of life which they were told was to continue but for a short time. It was impossible, also, that officers should not be extremely anxious to retain those men whom they had with so much care and attention trained to a knowledge of their duty; and surely it was infinitely better for the service, that the men should depend upon the officers than the officers upon the men. This was felt even in the militia, where the term of service was only for a limited time of five years, and the officers felt much disgust at being deprived of the disciplined flower of their regiments; and even in that branch of our defence, it had been found necessary to include the term 'during the war, in the period of service. Upon the whole, then, conceiving the bill now proposed to be repealed, to be superior, in many respects, to the plan proposed for adoption in its place, he should not consent to its repeal, at least before the plan of the right hon. gentleman came first before the house, and was subjected to some modifications which might render it less objectionable.

Mr. Mainwaring did not feel it necessary to examine very minutely the structure and machinery of the component parts of the bill proposed to be repealed; nor did he feel the present a fit opportunity for discussing the merits of another measure proposed in lieu of it. But he should have thought it more advisable for the right honourable gentleman to have waited until he had matured the plan in his contemplation before he had proposed the repeal. However, as there was a very principal part of the bill to which he had insurmountable objections, and as he felt himself forced reluctantly to vote against it, he rose to give the reasons which influenced him to that vote, the necessity of which he regretted, because, if those who brought forward the present proposition should succeed that night, it would encourage them to triumph in having got rid of this bill, merely to make room for another, the principles of which, so far as he had heard them explained, he by no means approved. His leading objections to the existing bill were, first, that it imposed upon churchwardens a species of duty wholly incompatible with their functions. Another objection he had to the bill was, that it was a measure of partial, and, in many cases, of oppressive taxation. It might be said that it was a measure of public defence, and that all measures of defence were necessarily measures of taxation:—true, but not of partial taxation, for a general advantage; for, as the benefit of the defence was universal to the country, so also should be the principle of the taxation in support of it. The burthen should be equally divided

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in the same proportion, and under the same system of finance, as the other general taxes of the country brought forward every year, and not suffered to fall most heavily, as this certainly did, upon classes and individuals least able to bear it. The bill at first avowed for its object a burthen upon the population of the country at large; but where it could not be productive in raising the men, then it became operative in the way of partial taxation. Unfortunately it was not in the most populous parishes that the means of payment were most easy; consequently the heavier burthen fell upon the most numerous and most indigent classes; and as the poors' rates formed the basis upon which the tax was assessed, it was not upon the splendid palace, or the wealthy and titled occupant, that the chief onus fell, but upon the industrious and often distressed tradesman. Having said thus much against the bill now proposed to be repealed, he fully agreed with the honourable baronet who preceded him, in the propriety of not abandoning a system of enlistment that had been found so productive, for a project yet untried. He perfectly agreed in the trite though vulgar adage of "Leave will alone," for the attempt to improve it might have the contrary effect. The right honourable gentleman, he was convinced, in speaking of the feelings and sentiments of common soldiers, spoke of them rather as what they ought to be, than as what they really were. They were, he believed, a class of mankind rather actuated by the impulse of the moment, than by any views to remoter considerations, and by no means as men of the refined feeling or sentiment which the right honourable gentleman appeared to consider them as possessed of. Having thus expressed his general sentiments, he concluded by declaring, that he should vote for the repeal of the bill—so far, at least, as it was calculated to oppress parishes and their churchwardens.

Mr. Canning.—I gave way, sir, with the greatest satisfaction to the honourable general who opened this debate; because, in the very extraordinary situation in which the house is at present placed,—called upon as we are to discuss questions not immediately perhaps within our province or capacity, questions of a purely military nature,—and having been denied by his majesty's ministers those lights which are to be derived from the opinions of high military authorities,—it is certainly very desirable that we should avail ourselves to the utmost of whatever professional knowledge and experience we happen to possess among ourselves; and it is peculiarly fortunate that we do possess, in the person of the honourable general, and others, a degree of that knowledge and experience sufficient to enlighten and direct our decisions. If, sir, from this feeling I gave way to the honourable general with satisfaction, that satisfaction certanly has not been diminished by finding in his judgment and authority the confirmation of those opinions which the best attention that I could bestow upon the subject, and the best inquiries that I have had an opportunity of making, had led me to form and to bring down to this house, subject to be corrected here by fuller discussion and better information. I submit that the true view of the question now before the house, is that which the honourable general, who opened the debate, has taken of it. It is not whether

whether the additional force act shall be altered or modified. It is not merely whether the provisions and enactments of that act shall be altogether repealed. It is, whether by the repeal of the principle upon which that act rests, and upon which rest also all the other measures by which we have hitherto been in the habit of providing for the internal military defence of the country, we shall this night take the first step towards a complete change in the whole of our military system. This is, as it strikes me, the real question upon which we have to deliberate: and a more awful and momentous one was never submitted to the deliberation of the house of commons. It is upon this ground that I found the amendment which I shall take the liberty of submitting to the house; and for which I do really think not only that the house in general, (who having heard the right honourable secretary's statement of his plans, must be aware that that measure, which is now immediately before them, is the very last and least considerable part of what they have to look for at his hands;) but that even the honourable gentleman himself (Mr. Mainwaring) who is so decided an enemy to the additional force bill as it at present operates, may vote with perfect propriety and consistency. I shall not ask of the house to negative the repeal of that bill; much less shall I ask of them to determine upon retaining it with all its existing inconveniencies and imperfections (whatever they may be). But I shall entreat of them not to decide precipitately, and inconsiderately to repeal and do away for ever, not this or that clause of a bill, or this or that modification of the principle on which it is founded; but the very principle itself, the very foundation of this, and every other measure, by which the military establishments of this country have been sustained at a height adequate to its necessities. I shall entreat of them not to decide upon this repeal, without having previously considered and ascertained what measures of security, what plan, with a rational prospect of efficiency and success, they are likely to see substituted in the room of what is proposed to be destroyed. With this view, I shall propose to the house to defer the vote upon the second reading of the bill now before them, for such a time only as may give the right honourable gentleman sufficient opportunity to develop those plans of reform, and regeneration, which he opened to us generally on the former night; and the first statement of which, I am sure, has created impressions rather of alarm and anxiety, than of that undoubting confidence, which should induce us to forgo whatever security we now possess, in order to trust entirely to what the right honourable gentleman may provide for us hereafter.

In voting for the proposition which I mean to submit to the house, they will not be required to vote against the principle of service for a limited period. All that I want is to postpone the repeal of this act, involving, as that repeal would do, a renunciation of our established system, until we shall have had an opportunity of discussing fully, and judging fairly, the expediency and efficacy of the system which is to be substituted for it. I do not object to the fitness of having this measure tried; but doubting much its capability to sustain the load which the right honourable gentleman proposes to

lay upon it, (and if it cannot sustain that load, however good the thing may be in itself, his case is not made out,)—I conjure the house not to recede from all their former votes, from all their recorded opinions, from the established practice of the country, to risque the safety of the state upon a wild and untried theory, which has only the right honourable gentleman's dictum to vouch for its success. When the right honourable gentleman talks of this measure as an improvement in the condition of the army, I answer, (as I have already answered) that I would oppose no improvements; that the army has, on many occasions, very properly experienced the beneficence of government; that it was not forgotten under the administration of my right honourable friend. But when he represents it as an improvement of such value and extent as of itself to insure a constant supply of recruits, more than equal to the increased demand which it will itself occasion, and of recruits of an infinitely better description than are now to be had, I confess I much doubt whether this statement is not a little exaggerated. I apprehend that the very best description of soldiers are those which are recruited from among the peasantry: now if the mere physical advantages of the soldier's condition over the peasant's are sufficient to induce the latter to enlist, I really do not see that any thing the right honourable gentleman proposes to add to that difference can materially increase its operation. Food and raiment, and lodging, and fire, and moderate labour, and care in sickness, are the essential points in which the situation of one man can, physically speaking, be made materially preferable to that of another; and this distinction, I apprehend, exists already in a sufficient degree between the soldier and the peasant, to give you whatever fair chance may arise from a comparison of the two situations. But there is, it seems, in the notion of service for life, something so revolting, something so terrifying in the very sound, that it is of itself sufficient to deter the young recruit from enlisting. In the sound, perhaps, there may; and it requires but little reflection to discover at once the incorrectness of the expression, and the extravagancy of the inference which is drawn from it. Service for life, we well know, means in fact no more than service during the military age; during that period of a man's life which, whatever be the original choice, destination, or necessity that determines his pursuit or occupation, must infallibly be devoted to that pursuit, and at the end of which period alone he can look for retirement or release. And if, at the end of that period, he is ensured a competency proportioned to his station in life, it cannot be denied, that the profession which affords that assurance, is at least not inferior in its attractions and advantages to any other which is open to the same rank or class in society.

If, sir, the right honourable gentleman is so satisfied of the perfection of his projects; if he is confident that the advantages which he proposes will not be counterbalanced by any of the inconveniencies which we apprehend; if he thinks the indefinite enlistments so onerous and unreasonable, and service for a limited period so certain a remedy, and so safe a practice; I cannot forbear expressing my surprise, that he should not think of applying

applying this change to the existing regular army. He has expressly told us that it is not his intention to do so; and he tells us in defence of this seeming inconsistency, that the existing army, having entered into a contract for indefinite service, has no claim to release or mitigation. I confess, sir, I cannot entirely agree with the right honourable gentleman in his construction of this contract. I doubt whether, in fair construction, he who enters in a state of life which may subject him to many contingent hardships, does not become entitled to any contingent advantages which may belong to it. But, be this as it may, I am very sure that the right honourable gentleman is the last person who could consistently hold the existing army to his own construction of the contract. He, who contends that enlistment, hitherto, has been a trade of trick on one side, and delusion on the other,—he, who considers these tricks and delusions as one main ground for an alteration of system, cannot surely mean to exclude from the benefit of that alteration the very case which has given rise to it, and, when he has applied a remedy to the grievance, refuse it to those, and to those only, who are the individuals aggrieved. The right honourable gentleman has extolled in the highest terms the advantages of a large regular army. On that subject undoubtedly there can be no difference of opinion. But without carrying to too great an excess a veneration for the establishments and opinions of our ancestors, we may be permitted to doubt the propriety of carrying the regular army to an unlimited extent, without any check or balance in the other parts of the military system of the country. Upon emergencies our regular army may safely be augmented to any point to which we can conveniently carry it: but it has always hitherto happened, fortunately at least, if it has not been contrived wisely, that the other descriptions of our force have grown with it in the same proportion. The right honourable gentleman is endeavouring to lay the foundation of a large regular army, while he is sapping all the other establishments which ought constitutionally to accompany it. The right honourable gentleman may perhaps tell me that the checks and balances to which I allude, are mere creatures of the imagination; for that it is utterly improbable that our militia or volunteers should in any instance be drawn out against the line. God forbid they should! But look, sir, at the analogy of our civil constitution;—what is it but a system of mutual checks and balances, which have a sure though silent operation on each other? When foreigners are told of the power of this branch of the legislature, or of the power of that branch,—of the prerogative of the crown, and of the privileges of parliament,—they imagine, amidst such conflicting authorities the work of government and legislation must be at a stand: on the contrary, we know that it is carried on the more smoothly for this opposition of powers, and that the mutual consciousness of each other's strength preserves all parties within bounds, and contributes to the security of the whole. The very stillness of the balance is a proof of its stability.—Such is likewise the operation of our checks upon our standing army. Nor have there been wanting instances, even in times which

which are in the remembrance of us all, when the regular army alone would not have been adequate to preserve the tranquillity of the country;—when to have been dependent upon it alone would have been hazardous in the extreme. This is a subject of infinite importance in a constitutional point of view; it is a subject of infinite delicacy also: and if I feel it to be so at this moment, while we are yet in possession of all those securities which it is the right honourable gentleman's object to destroy, I cannot help apprehending that some ten years hence perhaps, when the right honourable gentleman's system shall have had its full effect, and shall have left no other military force in the country than a huge unbalanced standing army, a member of parliament may rise in this house to deliver his opinion upon subjects in which the army is concerned, with very different feelings from those with which I now address you. For the first time since the revolution, parliament has this year voted the supplies for the army, before the army estimates were presented. Having so far forgone the jealousy which ought to characterize our proceedings, we are bound to be the more cautious in considering what sort of army is to be raised and maintained by these supplies; particularly we are bound to take care that we do not suffer the principles of the constitution, and the practical security of our liberties, to be brought into unnecessary danger. I do maintain that such is the tendency of the right honourable gentleman's system. The militia itself, if it is to be raised according to the new mode proposed by the right honourable gentleman, and to be raised by the crown, will be liable, in a great degree, to the same constitutional objection which applies to a standing army, though without producing to the country the same advantages. This, and the standing army itself, will be the whole that the right honourable gentleman proposes to leave us. Against a regular army so constituted, I doubt whether the mutiny bill itself would be the same security that we have hitherto found it. The mutiny bill is annual, and recognises no term of service. But if the right honourable gentleman's system takes effect, if we consent to raise the soldier's pay at the end of a certain number of years, and to give him certain other specified advantages at the end of another specified period, and make this the condition of his original enlistment, I confess I doubt how far, when by serving a portion of that time he shall have acquired a vested right in these contingent advantages, it will be competent for this house to cut short his service by a premature dismissal. The right honourable gentleman may perhaps see some solution to this difficulty, if it has ever occurred to him: but it is at least a difficulty gratuitously incurred, and better avoided. Sir, I think we should have been justified from the statement of the principle on which the right honourable gentleman proposed the repeal of the additional force act, and upon which he professes to act in his plan, for the alteration of the militia system, as well as for the recruiting of the army, from the preference which he has manifested throughout, for voluntary over compulsory service, in concluding that there was at least one military institution in the country which he must regard with admiration. If the right honour-

able

able gentleman had read in ancient history, that the whole population of a country, of a great commercial nation like this, a Tyre or a Carthage, had suddenly quitted their accustomed habits, and had voluntarily assumed a martial appearance, and subjected themselves to military discipline, he would have spoken of such an event with enthusiasm. But realities do not suit the right honourable gentleman. Distant phantoms alone can interest his feelings. At the very time when it is said by France, when the school of Talleyrand and Hauterive are labouring to persuade the nations of Europe, that the people of this country, gorged with wealth, and sunk in the low pursuits of gain, are altogether insensible to honour, and incapable of exertion; that the flesh has so far overgrown the sinew, that there is neither strength nor spirit remaining among them; at that very moment have they given the lie to those assertions, and proved themselves alive to every generous and patriotic sentiment. Whatever may be, in the right honourable gentleman's eyes, the military use or disadvantage of such an effort, it cannot be denied that upon the continent at least the volunteers had given confidence to our friends, and lowered the tone of our enemies; that in whatever part of Europe this sudden rush to arms was known, the opinion there instantly prevailed, that our danger was dispelled, that England was saved. It is surely not our business, it is not the province and duty of a minister of this country, to endeavour to lower this confidence, and re-animate the hopes of our opponents. But the right honourable gentleman looks at these events, if not with a prejudiced, at least with too impartial an eye; and what he would have hailed with rapture in the history of a distant period, and described in a learned language, brought near to his eye in action, and exemplified in the plain instance of his own country, fills him with disgust. He sees with no complacency these 'belli simulacra' exhibited among persons whose every day habits are known and familiar to him. He has no reliance on their military prowess. He even fears that the assumption of the soldier by the citizen has polluted and degraded the military character. Sir, I cannot agree with the right honourable gentleman, that regular armies are the sole champions on which countries must depend for their existence; that, this champion once defeated, the country must fall. The right honourable gentleman instances the surrender of Ulm, and the battle of Austerlitz: he tells us that the French force marched from Ulm to the Inn, through an unresisting population, and that Vienna fell without a blow. But I would ask that right honourable gentleman, if there had been between Ulm and the Inn, or between the Inn and Vienna, four hundred thousand volunteers, or the militia of which this country can boast, would the conquest of that capital have been then so easy? or would it, in all probability, have been effected at all? (Hear hear!) I can, therefore, see no cause for stating, that the very existence of the country depends on the regular army alone. With respect to the other doctrine which the honourable gentleman holds in disparagement of the volunteers, that the union of the civil and military characters has disgraced the latter, my opinion is directly

directly the reverse. I consider this union as not only peculiarly honourable to the general character of this country, but as analogous to its constitution. When it is explained to foreigners that so great a portion of the distributive justice of the country is administered by men not in the profession of the law, but by magistrates, who lend their services to the public for this purpose, they are astonished at a practice so different from that which obtains on the continent. No one, I believe, however, will venture to assert that the profession of the law in Great Britain is contaminated by this practice; or that the dignity of those who fill the high magistracies of the country is in any degree impaired by this voluntary association, in some of its duties, of men who neither are, nor pretend to be, their rivals for honour or renown. In like manner with respect to the volunteers—who has contended?—no man has contended or argued,—that the volunteers are, or can be, or need be, equal to the regular army,—nor do I so understand the reports on the table, which state, that they are competent to "act with the line." All that is contended for is, that they are in such a state of discipline as to aid, and not disconcert, the regular army; to communicate strength to them, and not weakness and confusion. I heartily wish, sir, that the same words, with the same limitation, and the same justice, may be some time hence applied to the right honourable gentleman's mass!!!. With regard to this mass, several questions arise, which no doubt the right honourable gentleman will, some time or other, think it fit to answer. How are they to be trained? how combined? and whither are they to go? To find officers for the purpose of training them will not be so easy as the right honourable gentleman imagines. The militia, upon which he appeared to reckon, certainly cannot spare them. The very fault of the militia is, that it is itself imperfectly officered at present. The officers of the second battalions have been mentioned for that purpose: but of the 57 second battalions, 30 are 300 strong, and want all their own officers; and the remaining 27, which are not filled up to that amount, are officered only in proportion to the amount to which they are filled. But supposing them trained, what is then to become of them? are they to be ticketed and labelled, and laid by for use? under whose custody and superintendance? who is to be answerable for their forthcoming? how will it be possible to keep a register of 200,000 names a year, which in six years will amount to 1,200,000, so as to enable government to lay their hands upon them immediately on their being wanted? The nature and the object of their training are likewise to be matters of consideration. If they are to be employed in annoying the enemy from over hedges and behind ditches, a training would be required very different from that which the right honourable gentleman seems to have in contemplation; and not only officers to instruct them, but commanders under whom they may rally in the day of action. But if, as has been stated by the right honourable gentleman, they are to be taken into the ranks of the regular army, I wish to know whether there is a single commanding officer, who, having lost

two hundred men, would not much rather go into battle again with his shattered battalions as they were, than see them filled up with men who, from their inadequate discipline, must create the utmost confusion? The house must well remember the obloquy that was cast on the measure of drafting from the militia to regular regiments, when the expedition to Holland took place;—yet how infinitely superior must the militiaman be to the peasant, who should only have been trained for twenty-six days in the year! And this suggests another consideration; the kind of encouragement which is to be held out to the individuals who compose the mass. I have no doubt that they will act bravely; every Englishman does so: but, certainly it is not very alluring to say to them—'You will never be called on until a vacancy occurs:' in other words, 'until the man is shot, whose place you are to supply.' These men, too, are not to be regimentally clothed; so that, as soon as they enter the ranks, they will probably meet with a proclamation from the enemy, that all men taken in arms, and not regularly soldiers, should undergo military execution. It is not likely, after every allowance has been made for their courage, that these men could display any great zeal under such circumstances; or at least that the full benefit can be derived from their constitutional bravery and spirit, which under better regulation might reasonably be expected from them. I am far from contending, however, that, by this contradiction of himself alone, the right honourable gentleman has necessarily precluded himself from forming a good plan. I contend, on other grounds, that he has not formed one; and on these grounds I contend that he has completely failed in establishing the viciousness of the principles of those which he proposes to abolish. I contend, therefore, that the question which the house has to decide to-night, so far as the additional force bill is concerned, is purely a question of comparison,—of comparison between two modes of applying the same principles, that which already exists and which has been found good for something at least, and that which the right honourable gentleman purposes to propose, and which promises nothing salutary and nothing useful. It is not a question simply, whether the additional force bill shall be repealed, and its principles altogether got rid of;—for the principles, after all, the right honourable gentleman promises to re-enact;—but whether we shall gratify him by giving up a measure altogether, which a little alteration may make unobjectionable, and then trust to such hopes as he has given us for a perfect system to be produced hereafter. That any thing which he has yet opened deserves that name, the most sanguine of his admirers cannot contend or believe.

"Sir, I am far from wishing that a measure should be fastened on the country, which the government are determined not to carry into effect; but I certainly wish that the house should, by their vote, show that they do not think the right honourable gentleman's plan all sufficient as a substitute for our present system, unless it shall be very considerably altered from what it has been stated by him. Sir, I would myself be the first to move, that the additional force act should be referred to a committee

mittee for the purpose of adding to what is defective, and correcting what is erroneous; and I would even after that willingly abandon it altogether, if it were found inferior to the amended plan of the right honourable gentleman. But my object is, to gain time to institute this comparison; my object is, not to part precipitately with what we have, until we are better satisfied of the advantages of what is intended to be proposed to us; and I shall therefore move, that for the word '*now*' in the original motion, be substituted the words 'this day three weeks.'"

Mr. Wilberforce considered the principle of the bill now proposed to be repealed, to be vicious and defective, and he should therefore vote for the motion. He had taken all the pains in his power to inquire into the efficacy of this measure. He had not trusted to his own judgment, but had consulted the opinions and experience of several respectable magistrates, and they had all assured him that the measure was wholly unfit to be rendered permanent. In the three ridings of Yorkshire, he found, upon minute inquiry, that either the difficulties were so great as to prevent the operation of the bill, or that no man had been returned at all. Those different ridings were very differently situated and circumstanced, but still the result was the same. Similar effects were to be found in other counties: in Somersetshire the bill had almost entirely failed. In Bath not one man was raised out of a quota of sixty-four. How then did it appear by the return, that so many men were raised? It was by the breach, and not by the observance, of the law, that they had been so raised. The law never could be made effectual but by the breach of it. The people of this country did not like to have men asked, when it was money which was the only tendency, if not the only object of the request. He professed a high respect for the character of the right honourable gentleman with whom the measure originated; but he was convinced that, were that right honourable gentleman present, he would be among the first to propose some substantial alteration, if not a total repeal of the act. One of the best traits of his great character was, his adaptation of his public measures to those circumstances of imperious public necessity, that required a change in the conduct of government. This trait he recommended to all ministers, who would find in it a reward that would outlive all temporary unpopularity, and charges of wavering inconsistency. If we continued the present inoperative bill, we must go on fining the parishes instead of raising men, and committing acts of injustice and oppression. He believed the discussions on this measure had produced many valuable hints, and much useful information on the subject, of which he hoped the legislature would avail itself. But he felt it his duty to vote for the repeal, totally independent of any consideration that respected the plan proposed by the right honourable gentleman opposite.

Mr. Long spoke against the repeal.

Mr. Hawthorne then made a very elaborate speech for the repeal, which we are unable to give on account of its length, and because it does not admit of abridgment, owing to the various calculations contained in it. Several other gentlemen followed

lowed in the debate; when the house divided on the amendment proposed by Mr. Canning,

Ayes	119
Noes	235
Majority	116

After the division, lord Castlereagh expressed his determination to oppose the bill for repealing the additional force act in every stage.

Mr. Fox said, that as every man was at liberty to choose his own way of discussing a proposition, so those who opposed the bill brought in by his right honourable friend may wish to avoid entering into the merits or defects of the act it was intended to repeal; but, for his part, he would not discuss other measures while a particular bill was under consideration. He was not indeed surprised that they should abandon the defence of their favourite additional force act, and endeavour to fasten upon the other parts of the plan proposed by his right hon. friend. The right hon. gentleman (Mr. Canning) had displayed no little share of dexterity in evading the discussion of the only question which was before the house. He would admit that his speech was a most able one; but still it appeared to him to have one defect, and that was, that no part of it was directed to the consideration of the act it was proposed to repeal.

Mr. Canning asked for what purpose Mr. Windham had brought forward his system, if it was not intended that it should be considered by every man in the country? Was a system over which the whole nation was lamenting; which had filled with alarm and dismay every man in it, to be passed over in silence? If a man proposed a series of resolutions, and concluded a four hours speech with moving the first of them, were you to be debarred from considering the whole? The right hon. gentleman was much mistaken, if he supposed there was any shyness on that side to encounter his system, than which there could be nothing more preposterous and absurd; a system calculated to shake the whole of our military establishment, to produce dissatisfaction in the army, and to make it doubt of the propriety of its existence. A system—

Lord Temple called to order, because he conceived the language employed by the honourable gentleman not fit to be attributed to a proposition brought forward by any member of this house, much less to a member of his majesty's government.

Mr. Canning.—I trust, Mr. Speaker, we are not come to those times when a strong government, which shall be unable to answer an argument, shall be able to put it down. I trust, sir, that we are not to have silence imposed upon us in this house. I do hope that the noble lord and those who are connected with him in his majesty's government will not deprive us of the liberty of speech; that we shall be allowed the freedom of discussing their measures. I do hope that the noble lord does not mean to have recourse to a plan of which I have formerly heard. It was once observed to Mr. Burke, by a member of this house, that he was surprised ministers, instead of debating, did not try the effect of silence in this house; to which he answered, "that they had tried it, and they found it would not do." So I will tell the noble lord. Why did his right hon. friend bring forward his plan before the recess, if he

he does not mean to proceed with it immediately? Does he mean that it should go forward, or does he not?

Mr. Windham.—My surprise was not that the right honourable gentleman had introduced these topics, but that he did not introduce many more of the same kind. As to the question put by him, I will state, that there is no intention to make any change in the plan which I have laid before the house.

After some more conversation, in which colonel Crawford, Mr. Perceval, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Fox and lord Castlereagh took part, it was agreed that the bill should be committed for Tuesday next. On that day the subject produced another very animated debate, in which the principal speakers against the repeal were Mr. Johnstone, lord Castlereagh and Mr. Perceval; and those for the repeal were lord Henry Petty, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Bragge Bathurst. The bill was finally passed in the commons on the 15th of May. On the same day

Mr. Jeffery rose to call the attention of the house to the naval administration of lord St. Vincent, whom he pledged himself to prove guilty of culpable neglect and gross misconduct during the time he was at the head of the admiralty. The speech on this occasion was delivered from paper, and took some hours in reading. It consisted of many very serious and important charges against the noble lord, and it was concluded by a string of motions, forming a summary of the matters contained in the speech, which closed with one accusing lord St. Vincent with gross misconduct and dereliction of duty. He then moved, "that the house do resolve itself into a committee to consider these charges." Lord Howick, admiral Markham, lord Garlies and others vindicated the conduct of lord St. Vincent; and upon the question being put, Mr. Jeffery's motion was rejected almost unanimously.

Mr. Fox then rose, and, after a short introductory speech, moved, "That it appears to this house, that the conduct of the earl of St. Vincent, in his naval administration, has added an additional lustre to his exalted character, and merits the appprobation of the house;" which was agreed to without a division.

On the 16th Mr. Robson rose to bring forward his promised motion for the production of certain documents from the department of barracks, with a view to institute some inquiry into certain gross abuses in that department through the wasteful expenditure of the public money. He said it was now four years since he had ventured to obtrude himself upon the attention of that house, by some observations and a motion on the very subject which it was now his purpose to offer for their consideration, namely, the gross abuses then existing in the barrack department; and he, on that occasion, warned the house of the enormity of those abuses, upon which he had not the good fortune of being able to institute, at that time, any inquiry; but which now were palpably proved to have existed to the full extent which he then asserted, by the report now in his hand, and which for some time had lain on their table; and he would now venture to say, that had his advice been then taken, many millions of the public money would have been saved, and no occasion would have existed for laying such a report before parliament. It was now

some years since the house had been in the habit of voting large sums of money for the erection of barracks in various parts of the kingdom; but those votes had of late years increased to enormous sums of money. Last year the sum was two millions three hundred and odd thousand pounds, and the year before it was one million seven hundred thousand; in fact, it had been rapidly increasing every year. Having, upon a former occasion, attempted in vain to induce the house to go into some investigation, finding his former opinions justified by the report now before the house, and desirous once more to bring forward the subject to the notice of parliament, it was natural for him to look a little into the matter, in order to acquit himself of a duty which he felt incumbent upon him, now that the reins of government were got into the hands of other ministers, who, he trusted, would offer no impediment to fair inquiry, to ascertain, if possible, what became of those enormous sums so voted. With a view to this purpose, it was his intention to move for the production of certain papers from the barrack department, which he trusted the house would have no objection to grant.

Mr. J. Martin seconded the motion.

Lord Henry Petty said, if the honourable gentleman had done him the honour to make the slightest communication to him of his wishes or intentions upon the subject, he should have hoped to be able to satisfy the honourable gentleman, that his motion for papers, and the purpose he had avowed, were rendered unnecessary, by another arrangement which had already taken place. As the honourable member had not thought proper so to do, he would beg leave to say now, that, although he saw no objection whatever to the production of the papers named in the honourable gentleman's motion, yet, at the same time, as the house had already appointed commissioners for the very purpose of the investigation avowed by the honourable member as his object, and had delegated to them its authority to inquire, with the utmost minuteness, concerning every expenditure in the barrack, as well as all other military departments; which commissioners were proceeding with all the expedition in their power, consistently with the nature of the subjects referred to their examination; he would put it to the good sense of the hon. member, whether it would not be much more orderly, and consistent with the regular proceedings of parliament, first, to await the report of those commissioners, or to communicate to them any object he conceived most prominent, or any information that could aid or accelerate their inquiry, before he proceeded to call upon the house to institute another inquiry, to proceed at the same time, and upon the very same subject. He would submit to the honourable member, whether it was a discreet procedure, while a parliamentary commission was occupied in this very inquiry, to supersede the authority delegated to them without any pretence of complaint, or any alleged ground of imputation upon their proceedings, and to move for another inquiry upon the same topic. If, indeed, when they should make their report, the honourable member should find any just cause to complain of their negligence, or partiality, or unnecessary delay, it would

would be competent for him to arraign their misconduct, and to call upon the house for the inquiry he now proposed; but until such an occasion should occur, he hardly could conceive the house would be disposed to comply with the honourable gentleman's wishes for such an inquiry, until some just ground should appear to impeach the conduct of the commissioners.

Mr. Robson rose with much emotion to reply, and said, that if his eyes did not convince him to the contrary, he should have conceived the answer of the noble lord to have come from the ghost of the deceased minister whose place he now filled; for it was an answer, word for word with the objection made by that minister four years ago, to the motion which he had made for inquiring upon the same subject, and he had in his pocket the Parliamentary Register to prove the fact. But, notwithstanding the disappointment he felt at such an answer coming from the noble lord, as one of his majesty's present ministers, he should persist, aye, inexorably persist, with the leave of the house, in his determined purpose of instituting the inquiry: it could not interfere with the business of the military commissioners. But was he to be told, that the house of commons had, in any case, abandoned its inquisitorial authority, and delegated it to any board of commissioners, so as to preclude itself from investigation upon any similar subject it might think necessary? Those military commissioners had now been sitting almost a year, and what had they produced? Why, nothing but this report upon the table; and this report, notwithstanding the enormous, corrupt, and profligate profusion it had exposed, had now lain nearly six weeks upon the table of the house; and he took shame to himself, as a member of that house, to say, that not the slightest notice had been taken of it to that day by any member of parliament. Was he to be told that the house of commons, apprised as it was of such an enormous and wasteful profusion of the public money, was to delegate its privilege of inquiry to any commissioners of barracks, or commissionners of accounts, or commissioners of any sort, military or civil; and then wait a year or two until those commissioners should think fit to report their opinions? He would admit no such argument. What did he sit in that house for, but as a guardian of the public purse? What was the duty of the house of commons, but to watch over and control the public expenditure? Was he, then, as a member of parliament, to be denied the right of calling for papers, to inform himself, and that house, upon the subject of public expenditure, in order to institute inquiry, if necessary, or to aid the commissioners already appointed? He never would submit to it, as a member of that house: he never would listen to such an argument, as that parliament was bound to wait, year after year, upon the slow progress of a board of commissioners, before they could proceed to the prompt steps necessary on any prominent or enormous instance of profusion or peculation. What had he said before? but that 275 accounts on army affairs were then before the commissioners, not yet entered upon. Let not the house be told, then, that this subject was before commissioners of inquiry, who might sit year after year, before the result of their inquiries was known, while the house was, in the mean time,

called upon to vote, year after year, new and enormous supplies, without inquiring how the past had been expended. The house, without the grossest dereliction of its duty, could not any longer persist in such mode of proceeding. How long, he would ask the noble lord, had this account of the barrack department been bandied about from one office to another for investigation without effect? First, it was sent to the treasury; from thence it was referred to the auditor of public accounts; then it was sent to the secretary at war; and, at last, the system blew itself up, and corruption and venality had wrought their own reform. But the fact not to be denied was, as he had said four years ago, that the expenditure in the barrack department had grown to an enormous amount, and assumed the merit of every bad and indignant name that could be given to it. Why had not parliament done its duty, and prevented the progress in time? The purpose he had in view was, to examine the old accounts, in order to prevent similar profusion from happening in the new. He wished also to procure the protection and justice of parliament for many of those persons who had the misfortune to give credit to a considerable amount to the barrack department, whose accounts now remained five years unsettled, and who might be driven to ruin and beggary while waiting the tardy investigation of the military commissioners. He did not mean to charge any individual with a criminal misapplication of the public money: he merely wished to do justice, and ascertain where the fault lay; and he believed the barrack-master general would turn out to have been a very ill-used man, in the delay of settling his accounts. The question was at length put upon Mr. Robson's first motion, and agreed to.

In the house of peers on the 20th of May the order of the day being read, for the second reading of the additional force act repeal bill,

Earl Spencer rose and observed, that if there were no other ground upon which to justify a call upon their lordships to pass the present bill, than the experience of twenty-two months, which proved the utter inefficiency of the measure, for the repeal of which the present bill was introduced, that alone would have been a sufficient reason in his mind, why the house should, without further discussion, agree to the second reading, which he now rose to move. After the usual mode of recruiting had been carried on with the utmost exertion, for increasing our army to its necessary strength, it was still found requisite to suggest some other modes than those already employed for that purpose, and with this view the army of reserve bill was adopted. But after that had been tried to its utmost extent, without being productive in the degree expected, the measure of the additional force bill was then propounded, as one which was to obviate all the inconveniences arising from the army of reserve bill, and all the other modes of recruiting then in operation; and to supply all these defects by immediately procuring the number of men necessary. This was the object avowed by those who brought forward the additional force act; but, as he had then predicted, it had utterly failed, and turned out to be a measure, not for raising men but money. His lordship entered into a minute detail of extracts from the documents on the table,

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in support of his opinion, and showed the progressive deficiency of men, and growth of penalties, in successive periods; and he observed, that having in fact completely failed in effect under its natural operation, when it did become under recent and extraordinary exertions in any degree productive, it was rendered only so by a violation of its own principles, viz. by the employing crimps, by recruiting out of the limited districts, and by offering bounties considerably higher than the regimental recruiting officers, and thereby not only creating a rivalry in bounties with the regular service, but impeding the business of recruiting. He trusted it would not be thought too much for him to ask, that this obnoxious and unproductive measure might be removed out of the way of the recruiting service, to which it had been an impediment.

Earl Camden admitted that the bill had not been so productive as was originally expected; yet it certainly had been, in a great degree, much more so upon a comparative scale than his noble friend had seemed disposed to allow. He was not however so wedded to the bill, as to insist upon retaining it at all events; but still he thought it would behove their lordships to pause before they consented to repeal a bill which had been productive of considerable advantage, until at least they saw some measure proposed as a substitute to it. The noble lord went into a short series of comparative calculations, to show that the bill, even under all the objections made to it, had not been so unproductive as had been represented. He wished to give his majesty's ministers time to prepare such a measure as was fit to be substituted in its place; and he concluded by moving, that instead of the word "now," in the motion of his noble friend, for the second reading of the repeal bill, the words "this day three weeks" be inserted.

Lord St. John thought the best substitute for the act would be to repeal it, and to leave the recruiting service to act freely and without impediment. He contended that the act had in its operation been found totally inefficient, and that it was absurd to suppose that parish officers should be converted into recruiting officers with any beneficial effect. The act, he asserted, had been invariably found either nugatory or oppressive in its operation, without producing any benefit whatever to the army, but, on the contrary, impeding and embarrassing the recruiting service, and therefore he should support its repeal.

The earl of Westmorland considered the present measure as connected with others which it was intended to propose, and the stating of which had spread alarm through the country. He conceived that some measure was absolutely necessary to enable us expeditiously to recruit the army at the commencement of a war, so as to attack with effect the possessions of the enemy, or at least to place ourselves in a proper state of defence. The want of some such measure had been felt repeatedly by this country at the commencement of wars. At the beginning of the present war we were, with respect to the army, in a miserably unprovided state. It was then found necessary to raise a large force by means of a ballot; a large force was raised, and the ballot continued to operate until it was found that, in a great measure, it defeated itself, in consequence of the high price paid for substitutes.

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After this the act was brought in, which it was now proposed to repeal, but which had not had full time allowed for its operation. He called upon a noble lord opposite, who had formerly opposed the repeal of this act, on the ground that it ought to have a fair trial, now also to oppose it on the same ground, as the act had not yet been sufficiently tried: it had now begun to be efficient, and this was the period chosen to propose the repeal of it, without proposing any substitute.

Lord Sidmouth delivered an animated speech, in which he justified his own conduct, and declared himself an advocate for the repeal of the bill. His lordship was followed by several other noble lords; when the bill was read a second time. And on the 22d it was read a third time, and passed.

CHAPTER VI.

Debates on Lord Henry Petty's Motion on the Public Accounts, and West India Abuses—Mr. Fox's Motion for the Abolition of the Slave Trade—Lord Grenville's Motion on the Abolition of the Slave Trade—Lord Henry Petty's Motion for auditing the Public Accounts—Lord Henry Petty's Motion on the Subject of Vaccine Inoculation.

THE subjects most interesting in the following chapter, are, the motions made in the house of commons on the public unaudited accounts, and the motions made by Mr. Fox and lord Grenville, in the different houses, on the abolition of the slave trade. This subject will be renewed in the next volume; in which will be recorded the account of the abolition of that abominable traffic, so honourable to the British legislature, and to every individual who embarked in this cause of humanity.

Lord Henry Petty on the 21st of May, pursuant to his notice given upon a former day, of a motion for instituting a new commission of inquiry into the system of military expenditure in the West India islands, rose now for the purpose of bringing it forward. In calling the attention of the house to this subject, he should feel it necessary to advert to the modes by which the public accounts were heretofore examined and controlled. Previous to the establishment of the board of commissioners for this purpose, instituted under the auspices of a late right honourable gentleman whom he had succeeded, the important office of examining and auditing the public accounts of the receipt and expenditure of the nation was vested in two officers of the crown, and so continued down to the year 1785. But those officers, like many others, were charged with duties so far beyond the reach of their exertions, and vested with powers so inadequate, that although their services were not to be deemed as entirely useless, they were certainly very inefficient. The noble persons who had then, for some time, held those official situations (lord Bute and lord Sondes), although they remembered tolerably well that there were salaries to be received, yet, in process of time, forgot that there were also duties

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to be performed; and though they never omitted regularly to receive the salaries attached to their situations, their official lassitude sunk at last into a total neglect of those duties. The consequence was, that, the business being now much in arrear, the accounts, which accumulated during the progress of the American war, became so complicated, and expanded to such an extent, as to impress strongly upon the minds of the legislature and the public the necessity of some more efficient plan of investigation. Foremost to participate in this feeling, the late right honourable gentleman, then at the head of the finances, formed the project of instituting commissioners to inquire into the public accounts; and he therefore brought in this bill to suppress the offices of joint auditors held by the two noble persons before alluded to, and to institute a new board of commissioners of accounts. But notwithstanding the herculean labours encountered by the gentlemen who composed that board, and notwithstanding the immense mass of public accounts through which they waded; yet under the various vicissitudes in which the country had been since involved, such an arrear of unexamined expenditure had accumulated, as to render it absolutely necessary that some system of examination should be instituted, to draw the national accounts out of the confusion in which they now stood, and, if possible, to bring up the arrear which had been so long growing, and had at length arrived at a magnitude scarcely credible. Besides the five commissioners of accounts who were appointed under the bill to which he alluded, two other commissioners, totally distinct, were appointed to investigate the military accounts; but here again accumulation had so completely outstripped research and industry, that the principal share of the arrears had occurred under that head. But though it had appeared, that, under the plan instituted by a late right honourable gentleman, an endeavour was made to establish a control over the army expenditure, under the authority of persons appointed for that purpose, yet the effect of that authority had, in a great degree, ceased; the persons intrusted with the duty very seldom reported the abuses which had accrued; and at length their authority fell so much into lassitude and negligence, that large issues of public money had been made for the service of the army, from time to time, which ought to have been submitted to them, according to the original rules of their institution, but of which they had no cognizance whatever. He alluded to sums issued for hospital stores and field works, which always form a very extensive branch of the military disbursements, and for which, during six successive years in the late war, a sum of not less than 700,000*l.* annually was paid to a Mr. Trotter; and such were the zeal and industry of that ingenious gentleman, and such the variety of avocations in which he was desirous of distinguishing himself for the service of the public, that he was at one and the same time the manufacturer of some of the articles of stores, the purveyor of other articles, the contractor for others, the comptroller of the expenditure, and finally the auditor of his own accounts: besides, generously feeling that after so much zeal and industry exerted for the accommodation

dation of the country in his own person, he was entitled to some remuneration beyond the ordinary class of contractors, he charges ten per cent. upon the whole expenditure, over and above all other profits upon the articles so furnished! ! ! Another head of account was that of barracks, in itself an immense field of expenditure, and on which no less than nine millions had been expended in the course of the late war, no part of which had been submitted to the cognizance of comptrollers; and though the military commissioners had it in charge to investigate this department, yet so embarrassed were they in their proceedings by the complicated mass of other accounts through which they had to struggle, that no part of the proceedings of the barrack department had yet been looked into. It was found also, that by the principal persons in several departments, many large sums had been issued to clerks and inferior persons in office for minor disbursements, of the expenditure of which no account had been passed for years, nor any regular communication made to the chief officer. Such a state of accumulation in the unchecked accounts called loudly for the immediate adoption of some remedy; and the more so, as already at two different times thirty-five assistant clerks had been added to the establishment of the commissioners of accounts, without attaining the end so much desired; and therefore partial remedies must now give place to a system more extensive and efficient. Not only in the expenditure at home and in Europe had these arrears accumulated, but in the West Indies also, where the abuses were so glaring, that in 1800 it was found necessary to send commissioners thither for the purpose of investigation: but even then nothing effectual had been done, though the most enormous abuses were found to have prevailed. Last year an attempt was made to remedy the evil, by the appointment of new commissioners, by whom, though certainly much had been done, still not enough was done; for though much had escaped the inquiry of the old board, yet instead of fetching up the arrears, the new commissioners were plunged still deeper in accumulation, and most enormous sums remained still uninvestigated. What idea must the house feel of the state of accounts, under the head of pay to the army, when they should be informed, that the very last account of army pay, examined by the board of account, was for 1782, and that no account of that nature had been since audited; being a period of twenty-four years from the close of the American war. The navy accounts were also very greatly in arrear, and the store accounts lay over since the period just mentioned, without any examination; all the expenses of the last war were in the same predicament. The account of the expeditions to the Helder and to Egypt, and all the charges connected with them, as well as all subsidiary accounts with continental powers, were totally untouched to this hour. There were, beside, accounts under the examination of the old commissioners, to the amount of 167 millions, not nearly gone through, besides a sum of 58 millions, of which the account had not yet been explained. Add to this a sum of 150 millions, under the head of army pay, still untouched, as well as 80 millions of navy expenditure,

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and there would appear an aggregate sum of no less than 455 millions sterling still unaccounted for, within the last twenty years, a sum greater than the whole national debt. These considerations, important and impressive as they were, had already called for the most serious investigation of his majesty's present ministers, and irresistibly argued the pressing necessity of a full investigation. Having gone through his statements, the noble lord next proceeded to submit the outline of a remedy for these glaring evils: in the first place, he said it was proposed to repeal both the act under which the present commissioners of accounts were constituted, and to appoint, under another act, ten commissioners, for the purpose of auditing and controlling the army accounts; and, the better to enable them to direct their investigations with effect, it was proposed to arm them with the authority, which the present commissioners had not, of compelling all persons, connected with the disbursements of public money, to furnish their accounts; these to be distinct from the West India commissioners, and also of another distinct board of comptrollers of military expenditure, constituted upon a plan similar to that established under lord Godolphin, whose duty it would be to examine, in the first instance, all army estimates and accounts; to watch over the expenditure of military funds; to act as the confidential advisers of the board of treasury, in all applications of money for military purposes; to report such frauds as they should be able to discover; to have the power of calling before them all persons in any degree connected with the military expenditure, and of examining them upon oath. With respect to the ten commissioners of accounts, none of whom were to be members of parliament, it was proposed to separate them into three distinct boards, the one consisting of four members, and the other two of three members each; those boards to have communication with each other, as they might find necessary for the general advantage of the examinations referred to them; but by no means to mix the objects respectively committed to them. The whole body of accounts in arrear was to be separated into three distinct periods. One of these boards to commence with the public accounts from the first of December last, and to bring them up clear to the latest period; the next board to take up the investigation of the 167 millions now under inquiry; and the third to take up the examination of all that body of other accounts that had never yet been called for. By this means, he trusted that the whole of that immense mass would be gone through with the utmost possible expedition, and the affairs of the country in these respects placed upon some regular and satisfactory footing. To the chief of each board, a responsibility would be attached for the correctness of each account audited; for the want of which responsibility in the members of other boards, considerable disadvantages had arisen to the country. Having now stated the measure which it was the intention of his majesty's government to adopt, with regard to the general accounts of the country, the noble lord proceeded to some observations upon the state of expenditure in the West Indies, the further investigation of which was the object of the motion of which he had given notice as for that day. In that quarter

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of the empire, notwithstanding all the exertions which had been made by the two successive boards of commissioners already appointed to examine and check the progress of profusion and fraud, still the system had continued to be carried on by the delinquents under every species of crime that could be subservient to their purpose. Forgery, perjury, bribery, and every stratagem which fraud could devise, had been resorted to; and not content with false charges, false returns, and flagitious embezzlements, they had gone so far as to bribe the officers of his majesty's customs to sign false certificates, fraudulent invoices, and other such documents in aid of their purposes; proofs of which had been detected in one instance, to the amount of no less a sum than 80,000*l.*, and in another to the amount of 30,000*l.* actually applied in bribery, to conceal frauds of an enormous extent. The noble lord concluded by moving for "leave to bring in a bill for the more effectual examination of public accounts in the West Indies, and the prevention of fraud therein."

Mr. Rose said, that the arrear of business began before the American war, and had been increasing ever since. The commissioners appointed for auditing the accounts, perhaps, had not discharged their duty with that attention which they ought; but still it did not occur to the administration of that day, that it was necessary to change entirely the system of auditing them. It was certainly true, that the two auditors which the noble lord first spoke of, took very little trouble in the business; and left it all to their deputies; but after the commissioners were appointed for auditing the public accounts, he saw no reason why the comptrollers of the army, who had first examined the accounts, should not be admitted as members of the commission for auditing them. Their knowledge of the business must expedite the proceedings considerably. The noble lord had stated the various situations Mr. Trotter stood in, and rather jocosely mentioned, that there was nobody to examine or audit his accounts but himself. If that was the case, his right honourable friend on his right hand (Mr. Windham) was much to blame; for it was his duty, when secretary at war, to have had these accounts properly examined. Of the five hundred millions that the noble lord stated to be unaccounted for, one half was in the pay-office, and the real stoppage in the examination of those accounts was at the war-office. There were 35 or 40 clerks there, whose business it was to examine the accounts. Three commissioners had already been appointed for the auditing of the public accounts. The noble lord now proposed to add three more; but if he were to add three-and-twenty, he should not oppose it, as long as the business was likely to be done. The barrack accounts, he hoped, would be examined and audited, as well as the rest of the public accounts. Although he thus stated, that half of the deficiency in accounts was chargeable to the war-office generally, he did not mean to impute blame to any secretary at war, but supposed the great delay proceeded merely from the increasing pressure of business.

After several other speakers had delivered their opinions, the question was put, and leave given to bring in the bill. On the next day Mr. Rose gave notice of a motion on the subject, declaring that no

man was more desirous than himself, that the matter should be probed to the bottom:—that the inquiry should proceed with the strictest scrutiny; and if any circumstances of delinquency should appear, let the parties implicated be whom they might, it was his earnest wish that, without favour or affection, they might be dragged into public notice, and punished with a severity adequate to their guilt.—On the 23d the same gentleman adverted to the statement made by lord Henry Petty, which he had represented in such a light as must tend to destroy all confidence in any government whatever. He said that accounts to about four hundred and fifty millions had been left unpassed. He (Mr. Rose) had examined into the case, and the result was, that fifty millions belonged to the barrack accounts, and two hundred and twenty millions to the pay-office: now, considering who were the persons in that office for some years past, he hoped that it could not be readily supposed that there was any remarkable error there. The only instance of error was in a sum of twenty-two thousand pounds, for which the persons concerned were prosecuted, and one of them severely punished. The fault, however, was not in the pay-office, but in the war-office, as he had before stated. The accounts for so many years back were not at this moment transmitted to the pay-office, though he did not mean to blame any particular person. The next sum was in the navy-office, amounting to ninety millions. That matter rested with the commissioners of the navy—they carried their accounts to the auditors, but that was a matter of form. The next sum was forty-five millions in the seal-office, which ought to have been audited there; and all these, with another sum of twenty-four millions which had not come to the auditors, formed a total of four hundred and twenty-nine millions out of the four hundred and fifty to which his lordship had alluded. He contended that, in the expenditure of these four hundred and twenty-nine millions, no abuse could possibly have existed. He admitted they were not audited; he did not deny this; but he said that no part of the sum had been lost to the public. He again adverted to the war-office, which was in the habit of issuing about ten millions a-year, without having its accounts examined. The noble lord seemed to have introduced many of his statements for the purpose of stage effect, as he was not warranted in some of them. He mentioned the case of Trotter, into whose affair he had inquired. The noble lord had stated that he had supplied stores to the amount of seven hundred thousand pounds, for which he accounted to nobody. The fact was, that this had been done in consequence of an arrangement of a secretary at war, in order to save a great deal of expense. Trotter was by this to give in a statement of the expenses of the materials and the labour, and was allowed a profit of ten per cent. on the whole, and for his trouble in taking care of these stores in one hundred and nine depôts. He said again, that his only desire was to have this subject fairly examined, and concluded by moving, "That a return should be made of all the sums issued from the exchequer to the principal accountants, and by them to the sub-accountants, at present outstanding, showing those that had been delivered

vered in, those under examination, the progress that had been made, and the balances due to the public."

Lord Henry Petty declared, that in what fell from him on the former night, he had no intention to convey insinuations against any of the persons formerly at the head of the departments. But if, in making such observations as his duty called forth on measures in which the right honourable gentleman was a party, he had only failed to please the right honourable gentleman, he did not feel so anxious to make any apology. The right honourable gentleman had said, that no very considerable part of any arrears would be lost to the public. He himself had stated that he hoped that would be the case. But would the right honourable gentleman venture to say, that it was no loss to the public that the accounts of the barrack department, of the public stores to an immense amount, of the expedition to the Helder, of the expedition to Egypt, and of our whole foreign subsidiary system during the last war, had never been audited; all of which had taken place while the right honourable gentleman himself was at the treasury board? This being the fact, the house must agree with him in thinking that, though great part of the sums granted for these services might be properly laid out, there was every possibility of great frauds having been committed. The right honourable gentleman had accused him of not dealing fairly by Mr. Trotter. He had only stated the circumstances in which that gentleman stood. But did he impute any blame to him? No. If, however, he had omitted it on the former day, he should now ask, if the right honourable gentleman thought it proper that the same person should be the purveyor, manufacturer, and store-keeper for government, and at the same time the auditor of his own accounts? Did the right honourable gentleman mean to say, that ten per cent. was all that Mr. Trotter had on these furnishings? He had, besides, an additional five per cent. for credit, and another five per cent. for incidental charges, making a total of twenty pounds per cent. He had not said, however, that Mr. Trotter was to blame in this; probably he might have been right to have got fifty per cent. if he could. In 1801 suspicions being entertained as to the correctness of his charge, a charge at prime cost was demanded; when it was found that these were his additional charges. He then reduced the ten per cent. charges to five per cent.; the extra charge from five to two and a half per cent.; and the other five per cent. for interest he gave up entirely; so that he then began to find the same articles for seven and a half per cent., which during the whole of the war he had charged at no less than twenty per cent. He felt much obliged to the right honourable gentleman for moving for these papers, or any others which could throw additional light on the subject. He must state that it would take a very considerable time before the papers could be produced, a delay which would principally arise from the state of the accounts themselves. He had therefore made the necessary inquiry as to what papers could be produced this session; and after the honourable gentleman's motion should be assented to, he should move for the production of such papers. Part of his plan he might thus

thus be obliged to postpone till next session, keeping in view, however, the necessity of the immediate adoption of that part of it which regarded the balancing of the accounts every year, in the same manner with mercantile houses. Any delay, however, he assured the house should proceed, not from an idea of abandoning the plan, but from a wish and expectation of being able to bring it to greater perfection.

After a debate in which several members took a part, the motion was put and carried. Lord Henry Petty then moved for a variety of lists of accounts not yet delivered by accountants, nor proceeded upon in the office of the commissioners of audit; which were ordered accordingly.

On the 10th of June Mr. secretary Fox rose, agreeably to notice, to submit to the house a resolution declaratory of their sense of the injustice, inhumanity, and impolicy, of the slave trade. Before, however, he went into any statement of the grounds on which he with confidence looked for the almost unanimous countenance of the house in this measure, he felt himself called on to state in a few words, his own apology for being the person by whom such a motion should be made. This subject had been repeatedly brought forward, year after year, for the last sixteen or seventeen years, by a respectable member of that house, than whom no man, either from his talents, eloquence, zeal in the cause, or from the estimation in which he was held in that house, or in the country, could be better qualified for the task. In such hands he had found the business, and there he would willingly have left it. His own opinion was, that it would have been better that this honourable friend of his had made the present motion, or such other motion as he would have wished on the subject, as to which he could not have doubted that he should have had the support of him (Mr. Fox) and his friends. A strong opinion, however, had prevailed with his honourable friend, and with those with whom he was connected, that, all circumstances considered, it would be better that the business should originate with him (Mr. Fox.) He had yielded his own opinion on this subject to that of his honourable friend, and those who acted with him; and, however certain persons might be inclined to consider and to represent it as a fanciful theory, he had no hesitation in declaring, that he should esteem his political life of thirty or forty years well spent, if he should be so fortunate as to compass the end to which his present motion was directed. He could not, at the outset of the business, help observing that he was happy to say, that whatever difficulties had occurred in that house, with respect to the abolition of the slave trade, the opinion of the house, he should not say unanimous, but as nearly so as well could be recorded by resolutions of the house itself, was, that the slave trade was contrary to justice, humanity, and sound policy. As had been well remarked by a great man, now no more, but whose opinions, wherever justice or any moral feeling was interested, would long be remembered with pride and veneration, (Mr. Burke,) it was not a traffic in the labour of man, but in man himself, and was calculated to keep down and debase humanity. He should not enter into the arguments adduced

by some gentlemen who had supported the trade, who alleged that the crime (if crime it was) was not imputable to those who embarked in the trade from this country; that the persons whom they carried off were slaves before, condemned as such on account of offences committed by them. Such argument, he said, was only adding hypocrisy to the lust of gain, and attempting to vindicate what was contrary to nature. Supposing the persons alluded to to have been legally rendered slaves, was the British government to sanction, and British ships and seamen to conduct, the police of African monarchs? Such an idea, he submitted, was only one of the many instances, how far the lust of gain could pervert human reason. The house having been uniformly of opinion, and having so often declared that opinion, that the trade should be abolished; and yet having taken no step to that effect for the last fifteen years, he presumed, would think itself called on, if from no other motive, from respect to its own character and reputation, now to do something to effect what had so often been declared to be its opinion. If he recollected well, the period when the question of the abolition was first agitated, was the year 1791. In the commencement of the year 1792, it was much considered through the country, where it excited warm feelings among the great bulk of the people. It was tried in that house, and the question for the gradual abolition was carried. The question as to the period was then put, that it be abolished in one year, then in two years, both of which were rejected, but the proposition for abolishing it in the third year was adopted. At that time the greatest enemy to the abolition did not wish to postpone the measure beyond the year 1800. Yet now we were in the year 1806, and no step towards this just, humane, and politic measure, as the house declared it, had been adopted. In this situation, had not the country and the civilized world to reproach them with their conduct, in allowing matters to come to a situation much more remote than even the enemies of the abolition had calculated on? Denmark had fixed on that year as the period when they should abolish the trade, and they had been made the subject of ridicule among us for the great distance to which they had postponed it. How far they had given cause for such ridicule on our part, he should not say. They had already abolished the trade, at least among their own subjects; and they had shown, if they could not among others, they could at least prevent the commission of crimes and infamy among themselves. He had at one time hoped that a bill for the total abolition of the slave trade might have passed through both houses of parliament, and have received the royal assent this session. A number of circumstances, however, rendered any such expectation highly improbable. It might, indeed, pass this house; but if introduced into the house of lords at such a period of the session, they would have, not a pretence, but a fair reason for saying that they could not carry it through. What alternative then remained, but either to pass by in total silence a measure which for the last seventeen or eighteen years had every year occupied the attention of the house, or to adopt the plan he now proposed—to pledge the house to the

abolition of the trade, not at a given period, but at an early period? For this purpose, his proposition should be to leave two things open—the mode and the time. He should, however, state, that for his own part, after having considered the subject, for the last eighteen years, with every possible attention, he could conceive no practical mode of effecting the abolition but by a direct law. As to the time, in the same way as happened in the year 1792, there might be many opinions on this subject. Some might think the first of January next the proper period; others, one more remote. To all persons of this description he left the period of time at which the abolition should take place, open; but declaring, at the same time, that it was impossible that any thing could shake him in the opinion of the necessity of an immediate abolition. The different proceedings held in the course of the motions for abolition of the slave trade were then read; and Mr. Fox concluded by moving a resolution, that the house, conceiving the African slave trade to be contrary to justice, humanity, and sound policy, will, as early as possible, take such effectual measures for its abolition as may seem to them to be the most proper.

Sir Ralph Milbank had been uniformly of opinion that the slave trade was a ruinous and destructive traffic; that it was contrary to every principle of sound policy, justice, and humanity; as had been stated by the honourable secretary in a much more able manner than he could do. He was happy to say that the majority of his constituents concurred with him in these sentiments. He was persuaded that the cultivation of the colonies could be very well carried on without any fresh importation of slaves, and concluded by seconding the motion.

General Tarleton felt some astonishment at the manner in which, and the time when, the right honourable gentleman had thought proper to bring forward this resolution. It was wholly uncalled for by any part of the country, and introduced seemingly for no other purpose than to show that he had the power to carry his point. The house had certainly expressed sentiments inimical to the trade, and favourable to its abolition; which, however, it had never thought proper to follow up by any efficient measure. But the former resolutions were brought forward in periods of profound peace, when they were not pregnant with any such danger as at present, when the country was involved in an arduous war, and plunged in a situation more critical than at any former period of its history. Why the right honourable gentleman should have chosen such a moment for bringing forward the motion, was to him most astonishing, nor could he account for it upon any other principle than that of gratifying, for certain political purposes, the inclinations of an honourable member below him (Mr. Wilberforce), who was so extremely zealous upon this subject, that he never could hear the slave trade mentioned without starting as if he saw a ghost, and exclaiming "Abolition! abolition!" It was therefore most probable, that the right honourable gentleman had a view to cultivate a new coalition in that house for the remainder of the session. But before the house should proceed to adopt the resolution now

proposed, he felt it his duty to call their attention to the situation of Liverpool—a town which, from a miserable fishing hamlet of about 150 huts, had within a century risen to be the second town, in point of commercial wealth and consequence, in the British dominions, entirely by the African trade. He begged to impress on the recollection of the house what the situation of Liverpool was, when the right honourable gentleman and his colleagues came into power. It was eminent for the prosperity of its commerce, its wealth, its loyalty—for the important aid it furnished to the British marine, by affording at all times a numerous supply of seamen, through its African and West Indian trade. It was equally distinguished for its spirit, in fitting out private ships of war, and by contributing annually three millions sterling in revenue to the public purse. But what measures of advantage had Liverpool experienced since the present ministers came into power? Why, the restriction bill upon the African trade, by which the enterprising spirit of its merchants was paralysed, their trade diminished, the value of their shipping considerably reduced, and disputes excited between them and the planters. But if the mercantile interests of the country were to be thus crushed—if that commerce, which yielded so great a portion of the public revenue, was to be impoverished—what must be the natural consequence? But one of two alternatives; either the minister must resort to the landed interest entirely for the supplies necessary to carry on the war, or he must be driven to an ignominious peace. If the right honourable gentleman seriously meant to proceed with the proposed measure, he could only say, that his constituents would feel themselves justified in coming forward in the most respectful manner, to solicit from parliament, that to which they would conceive themselves justly entitled; namely, compensation for the losses they would sustain, in consequence of a measure that would deprive them of a trade which they had followed from the time of queen Elizabeth, under the sanction of parliamentary protection. The necessary consequence of the measure must be bankruptcies without number; the emigration of useful artisans, with their capitals, to America, and the loss to this country for ever of many useful artificers.

Mr. Francis said, the honourable gentleman's constituents would certainly be at liberty to come to that house for compensation, in case the slave trade should be abolished; but he did not know that he should consent to take the money out of his own pocket, or that of the public, for compensating men for the abolition of an iniquitous traffic, so contrary to every principle of humanity. He should regard such petitions, as he did others from different parts of the country, inveighing vehemently against measures in contemplation which the petitioners conceived to be ruinous, but which they afterwards found to be the very reverse. The house already stood pledged, by a resolution of the 16th of May, 1792, to the abolition of the slave trade at a definite time, and yet this resolution had never been acted upon; he could not therefore see the use of the house again pledging itself to a similar resolution for a distant day, which would pass for nothing with the

the public, unless something were done immediately.

Lord Castlereagh opposed the resolution, because it pledged the house generally to a resolution, for a purpose wholly indefinite as to time and mode. If, in point of fact, the trade could be abolished at once, why not do it immediately, instead of proposing a resolution in general terms upon the subject, which, in its present form, was wholly unintelligible? The house had formerly come to a definite resolution, which had never been followed up; and why? Obviously because it was found impracticable to realize the theories of those who led the house into that resolution. With respect to the principle of the slave trade, no man more sincerely wished than he did, that it were practicable now, or at any proximate period, to remove a grievance so calamitous, from the lot of humanity. As to effecting any thing like a general abolition of this traffic, he really feared it was not to be accomplished by parliament; for were the most peremptory bill that could be shaped, to pass that night upon the subject, to preclude all British ships and capitals from being employed in the African trade, even for the supply of our own colonies, he did not see any other purpose such a bill would answer, than to involve us in disputes with those colonies, and to risk their ultimate loss, by forcing them to resort to other nations, who would certainly take up the trade as a source of wealth, the moment it was relinquished by this country.

The solicitor general rose to state shortly his sentiments. He should have much more cordially supported a motion for leave to bring in a bill for the immediate abolition of this abominable traffic: yet still, he thought the motion ought to be supported, as pledging the house to take the most speedy and practicable means to abolish it. Surely, if it were the sense of the house to adopt, in the present session, any measure more prompt and efficient for the purpose, this resolution would oppose no impediment to a purpose so desirable. It was not his wish, at this moment, to enter into a general discussion upon the slave trade; for what could there be offered to the house in vindication of a commerce so detestable, but arguments already refuted, and assertions long since disproved? It was hardly fair to say the house had not done any thing in pursuance of its former resolution; for in the session before last it had passed a bill for the purpose, which was rejected in the other house of parliament, and another was brought in last session, which miscarried owing to the accident of a thin house, and a concerted plan to defeat the measure. He knew well that sometimes corrupt systems were long continued in nations that had not courage to inquire into them; but that was not the case in this country with respect to this system, because there had been no want of courage to inquire into it; and after the opinion expressed by the committee, who in 1792 had investigated the subject with the most patient deliberation—whose opinions, and the evidence upon which they were founded, stand recorded on the journals of the house—and who solemnly declared, that this most atrocious traffic had been, and continued to be, carried on in the most wanton and barbarous manner, could any argument be necessary now to prove the propriety of its abolition? Or could the

house feel the necessity of longer delay, when they were told, that since the adoption of those resolutions to abolish this infamous trade, no less than 360,000 wretched individuals had been torn from the coast of Africa, in consequence of war and violence, fomented for the purpose of seizing and consigning them to slavery in the West Indies?

General Gascoyne considered the present discussion as pregnant with dangerous consequences to our West India colonies, as exciting there the most dangerous expectations in the minds of the negroes. He also considered the present period, when our manufactories and commerce so loudly called for every encouragement, as peculiarly unfit for the agitation of the present question. When was the export of our manufactures more restrained, or when was it more difficult to raise the necessary supplies? Yet, labouring under such manifold difficulties, we were now called upon to do that which the house had lately rejected, and pledge ourselves to the adoption of a measure, that would weaken and derange the whole of our colonial system, and would materially impair the sources of our revenue and commerce. Besides, he was not convinced that this country could legislate for the colonies, or had a right to impose any prohibitions with regard to the importation of slaves, more than they were entitled to impose taxes on the colonies. The learned gentleman who preceded him had applied every epithet of murder, rapine, and robbery to the slave trade, and every kind of invective had been familiar to his mouth. But, in his opinion, slavery had been sanctioned by the regulations of the wisest and most pious legislators. In proof of this, he quoted several verses from the twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus, from which he contended that the practice was countenanced by the Jewish lawgiver. But should the slave trade be abolished, he contended that indemnification should be given to those who had embarked their property in the trade under the faith of legislative sanction, and that, unless this were done, the house would be guilty of similar injustice to that which it reprobated in the trade itself.

Mr. Wilberforce said, it was the glory of our religion, that it not only forbade all those odious means by which slaves were procured, but expressly prohibited the practice of man-stealing, and called us to act on a principle of universal philanthropy, and kind good-will to all men. But he should ever deprecate the introduction of such appeals to sacred authority into that house, as tending rather to ridicule than to any satisfactory result. He should have heard with pleasure the declarations of his noble friend, respecting the radical injustice of the traffic, had he not at the same time seemed to oppose every method that had been proposed for its abolition, and had not his speech been uniformly applauded by those who were friendly to the trade. They were perfectly willing to permit the trade to be railed at, while, in fact, it received their most effectual support. He himself had derived pleasure from the reflection, that the measures he had brought forward at different times on this subject had been supported by almost all the ablest men on both sides of the house, who had seldom agreed on any great measure of policy.

policy. If he had erred, he had erred with great authorities. But his noble friend, while he reprobated the principle of the slave trade, had obtained the support of those only who were friends to that traffic. The noble lord had proposed to accomplish the gradual abolition of the trade, by means of duties on the importation of slaves. But this would only tend to increase the price of slaves; and surely the co-operation of the colonies, which was so little to be expected, would in this way become more necessary than in any other method that could be devised. No measures, he contended, were to be expected from the colonies even for the gradual abolition of slavery. They had declared, that whatever steps might be taken for meliorating the condition of slaves, these were in no degree to be considered as adopted with a view to the abolition of slavery, the perpetual enforcement of which they regarded as their birth-right, of which they should never be deprived. Even this language was more agreeable to him than the professions of others, who, while they pretended to wish for the abolition of slavery, yet effectually impeded it by every means in their power. It had been said that there must be something impracticable in the measure, since from the year 1792, when it had received the sanction of parliament, nothing effectual had been done for its accomplishment. Parliament had at that period been actuated by an ardent feeling, which had been almost universal in the country. But it was to be regretted, that the feelings of benevolence were too apt to be evanescent, while interest was a cool and calculating principle; and the feelings of interest had gradually overpowered the dictates of philanthropy and the compunctions of humanity. He should have preferred the immediate introduction of a bill for the abolition of the slave trade; but he had submitted to the judgment of those who thought that, at the present advanced period of the session, there was little probability of its receiving the concurrence of parliament. On the whole, he conjured the house to recollect, that providence had never connected the happiness and prosperity of any country with injustice; and that, whatever apparent prosperity the slave trade might produce, it would ultimately be found rotten to the core.

Several other gentlemen spoke; when the question was put, and carried by a majority of 99, 114 being for it and only 15 against it.

Mr. Fox then moved, that a conference be desired with the lords on a subject that is particularly connected with the honour and humanity of the nation. This being carried *nem con.*, Mr. Wilberforce moved that an humble address be presented to his majesty, beseeching him that he may be graciously pleased to adopt such measures as to him may seem meet, to induce America and the powers of Europe to unite with this country in a resolution to abolish the trade in slaves. This was carried unanimously.

The same subject was introduced into the house of lords on the 24th of June; when a short conversation took place between the earl of Westmoreland and lord Grenville relative to the propriety of hearing counsel, on a petition presented on a former day by the noble earl, against the abolition of the slave trade. Lord Grenville objected

to hearing counsel; and no motion being made by the earl of Westmoreland, his lordship moved the order of the day for taking into consideration the resolution of the house of commons relative to the abolition of the slave trade; which being read, lord Grenville said, that upon this subject, after the repeated discussions and the minute investigations it had undergone for twenty years, he did not think it necessary to take up much of their lordships' time. The resolution of the house of commons contained a conclusion drawn from certain premises; and the question now was, whether those premises were correct; and, if so, whether the conclusion drawn was correct. The resolution stated that the slave trade was contrary to humanity, justice, and sound policy, and ought to be abolished. That the trade was contrary to humanity could not surely be doubted for a moment, nor did he believe there was one man to be found who would venture to declare, that this trade was in the least degree consistent with humanity. Let it be considered in the three stages of its progress: first, dragging away the unfortunate Africans from their homes, their families, and their comforts; next, the transfer of them from thence to the West Indies; and lastly, the treatment of them whilst there; and in all it would be found most inhuman. The means that were adopted to drag the unfortunate victims from their homes, were in the highest degree cruel, and at the same time contributed to keep up a continued system of barbarism in Africa. Torn from all the tender and social ties from which they derived their happiness, and feeling poignantly the miseries of the condition imposed upon them by our traders, they were doomed to endure still greater miseries in the transfer from thence to the West Indies. It was impossible for any man, however steeled his heart, to read of the horrors of the Middle Passage, of the treatment which these poor negroes experienced, or the miseries which they endured, without shuddering at the recital. Arrived in the West Indies, a new scene of misery opened to their view. Goaded with the lash, they were compelled to labour from morning till night beneath a burning sun, and under the oppressive tyranny of task-masters set over them by their owners; and though they might sometimes be mildly treated, yet it could not be denied that nothing was a greater corruption of the human heart, than arbitrary power; nor could there be a greater temptation to the abuse of power, than situations where, as in the West Indies, a white overseer, amongst a great number of negroes, had it in his power to ill-treat them in the grossest manner, whilst they could not be legal evidence against him in any of the courts of justice. That the trade was contrary to justice was clearly in his mind established; the principles of justice as amongst the individuals of a nation applied equally amongst nations, and nothing could be more contrary to justice than robbing men of the fruits of their industry, without giving them any compensation, as was the case with those unfortunate negroes, the fruits of whose industry were wrested from them, they receiving nothing in return but an aggravation of the injustice, the bitter portion of slavery. That what was contrary to humanity and justice, must also be contrary to sound policy, it was unnecessary

unnecessary to argue. As to any argument set up respecting the profit of the trade, it would serve to justify robbery, or any other crime. On grounds of policy, however, he called upon those who advocated the cause of the planters, to agree to the abolition. Those persons who were best qualified to judge of the state of our West Indies, had declared that the abolition of the trade was necessary to prevent the ultimate destruction of these colonies; and with the example of St. Domingo before their eyes, it surely could be no longer problematical, that the more they increased the number of negroes, the more they increased their danger, the more they increased the means which threatened their destruction. The great mortality which took place amongst the negroes, was amongst those who had newly arrived in the islands; but there was no reason to believe that any similar mortality would exist amongst the negroes seasoned to the climate: on the contrary, it might be confidently expected that a sufficient stock might be kept up without any fresh importation. From all the arguments and facts which the subject afforded, he was decidedly of opinion, that the conclusion that the trade ought to be abolished was correctly deduced from the premises contained in the resolution of the house of commons, and he should, therefore, move a similar resolution, concurring with that of the commons: and though, in his individual opinion, the best abolition would be an immediate abolition; yet, in deference to the opinion of others for whom he had a high respect, he would wish the subject to stand over for mature deliberation next session. His lordship concluded by moving a resolution to the effect he had stated.

Lord Hawkesbury concurred with the noble lord in opinion, that if a trade was carried on which was contrary to humanity and justice, there could be no question as to its being contrary to sound policy. This, however, was not the way in which he viewed this question. It was not upon abstract principles that the question as to the abolition of the slave trade ought to be considered, but as to its practical effect; and in this view of the subject, the noble lord had advanced principles in the course of his speech, which he did not venture to sanction in the motion with which he concluded. He did not believe that our ceasing to trade to Africa for negroes, would be of the slightest benefit to the people of that continent, nor did he believe that one slave less would be imported on account of our giving up the trade: the only effect would be, that British capital would be transferred to foreign islands, that the trade would be transferred to other hands, while the same regulations for meliorating the condition of the negroes in their passage did not exist, and that thus no benefit would practically result from the measure. Slavery was undoubtedly an evil, and the slave trade was an evil: so many other evils existed, particularly comparative evils in the state of human society: but it did not follow that every evil was to be abolished, without reference to the practical effect of such abolition, as in such case a greater evil might be produced by the sudden change than previously existed.

The lord chancellor supported the motion of lord Grenville. His lordship pathetically described the horrors

horrors attendant upon the slave trade, in first dragging the unfortunate negroes from their homes, and subsequently conveying them to the West Indies. Of the former part of the trade he had only a glimpse, but that was sufficient to instil into his mind the most horrid ideas of the nature of the trade: of the latter he had been an eye witness, and nothing could be conceived more horrible. He declared himself decidedly hostile to the further continuance of this traffic.

Lord Westmoreland opposed the resolution; he entered into the defence of slavery as consistent with the law of nations, and as practised among all the nations of antiquity, and even authorized by the Jewish code, while it was not expressly prohibited by Christianity.

The bishop of St. Asaph spoke with great energy of the effects of slavery, as degrading the slave below the condition of humanity, and as depriving him of the power of directing his own exertions, whether mental or bodily. Though slavery had been practised among the ancients, yet they did not carry on the traffic in large fleets as now conducted, and they had nothing among them that resembled a slave ship. He entered into an explanation of the Jewish policy with regard to slaves, contending that it was mild, and that it directed the manumission of the slave after a certain period. He concluded by appealing to the justice and humanity of their lordships in support of the resolution.

The earl of Suffolk, lord Holland, earl Stanhope and lord Ellenborough spoke in favour of the motion, but it was opposed by lord Sidmouth: it was however carried by a large majority.

Lord Grenville then moved that an address be presented to his majesty, praying him to negotiate with foreign powers for the purpose of procuring the general abolition of the slave trade; which was agreed to.

On the 23d of June lord Henry Petty rose, in pursuance of the notice which he had formerly given, to submit to the house a plan for the more effectually auditing of the public accounts. Without going over the grounds over which he had formerly travelled, or entering upon statements which had then appeared to convince the house of the necessity of doing something for the purpose of having this mass of accounts audited, he would content himself with laying before the house the basis of the plan which he had in view, and mentioning the amount of the accounts which remained unaudited, with respect to which he had now more full and correct information than he had when he had before occasion to address the house on this point. When this was considered it would be a proof, not, certainly, of the efficacy of the measure which he was about to propose, but undoubtedly of the necessity of doing something. He would afterwards show that this method was the only one which was likely to be attended with the desired success. The amount of accounts unaudited was greater than he had before stated. The amount of accounts delivered in was above fifty-two millions; the amount of accounts under examination was 169 millions; the amount of army accounts not delivered in was 209 millions; of navy accounts not delivered in 100,820,000*l.* which added to three millions of unaudited accounts in another department, made a total of about 534 mil-

534 millions of money. That enormous amount of unaudited accounts it was the object of the present administration, as far as in them lay, to endeavour to audit. He would now state the plan more distinctly. But first he ought to observe, that the two comptrollers of army accounts were to be separated from it entirely, a measure, the expediency of which had been already recognised. After this separation it was intended to consolidate the two existing boards, and to add four commissioners: one of these would be a chairman, with an increase of salary. It was intended that the application of these boards to any particular business relating to the accounts, as occasion might require, should be left in the hands of the treasury, which must be best able to judge how the business ought to be apportioned. At present, however, it was proposed that out of the ten commissioners, four should be intrusted with the auditing of the current accounts, and these would form the first board. The second board would consist of three commissioners, and these would have the charge of those accounts which were now under examination. The third board would also consist of three commissioners, whose business it would be to bring up those accounts which were entirely in arrear, and not entered on at all. This was what at present appeared to be the most useful arrangement. As the establishment was by this plan undoubtedly considerably increased in the first instance, it was proposed to have the advantages of this increase with as little expense to the public, and with as little additional power to ministers as possible. With this view a provision would be introduced into the bill, by which in no instance in case of a vacancy by death could the loss be supplied till the number was reduced to five, without coming to parliament; and on such occasions the house would have an opportunity of discussing the necessity for, or the expediency of, the several appointments, and of ascertaining how the work went on. This would afford employment to the ten commissioners till they were reduced to the permanent number, which was six. But in the event of the business getting on faster than was expected, a thing not very likely to occur, there was a provision by which the commons, by an address to his majesty, might suppress any of the commissions. However, parliament would have the whole under its own eye. But the great provision respecting the current accounts was, that there should be a compulsion extending to all accountants, by which they must send in their accounts from year to year. Another part of the bill was to enable the accountants to have their accounts attested, wherever they should be, before any of the commissioners of the exchequer; which, as these were spread over the whole country, would be a very great convenience. Another part of the bill he considered as of great importance, and that was the provision by which all those public officers who authorised the expenditure of the public money, should be charged with that expenditure, and made accountable for it; but at the same time an appeal was allowed them to the exchequer in case they felt themselves aggrieved. It was also provided, that when accountants paid any part of the funds which had been issued to them into the proper office, they should be considered as so

far

far acquitted. There now remained only to state the authority which was to be committed to these commissioners. The nature of this authority was to remain as before, but to be extended over all persons who had the care of stores, &c. &c.; all which persons they should be empowered to call before them. In addition to this, it was proposed that the comptrollers of the army should have the power of calling all persons before them who were concerned in the military expenditure of the country, and their powers were to be placed exactly on the same footing as they were when the commission was first created in the reign of queen Anne. These comptrollers were to be the advisers of the treasury in all matters connected with the military expenditure; and in case any persons for whom they called should refuse to appear, which he was told was sometimes the case, they should have the power of imposing a fine on all such persons. There was one thing more which it was incumbent on him to state, and that was, that where the stores were embezzled, a valuation was to be made, and the persons who had the care of those stores were to be charged with the amount according to the valuation. He had now stated the principal particulars of the plan which it was proposed to carry into execution, for the auditing of the public accounts. If any thing further could be suggested for this great object, it would be thankfully attended to. As to the importance of getting rid of this mass of accounts, it was too obvious to require any comment. But as to the patronage that might thus be conferred on the treasury, that was a point which he wished to be thoroughly investigated, as an opinion seemed to be entertained by some, that there was a design in this to augment the patronage of the treasury. All he could say at present was, that both his noble friend (Grenville,) and he himself, were extremely anxious to avoid any thing that could have the tendency of giving patronage to the treasury; and if there could be any other mode by which the end proposed could be effectually answered, that mode would be gladly adopted. He pledged himself that next session he would propose some plan to regulate the accounts of the war office; but in the mean time we ought to proceed immediately with all that could be done for the present. He concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill for consolidating the two boards of commissioners, and for the more effectual auditing the public accounts in arrear. On recollecting himself after he sat down, he rose again and stated that the expense of the permanent commission would be less by 1000*l.* a year than the expense of the establishment at present. The expense of the present establishment was 28,000*l.*—that of his permanent commission would be 27,000*l.*; the expense of the temporary addition would be 14,000*l.* more, which would make it in all 41,000*l.*

Mr. Rose said, that out of the whole 534 millions stated by the noble lord to be wholly unaccounted for by the commissioners of public accounts, and for the investigation of which he lately professed to bring forward the present measure, only eight millions really remained unaccounted for. The rest were, to all intents and purposes, accounted for as satisfactorily as was possible, though, perhaps, the whole had not passed the commissioners

sioners on accounts; and of this eight millions, the only part upon which investigation could attach, with any hope of recovering a shilling for the public, was about 99,000*l*. So that the construction of all that expensive system of machinery proposed by the noble lord, of increasing commissioners, accountants, and all the other train of subordinate officers, was, in fact, doing nothing for the public. Having concluded his observations upon the propositions of the noble lord, whose chief object seemed to be the censure of a former administration, and to create unnecessary patronage, he would now beg leave to advert to some allusions made personally to himself on a former night. It had been said that observations from him, tending to condemn the creation of sinecure places, came with a peculiar ill grace; and allusions were made to sinecure places and lucrative appointments which he was supposed to possess. On this point it was necessary to explain to the house the fallacy of such allusions. For the place he held under the administration of his late right hon. friend, as secretary of the treasury, he had resigned a certain, permanent, and lucrative employment producing him 5,400*l*. a year, arising from fees, to take up a precarious one, which reduced his income to 4,500*l*. a year; this income the lords of the treasury were afterwards pleased to reduce by a new regulation to 3000*l*. a year; and upon the former resignation of his right honourable friend, he resigned this without any provision whatever. On the return of his right honourable friend again to office, he accepted of another office, which he again resigned without any provision; and as to the employment which he now held, it was one which had been usually conferred in reversion for a series of five centuries, and was given to him on a similar footing, upon a reversion of two lives, one of which continued six years after he obtained the promise; and the other was, at the time, of his own age, and a life in every respect as good, and as likely to last as his own. This grant was the only favour he ever asked for himself or any of his family, close as were the friendship and intimacy which had for above seventeen years subsisted between himself and his late right hon. friend; and he believed that he, in this instance, stood the single exception to all men who had ever preceded him in office, under similar circumstances. The question being put, leave was given to bring in the bill, which was afterward carried through the several stages, with little opposition, and passed.

July 2.—Lord H. Petty rose, in order, pursuant to notice which he had formerly given, to call the attention of the house to the subject of the vaccine inoculation. Though this was no political subject, yet it was one so important to the health and to the very existence of multitudes of the human species, that it was as well worthy the attention of the legislature, as it certainly promised to eradicate that horrid disorder called the small-pox. He would not enter at present into any minute detail on this discovery, as it had on a former occasion been brought before the house by his predecessor. This interesting discovery had been the result of the labours of one eminent physician, who had been for thirty years solely occupied in bringing it to maturity. He began so early as the year 1777, and by a slow gradual progress brought

brought it to what it was now. In 1788, he thought of extending it by inoculation, and hoped by this means to effect the total extinction of the small-pox. In 1798, after its beneficial effects had been in some measure ascertained, it was submitted to the public, and began to be generally diffused. In that year it had been diffused in England; in 1799 it had been adopted in America, not only among the white inhabitants but also among the Indians, with all the success that its greatest admirers could hope for. In 1801 it had been adopted on the continent. By the exertions of his royal highness the commander in chief it had been diffused over the coast of the Mediterranean. It had spread also in Russia and in Prussia. But what he wished particularly to call the attention of the house to, as it was the circumstance that made the strongest impression on his mind, was, the success which it had met with in the Austrian dominions. He begged leave to mention one fact. In the year preceding the introduction of the vaccine inoculation, the deaths at Vienna, by the small-pox, had been 835. In 1802, this discovery having been previously introduced, the number was reduced to 61; in 1803, to 27; and in 1804, to two persons: so that the annual saving by means of this discovery, in that city, was 893 persons. Yet after this it was melancholy to think, that when the progress was so rapid on the continent of Europe, and even in China, the motion in this country should rather be retrograde. This had been owing to some objections that had been made to the practice; but even these very objections furnished a strong argument for the proposition which he was about to submit to the house. But these objections had certainly prevailed in retarding the progress of the discovery in this country. In London, in 1802, the deaths by the small-pox had amounted to 1811. In 1804, they had been reduced to 622. But, in consequence of the prejudices against the vaccine inoculation, they had in the last year arisen to 1685; so that they were fast approaching to their original amount. Under these circumstances he had been induced to bring the subject before the legislature; not with a view of proposing any compulsory measure, for he was aware how improper it would be to propose any measure of compulsion in a case where the persons most nearly concerned must be supposed to be the most competent judges, where health and happiness were concerned. His object was, that the royal college of physicians should examine into the case, state the condition of the vaccine inoculation in this country, inquire into the causes that retarded its progress, and make a report accordingly. He would propose this with a view to have the report before the house early the next session, when it would be referred to a committee, in order that the discovery might have that increased action, which, if the report should be favourable, must follow such an inquiry. He concluded by moving, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, requesting that his majesty would direct his royal college of physicians to inquire into the state of the vaccine inoculation in this country, and into the causes that retarded its progress, and report their opinions, and the evidence on which they were founded, and to order that this report should be laid before this house."

Mr. Matthews rose to second the motion. He had at first some doubts

doubts as to the usefulness of the discovery, and had attentively watched its progress, and the result was, that he was fully convinced of its great value. The small-pox inoculation, he stated, was liable to great objections. Death in many instances ensued; though beneficial to the individuals, it was a magazine of contagion, and it had, besides, the effect of stirring up another disease in the human frame, which was the scrophula. The cow-pox inoculation was not liable to these objections; and he was of opinion that, in the cases in which it had failed, it had not been fairly tried.

Mr. Wilberforce expressed his satisfaction at the subject having been brought forward by the noble lord. He was not surprised that the people of this country had been more slow in allowing the benefits of this discovery, as in a free country, every one was more inclined to judge for himself, and to adhere with stubbornness to his opinion, even when erroneous. The causes of the slow progress of vaccine inoculation here, he thought, rather arose from improper matter having been, in some cases, used, and from the ignorance of many of the persons who inoculated, and who were not able to distinguish the true from the false species, than from the efforts which had been made to discredit it, in certain publications, which, as far as he had seen, had been written in such a tone as to render them totally unworthy of attention. He thought, however, that a committee of that house, and of the house of lords, would have answered better than a report of the college of physicians: for he did not hope that much good would be derived from them, as almost every medical man of any eminence in London had already certified in favour of the vaccination. He differed with the noble lord in another respect, as he conceived that there might fairly be some compulsion used on the part of the legislature. Certainly it would be unjust to compel persons to be vaccinated; but it would be by no means unjust to compel persons, who chose to be inoculated with the small-pox, to take such precautions as should be judged necessary to prevent the spreading of the infection to others. Although it might not be fair to compel persons to take precautions for their individual security, it was perfectly fair, by legislative compulsion, to prevent them from injuring society by spreading infectious disorders. In the case of the plague, and other infectious maladies, very rigorous measures are taken by all governments to prevent the spreading of the infection; and he could not see why the same should not, in a lesser degree, be applied to the small-pox.

Mr. Windham, Mr. Bankes, Mr. W. Smith, and Mr. Paull, spoke in favour of the motion; and the address was agreed to *nem. con.*

CHAP.

CHAPTER VII.

Debate on Mr. Whitbread's Motion for fitting up Westminster Hall for Lord Melville's Trial—Lord Grenville's Motion on the same Subject—Thanks of the Commons to the Managers of Lord Melville's Trial—Debate on Mr. Primseps' Motion for Papers on India Affairs—on Mr. Johnstone's Motion for Letters written by Lord Cornwallis—on Lord Ossulston and Mr. Paull's Motions for Papers on the same Subject—on Mr. Pole's Motion—on Mr. Francis's Motion for Papers—on the Nabob of Arcot's Debts—Lord A. Hamilton Motion on the Administration of the Marquis Wellesley—Mr. Paull's Charges against the Marquis—Lord Temple's Motion on the same—India Budget.

WE have in a former chapter noticed some proceedings in the house of commons relating to the impeachment of lord Melville. In this we shall give a brief detail of what occurred afterwards in parliament on this business; and then lay before our readers a short sketch of the several debates on India affairs.

On the 26th of March Mr. Whitbread, after a few preliminary observations, moved that the house of commons be present at the trial of lord viscount Melville, as a committee of the whole house.

Mr. Robert Dundas said, the effects of the present motion would be to oblige the house of lords to address his majesty for having Westminster Hall filled up for the purpose of their proceeding to trial. Such a step, he said, would not only lead to great inconvenience, but might be the source of gross injustice and oppression, by the delay and expense which such a proceeding would produce. Whenever any question occurred in which it might be necessary for the house of lords to deliberate, all that could be required, if the trial proceeded in their own house, would be for the managers to retire till the question was discussed. But, if the trial proceeded in Westminster Hall, the lords would be obliged, on every such occasion, to retire to their own house; and if they continued debating till near the usual hour of adjournment, there would be little chance of their returning to the hall that day. In this way, it was a fact, that no less than two or three days of delay would take place in the one case, for one in the other. He trusted he did not ask too much of the house in hoping, that in the pursuit of justice they would not be guilty of oppression—that they would not adopt a mode of trial which would be vexatious in point of time, and ruinous in point of expense. He thought the case of Mr. Hastings would have been sufficient to warn the house against the adoption of a proposition like the present. He had no doubt the managers would conduct the case with all the expedition in their power; but it would not be in their power, or in that of the accused, to do so in Westminster Hall. The matter might occur to him (Mr. Dundas) more forcibly than to other members of the house, but he hoped the house would excuse him in stating it. The honorable gentleman was in possession of ample documents

documents to instruct, that the private fortune of the individual here accused, was not adequate to the support of an expensive trial; and when equal justice, and before the same tribunal, might be procured at a smaller expense, he submitted that it could never be the wish of the house, or of the honourable gentleman, to purchase it at a greater expense to the party accused.

Mr. Tierney said, that when the house had at last come to the resolution of impeachment, he had trusted that no further question on the subject would have been introduced. He was far from wishing to say any thing that might hurt the feelings of lord Melville; and he could not help bearing his testimony to the strict propriety with which the honourable gentleman who opposed the motion had conducted himself during the whole course of the discussion; but he was confident the house could not hesitate to adopt the motion before them. The substantial ends of justice might, indeed, be attained by a trial at the bar of the house of lords, but not with the same satisfaction to the public mind. He had always preferred the trial by impeachment, as more applicable to the high rank of the person accused, and the nature of the charges brought against him; and for the same reason, he thought that the trial should be conducted with every possible solemnity, so that the public might be convinced that no rank or station, however high, could protect any man from a solemn decision.

Mr. Bankes could see nothing to persuade the house to do that in lord Melville's case, which it had found so inconvenient in that of Mr. Hastings. In the course of that trial the delay was disgraceful, and the expense intolerable. He had all along been against sending any accused person to be tried in Westminster-hall, if any other place could be found where the ends of justice could be obtained; and he had formerly contended against taking this case from the ordinary course of law. He was sorry when the house had come to a different determination; but he still hoped that they would not adopt that mode of trial, which, in the case of Mr. Hastings, had done them no credit. Every end of justice would be fully answered by a trial at the bar of the lords, while the solemnity, the dignity, and decorum requisite on such an occasion, were liable to be interrupted in the promiscuous assemblage at Westminster-hall. An honourable gentleman had said, that it was necessary to satisfy the expectations of the public; but if they expected any thing beyond the distribution of justice, he did not see how they were entitled to be satisfied. But it might be said, that they looked forward to a great public spectacle; he believed, however, that the public now held such spectacles in abhorrence. The trial of Mr. Hastings had completely disgusted them with such exhibitions. If the twenty-one days trial of lord Macclesfield were compared with that which lasted eight sessions of parliament, it would be easy to see which deserved the preference. The various necessary delays that must ensue, and the time that must be consumed in a thousand ways, were all arguments against a trial in Westminster-hall. Even the money that might be necessary to

fit up the hall, should not be lightly thrown away at the present moment.

Lord Folkestone was for the motion.

Lord H. Petty, though he differed in opinion from an honourable gentleman who had preceded the noble lord, yet was not surprised at the arguments he had advanced. He had originally opposed the mode of trial by impeachment, and might therefore be consistent now in resisting a trial in Westminster-hall; but to hear those who had preferred impeachment, from the consideration of the rank of lord Melville, and the nature of the offence with which he was charged, concur in the arguments of the honourable gentleman, and opposing now the ancient and constitutional mode of conducting that impeachment, was rather extraordinary. The honourable gentleman had said, that the trial of Mr. Hastings reflected disgrace on the house. He, for his part, was not aware of any such disgrace, though he had heard it had been attended with much inconvenience. The present case, he said, differed widely from that of Mr. Hastings. Here all the charges, and all the evidence adduced in their support, bore distinctly on one point. He contended, that if the house did not agree to the motion of his honourable friend, it would amount to a declaration, that all the ancient and constitutional forms of impeachment were impracticable. The expense attendant on this mode of trial had been stated as an objection against it. It was not the expense of paper that might be consumed, or of benches that might be erected; but the want of those constitutional inquiries into misapplications of the public money, that could ever prove ruinous to the country. The first object which the house should have in view was the attainment of justice; open, clear, and public justice. To this every inferior consideration should give way. He was confident that the people would take the most decided interest in the discussions, and he thought that the public anxiety should be gratified as much as possible. For these reasons he supported the motion.

Mr. Whitbread wished to say a few words, in reply to the objections which had been made to his motion. An honourable member, for whose conduct in the whole of this business he had taken every opportunity to express the greatest respect, had appealed to the compassion of the house, and had complained of the oppression and vexation which a public trial would cause. Nothing of the kind was however intended. It was only wished, that the trial should be conducted with all that solemnity and publicity which had been the uniform practice in this country. The arguments against idle expense, and an unnecessary audience, would go to shut the courts of justice altogether against the public, and thus deprive our mode of administering justice of that publicity, which is one of its greatest boasts. Those gentlemen who voted for the impeachment in preference to a less solemn trial, must have had it in contemplation, that it would be conducted in Westminster-hall. This had been the uniform practice ever since the Restoration, except in the case of lord Macclesfield. In his case also, a very long protest was entered

against

against the innovation. Was it not to be supposed that every member of this house would wish to attend on so important an occasion? But have they this in their power, if the trial take place in the house of lords? Surely not. "Let us not go to the expense of fitting up Westminster-hall!" He did not feel the same fears, and should advise, that they should go to the expense of fitting up Westminster-hall, as he thought the simple question with regard to which of the places the trial should be held at, ought only to be, which of the two places would hold the greater number of people? which of them would give the greater publicity to the trial? It was certainly not the wish of the managers to give publicity to any other species of information than that which they had necessarily collected in the course of their examination; but what bore directly on the charges they had preferred against lord Melville, ought to be made as public as possible. If there was such an anxiety in the public to hear the impeachment of lord Macclesfield, that the house of lords was not sufficient to accommodate them, there might be expected to be at least equal anxiety to hear the trial of lord Melville, who had held nearly the same rank as a minister, a peer, and a privy counsellor, and who was charged with offences of nearly a similar nature. He thought that every individual would be anxious to be present at such a trial.

Mr. Wm. Dundas would not allege that it was possible for him to be altogether impartial on this subject, but he was at a loss to see how the ends of public justice could be better promoted by having the trial in Westminster-hall. It was the very essence of justice that it should not be dilatory, and that it cause as little vexation or oppression as was possible. It was a maxim of our law, that every man was to be presumed innocent, until his guilt were proved; and therefore he had a right to presume lord Melville to be innocent of what he had been charged with. If so, the consequence of a long protracted impeachment would be to bring inevitable ruin, and an age of poverty and want, upon an innocent man: but even if he were not allowed to make this supposition, he should ask, Was it fair, was it generous or just, that lord Melville, whose political life (independent of that matter now alleged against him) was known to be marked with public services, should be consigned to an age of poverty and want, merely because one place for the trial might afford something more publicity than another? In the mode that was now proposed, after the example of Hastings's trial, it would be evident that lord Melville, whether innocent or guilty, must meet the severe punishment of poverty and want, which the expense of this trial must necessarily occasion.

Mr. secretary Fox said; if the pure question had been, whether there was to be an impeachment, or a criminal information, he would have preferred an impeachment. But when he saw that the motion for an impeachment was lost by a majority, hollow as it was, he had no alternative but to adopt a less eligible mode of proceeding, rather than have none at all. But how was that majority procured?—Why, by the union of two parties, one of which endeavoured to stop all proceedings. The two gentlemen, relations of lord Melville, who

brought forward and supported this proposition, were certainly justifiable in what they did. Nobody could be more alive to the sympathy of relationship, or even of friendship, than he was; but at the same time he must say, that they were not exactly the persons whose directions were to be followed in this instance. How did the case stand?—A motion was made for a criminal information, and at the time it was pretty plainly insinuated that this was the mode which, on account of the comparative smallness of the expense, the accused would prefer; but afterwards it appeared that lord Melville, upon re-consideration, with all the disadvantage of the additional expense, preferred the mode of impeachment. But was it ever said or insinuated that the impeachment was not to be conducted in the most solemn manner? Not an idea was entertained that the trial would not be allowed to proceed in the way best calculated to answer the ends of public justice. On the contrary, the cordial support of the honourable gentleman was promised to the managers who were to conduct the impeachment. With regard to the length of time, his honourable friend had given sufficient reason to suppose that the difference would not be material; and as to the argument of the honourable gentleman, who maintained that a trial at the bar of the house of lords would be as public as one in Westminster-hall—he supposed that his reasoning would have very little influence on the house. Now, why should we resort perpetually for directions to those who had opposed all criminal proceedings in this case? It was an old rule of the house, which was now dropped, perhaps properly, but which was not without some grounds to support it, that no person should be allowed to speak in a committee on a bill who opposed the principle, because it was thought that such persons would not make any alterations in the detail, which would promote the object of the bill. "A public spectacle!" said an honourable gentleman opposite him. Why, he hoped that every trial of this kind would be rendered a public spectacle, and that as many as possible would be admitted to them; not, indeed, with a view to influence them, but that those who were concerned in such trials might feel the responsibility of their situations and characters, that the public might be satisfied that every thing was fairly conducted, and that the decision, whether one way or the other, was given with that deliberation and impartiality which the circumstances of the case required.

Mr. Canning, after the speech of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox,) and when it was considered how much warmth he had thrown into that speech, scarcely knew what course he had to take. If it was decided that "the strong arm of government" was to fall upon lord Melville (cries of "No! no! Order! order!"), perhaps it would be as well if gentlemen on that side of the house were to hold their tongues altogether. The right honourable gentleman, besides imputing to them the greatest inconsistency, seemed to consider, that every argument which came from them should be received with the greatest suspicion. The honourable gentleman had also stated, that it was impossible that those who voted for the impeachment could have then in their contemplation, that such impeachment would

would be regulated by the precedent of lord Macclesfield's case, rather than by that of the other precedents of impeachment in Westminster-hall. It, however, was natural that they should look to that case, which was the only one cited at that time. As for himself, he trusted that his assertion would deserve as much weight as the general assertion of any other gentleman, and he must declare that he had this case in his contemplation when he voted for the impeachment.

After some further discussion, in which Mr. Wynne, Mr. Wallace, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Stuart Wortley took a part, the motion was put, and carried without a division. A message was then ordered to be sent to the lords, to acquaint them with the resolution, and requesting that accommodation might be provided accordingly.

On the 27th Mr. Whitbread, and some other members of the house of commons, delivered the message at the bar of the house of lords; upon which

Lord Grenville observed, that it was of the utmost importance that, in the progress of the trial, all unnecessary delay should be sedulously avoided. It was due to the prosecutors, as well as to the noble lord impeached, that justice should be attained as speedily as possible. With this view, he intended to move, when his majesty's answer, to an address that he should now propose, should be received, to refer to the committee already appointed to search for precedents, to consider of the best means of proceeding in the trial without delay. Two or three suggestions he would now throw out:—the first was, that the trial, when commenced, ought to be proceeded on from day to day until it was finished. This would go a great way towards attaining the ends of justice as speedily as possible, while, at the same time, the trial would, in that case, be in a greater degree assimilated to a trial in a court of law. Another circumstance was the hour of assembling, which he thought should be rigidly adhered to. It would also be a great saving of time if some mode were adopted, with respect to collecting the opinions of their lordships upon any disputed point of evidence, without their being under the necessity of retiring upon every such occasion to their chamber. He concluded by moving for an address to his majesty, praying "that his majesty would be graciously pleased to give directions to prepare a place in Westminster-hall, for the trial of lord viscount Melville."

Earl Stanhope said, he would venture to suggest one regulation, from which he thought much benefit would be derived: upon the trial of Mr. Hastings, it was customary for the house, whenever any objections on points of evidence arose, immediately to adjourn for the day to the parliament chamber. Now he thought it would be better that their lordships should receive the objection, and proceed, if the progress of the cause did not essentially depend upon it, to determine the point next day, or at some convenient opportunity, without impeding the course of the proceedings.

The motion of lord Grenville was agreed to; and Westminster-hall was accordingly fitted up for the reception of the house of commons and the public.—The committee of impeachment, on the 23d of April, reported by means of Mr. Giles, that they had inspected

the place in the court prepared for the accommodation of the house, and found that there would be sufficient space for the reception of five hundred members, besides the managers of the impeachment. Mr. Giles then moved a series of resolutions with regard to the order to be observed during the trial.

In the house of peers several conversations took place as to certain forms and orders to be observed during the trial, which it is not necessary to detail. On the 1st of May their lordships met at ten o'clock, and after some common-place business they proceeded at eleven to Westminster-hall to attend the trial of lord Melville. An account of this trial will be found in a succeeding chapter. In this place it will be only necessary to record the vote of thanks to the managers, which was passed at the conclusion of the business.

On the 23d of May the secretary at war rose pursuant to notice, to move the thanks of the house to the managers of lord Melville's impeachment. In the motion which he was about to submit on this subject, he hoped he should meet with the unanimous concurrence of the house. The whole of the business relative to lord Melville was a matter of peculiar importance; it was one to which the attention of the house and of the country had been particularly directed. The impeachment which had been voted last session, the subsequent trial which had taken place in Westminster-hall, and all the proceedings connected with this subject, were of a nature that must excite the greatest interest in the minds of all those to whom the care of watching over the expenditure of the public money was chiefly intrusted. That business being now brought to a conclusion, and it being customary for the house in this stage of the business to express its sense of the conduct of the persons whom it had appointed to manage such matters, he now rose to call the attention of gentlemen to the conduct of those who had the direction of the proceedings in the impeachment of lord Melville. He believed that those who had attended at Westminster-hall, and who had observed the conduct of these managers in every stage of the proceedings, would agree with him, that however excellently any former impeachment might have been conducted, however judicious, skilful and prudent the conduct of managers might have been on any former occasion, none could ever have been conducted with more ability, more zeal, more discretion, more judiciousness, more prudence, or more energy, than this last had been. He therefore moved, "That the thanks of the house should be given to the members who were appointed to manage the impeachment of lord Melville, for the zealous, able, and faithful manner in which they had fulfilled their duty." Upon the question being put, it was carried with one dissentient voice. The managers then stood up, and the speaker addressed them nearly as follows:—

"Gentlemen managers,

"This house, upon the result of a great and important inquiry respecting the administration of the expenditure of the public money, came to a resolution to enter upon the most grave and solemn of all its functions, and resort to its prerogative of impeachment against Henry lord viscount Melville. It is the power of impeachment that has

has enabled the commons of this country, at all times, to lay open the misdeeds of the highest servants of the crown, and to prevent, or punish, all inroads which may be made upon the liberty of the subjects of this realm. In the prosecution of this impeachment, the house appointed you to prepare and arrange the proofs of the complicated transactions on which their charges were grounded. Their charges were against a noble person, whose rank and high consideration in the state must hold him forth as a signal example either of good or of evil. Throughout the progress of the trial they have witnessed, with peculiar satisfaction, your great attention and dispatch, which have rescued the trial by impeachment from the disgrace into which it had fallen, and restored it to its former strength and honour. They have witnessed in you an unwearied diligence in the discharge of the trust committed to you, a singular sagacity in discovering the proofs, a boldness which so properly belongs to the commons of the united kingdom, a strength of argument, and a power of eloquence, which threw the light of day upon dark, secret, and criminal transactions. The final issue of this trial now remains for another body. It is before one of the highest of human tribunals; it is the house of lords which is to determine ultimately for the condemnation or acquittal of the person accused. Be the final issue what it may, you have done your duty. You have satisfied the expectations that the house had formed of you, and you have deserved their approbation and their thanks. I am ordered by the house to communicate to you the approbation and thanks of the house, for the faithful management of the trust reposed in you."

The secretary at war rose and said, that though he was disappointed in his hopes of unanimity on his former motion, by one dissentient voice, yet he believed that in the motion which he was now to submit he should not be opposed even by that one: he therefore moved, "that Mr. Speaker be desired to print the speech which he had made to the managers of the impeachment, in consequence of the resolution of the house." This motion was agreed to.

We have already noticed in the first and third chapters of this volume, certain motions on India affairs, made by Mr. Paull and Mr. Francis: we shall now proceed briefly to state the particulars of the succeeding debates on the same subject, without pretending to give at length the debates themselves, which would occupy more room than we are able to assign to the whole of the article of British history.

Mr. Prinsep on the 28th of Feb. moved for certain papers relative to India, for the purpose of ascertaining the amount of capital borrowed in India for the company's commerce; and for finding out whether the stores, &c. were included in the stated expenses of their territorial revenue.

Mr. Francis seconded the motion, as it would tend to give a clear and precise view of the company's affairs with respect to their finances and commerce, which would be for the interest of the company, as well as for that of the country at large, who would certainly be called upon to relieve the company from any embarrassment into which it might fall by bad management. He said, the,

attention of the house should be called to the course of business between the directors and the board of control. The authority of the directors he believed was in fact annihilated. They did nothing, they answered for nothing: every thing rested with the board of control. This was contrary to the principle on which that board was established. The directors ought to be the managers, and the board was simply a control over them. But now they acted together, and this was called HARMONY, though another name might be more properly applied to it.

Sir Theophilus Metcalfe denied the statements of Mr. Francis, as far as they went to throw any reflection on the course of business between the directors and the board of control. The board had by law all the papers, and they of course were the persons to answer all public questions. He then referred to the case of captain Dunbar, who had been charged with a high crime, in allowing some dispatches to fall into the hands of the enemy: the truth was, the dispatches were hanging from the cabin, and a chain-shot from the enemy had cut away the sand-bags attached to one of the packets. The papers floated in consequence, and were picked up by the enemy's ship.

After a few words by way of explanation from Mr. Francis, and a short speech from Mr. Hiley Addington, the motion was agreed to.

On the 10th of March, Mr. Johnstone moved for copies of two letters written by lord Cornwallis to the court of directors, and also of a letter from sir George Barlow, his successor in the government of India. He disclaimed any personal animosity to the marquis Wellesley, but he thought it was necessary that the house should at length turn its attention to the mode in which India had been for a long time governed, and that the members should compare the system of lord Cornwallis with that of his predecessor. He felt that the empire was indebted to the marquis Wellesley, for so much of his system as established our military reputation and ascendancy in India; but he highly disapproved of the lengths to which that system was afterwards pushed, when, under the pretence of defensive war, all the native powers of India were forced to receive British garrisons, and were kept in greater subjection in their own capitals, than the kings of Wirtemburgh and Bavaria are at this moment by the emperor of France. Under vague pretences, a great part of the territory of our ally the nabob of Oude was wrested from him, and the possessions of the nabob of Arcot were seized under the pretence of treason. Highly as he disapproved of that part of lord Wellesley's system, he by no means meant to bring any charge against him on that account, as he could not impute to him any improper motives. He only considered that his lordship was possessed of too ardent a mind, and views of too great ambition. He hoped the house would recur to their former resolution, and that should be for the future the established system of Indian government.

After an animated debate, in which Mr. Fox, Mr H. Addington, Mr. Grant, Mr. Huddlestone and Mr. Francis took a part, the papers moved for were ordered to be laid before the house. On the next day

Lord

Lord Ossulston moved for a return of the debts of the India company in India, specifying the time and the terms upon which each debt was contracted, and when and where the principal and interest of the several loans were made payable. This motion was, after a short debate, withdrawn; and

Mr. Paull moved for the production of the correspondence which had taken place between the governor-general and council of India and the commander in chief relative to the commencement of the war with the rajah of Bhurtpore. The honourable member defended himself from the charges which calumny had propagated against him, in consequence of the conduct which he had been impelled by duty to pursue upon the subject of India, and particularly with respect to marquis Wellesley. Towards the latter, it had, he understood, been insinuated, that he was actuated merely by personal animosity. That insinuation, he was certain, could never proceed from the noble lord himself; for that noble lord knew him too well to ascribe his conduct to such a motive, for his lordship must know that it was impossible for him to feel any animosity. No provocation had even been given. On the contrary, he had experienced particular kindness from lord Wellesley, and therefore nothing but a strong sense of duty could have urged him to follow the course he had undertaken. He meant at present only to lay the grounds of an investigation into lord Wellesley's conduct, and not to pronounce him guilty. It was for this purpose, that he now moved for papers respecting the rajah of Bhurtpore. The marquis Wellesley had considered his alliance as of great importance; he had therefore concluded a treaty with him in 1803. This treaty, however, was soon broken on the part of the rajah, who entered into engagements with Holkar, our bitterest enemy. This conduct had been ascribed to the basest treachery; but he could not hastily adopt this opinion, as it belied every part of the rajah's former life. Whatever might be the reason, however, the marquis Wellesley, instead of demanding satisfaction, determined that the severest vengeance should be inflicted. He made no demand for reparation, but insisted on unconditional surrender. General Lake was ordered to advance against him, with as great a force as we had ever assembled in India. It would be unnecessary to relate to the house, the sanguinary and ineffectual assaults that were made on the fortress of Bhurtpore. Our attempts were unsuccessful, and were succeeded by an ignominious peace. These he conceived to be matters that required the serious investigation of the house, and for this purpose he should move, "that there be laid before the house, a copy of the treaty entered into between the government of India and the rajah in 1803; copies of letters from lord Lake to the marquis Wellesley, giving an account of the attacks on Bhurtpore; and a copy of the treaty concluded in 1804, between the marquis Wellesley and the rajah."

Lord Temple was surprised that the honourable gentleman had chosen to confine his charge within such very narrow limits. He thought, however, that when he was bringing a charge against a person so distinguished as the marquis Wellesley, it would have been more decorous to that noble person, and

and more candid and fair with respect to the house, to have simply moved for the papers, and then let them tell their own story. As for his part, he was fully convinced that when those papers should be produced, they would tell a story very different from that which the honourable gentleman stated. Instead of this war of extermination, and thirst of blood, that was imputed to his noble friend (lord Wellesley), it would be seen that he had conducted himself with unexampled moderation and forbearance to this very rajah of Bhurtpore.—As to the high character which the rajah of Bhurtpore had in India, and his great connections there, they only made his treachery more inexcusable and his hostility more dangerous. He utterly denied that he had been forced to the treaty which was signed in September 1803, as it was a treaty which secured to him great advantages.—There was a fourth article to that treaty which the honourable gentleman (Mr. Paull) had not stated, by which "each of the contracting parties was bound to furnish assistance to the other, in case his territories should be invaded." It was in consequence of this article the rajah was called upon, and did actually furnish a body of cavalry which joined our army, and he on his side received from the company a very valuable accession of territory and revenue, equal to one-third of all he was before possessed of. A very short time afterwards the war with Holkar broke out; and no sooner had colonel Monson's detachment met with a defeat, than this rajah was found to be in correspondence with the enemy, and conspiring to turn against us those auxiliary troops he had sent to join our army. The copies of this intercepted correspondence were sent to lord Wellesley in the month of July 1804; and nevertheless his lordship, who was stated to have sought a war of extermination, wrote to lord Lake, that he would not wish to punish the rajah, who was probably misled by mischievous agents and advisers.—These were the instructions with which general Lake marched to Agra, and which were afterwards left with general Fraser. The first direct act of hostility was committed on the part of the rajah, whose fortress of Deeg afforded a protection to the remains of Holkar's army, and fired upon the British troops, which enabled Holkar to carry off a great part of his army, and place his artilley in that fortress. After the fort of Deeg was taken, and notwithstanding the several unsuccessful attacks on Bhurtpore, the rajah at last came to his senses, and was glad to conclude a peace, by which he agreed to pay to the company twenty lacks of rupees in four years, and the company guarantied him his territories. He was also bound to keep no Frenchmen or Europeans in his army. On these conditions, the conquered countries, and even the fort of Deig itself, had been since restored to him. In all these transactions, he could perceive nothing of that implacable vengeance which was imputed by the honourable member to the noble marquis.

Mr. Johnstone observed, that some expressions had fallen from the honourable mover, which might naturally induce the house to believe, that he had concurred in this accusation of lord Wellesley, and had advised the honourable gentleman to bring it forward.—The advice, however, which he had given

given him at different times was directly the reverse. He had advised him, in the first place, not to stand as candidate for the borough he represented, and not to seek a seat in that house. The second piece of advice he had given him, was, by no means to agitate that business. It had appeared to him, that the stirring this business would have been disadvantageous and inexpedient for both of them. He should not speak about the private reasons which might dissuade others; but he should say, that for himself he feared it would only make the situation of those princes in India, to whom he was attached, still worse than it was at present. He had seen their wrongs, but despaired of being able to redress them.

Mr. Hiley Addington said, that he saw no objection to the granting the papers: his private feelings would rather induce him to second the motion than to oppose it; for he felt convinced, that when the papers were produced, they would exhibit a great many amiable qualities in the character of lord Wellesley, which many gentlemen were then unwilling to give him credit for. They would show, that to this very rajah he had exercised an extraordinary forbearance, and an unexampled moderation. Without meaning to oppose the motion, he would just observe, that he doubted whether a sufficient parliamentary ground had been assigned for it. It did not appear to him proper, that any member should move for a vast mass of papers, merely to fish out some cause of complaint which he did not know before. As for the declaration of hostilities against the rajah, no such paper did exist; there never was a declaration of hostilities, but the war began by the cannon of the fort of Deeg firing upon the British army, and protecting the retreat of Holkar. It was at a time when the rajah was writing the most friendly letters to lord Wellesley, and saying, in the oriental cant, "make me happy by your letters," that he was conspiring with the enemies of the company to expel the British from India. Nothing would be more demonstrable and unequivocal than the perfidy of the rajah, whom the honourable mover now extolled so highly. As soon as we had met a disaster under colonel Monson, this faithless prince chose that moment not only to violate his treaties, but to conspire the utter destruction of that power for which he professed so much friendship, and to which he owed so much obligation. The manner in which the governor-general gained information of his treachery was most unquestionable. A confidential agent of his at Maturah first informed the British resident of it, and about a week after a vakeel was taken, with the correspondence, which went to the whole extent that had been stated. Notwithstanding this certain information of the treachery of this prince, lord Wellesley was still inclined to impute it to intrigues and evil advisers, and did not give directions to go to war with him for above eight months afterwards, and not until actual hostilities had been committed on the part of that prince against our troops, who were pursuing Holkar in the neighbourhood of the fort of Deeg. The question was then put on the various motions for papers respecting the treaty, and all the transactions of the government of India with the rajah of Bhurtpore, and the several papers moved for were granted unanimously.

Mr. Paull, on the 17th, introduced

ced another motion for certain additional papers, as a foundation of a new charge against lord Wellesley, by taking a view of the noble marquis's conduct in Oude, Bhurtpore, the Carnatic, and Surat, and, on the whole, declared there was not a part of that immense peninsula which had not felt the system pursued by the noble marquis, which seemed to lead him to omit no opportunity of seizing on the territories of the defenceless. For what purpose, he asked, had Mr. Hastings been tried, but for example, and to hold out to the native princes of India, that the British government would never countenance such a system as that which had been pursued by him? On such principles had lord Cornwallis acted; and there was not a prince, not an individual in India, who would have uttered a complaint against his government; but in the course of three months the marquis Wellesley had completely changed the system from one extremity of the peninsula to the other. He hoped such a system would not gain countenance in that house. He concluded by moving for a number of papers connected with the territory of Surat.

Earl Temple, while he protested against such voluminous productions without any specific reason being assigned, declared, that on the part of his noble friend the marquis of Wellesley he courted the inquiry. On the subject of Surat, he should only state, that from the year 1758 it had been governed by the same family. In the year 1759, a treaty was made, by which the castle and fleet were declared to be under our control. On the marquis of Wellesley's arrival, he found the throne of that territory vacant. He gave it to the next heir, and, a thing which had not been before, made it hereditary in the family, giving them a greater share than they formerly had in the revenue. This was the way in which the noble marquis, in this particular instance, verified the statement of the honourable gentleman, and "seized on the territory of the defenceless." He should tell the honourable gentleman what he would do in his case: if he felt interested in the character of lord Wellesley, he would bring forward the charge; if he felt anxious for his own, he would put the motion in his pocket. His lordship then read, as part of his speech, a resolution of thanks by the court of directors to lord Wellesley, for the very service which was the subject of the present motion. After a debate in which several members took part, the papers moved for were granted.

On the 24th Mr. Pole moved for papers (1) relative to the affairs of India in general: (2) relative to the rajah of Bhurtpore: and (3) relative to the war with Holkar: which were all ordered. Various other papers were moved for by Mr. Paull at different times, which were generally granted. Upon one occasion, April 18, Mr. Hiley Addington declared he had not the smallest wish to oppose the production of papers. He should only request the house to keep themselves free from every bias, and to sacrifice some time in investigating the documents moved for.

Mr. W. Keene thought that in the management of an immense empire like India, it was possible that the governor-general might, for the salvation of the country, be obliged in some instances to violate the strict letter of the law, and yet deserve the thanks of the country.

He

He thought that no member was qualified to vote a censure on the governor-general for any particular transaction, without having studied very much in detail the whole system of the Indian administration.

Mr. Francis said, he had discouraged Mr. Paull from proceeding in this business, as he was sure he would not meet with support. As to his own speech, the more he thought on the subject, the more he believed what he had there stated was true, and he confessed that it contained charges of a very serious nature. It might be asked why he did not proceed upon these charges: that was not his object. His design was to have lord Wellesley recalled, and another system adopted; but he thought at the same time that there were sufficient grounds of impeachment against that nobleman. His object was in some measure answered, when lord Cornwallis was sent to India; and as to the impeachment of lord Wellesley, he did not proceed with that, partly because he was not equal to such a task, and partly because he had little hopes of having efficient support.

Mr. Fox observed, that when a bad system of government prevailed, the best mode of remedying this was not, in general, by impeaching an individual. The object was to remove the person who carried on such a system, and to take care that none such should be acted upon in future; and this being obtained, it might often be inexpedient to carry the matter any further. But, at the same time, there might be particular acts of so enormous a kind as to call for impeachment. Impeachment was a bad mode of proceeding except in particular cases, and certainly it was not advisable to adopt it with regard to a governor-general of India merely on account of his system. He did not say that impeachment ought in all cases to be abandoned; but he was really of opinion, that if it were often resorted to, it would from its difficulties be soon given up in despair, and impunity might thus be procured for almost all sorts of crimes and misdemeanors committed by a governor-general of India.

On the 14th of April, Mr. Hobhouse, in consequence of a petition which he had presented on a former day, from certain creditors of the late nabob of Arcot, praying that the powers of the commission for examining into their claims should be enlarged, moved for leave to bring in a bill "for enabling the commissioners acting in execution of an agreement made between the East India company and the private creditors of the late nabob of the Carnatic, the better to carry the same into effect." This motion he prefaced by a very long, elaborate and masterly speech on the subject, which he concluded by saying that he had stated from the year 1784, when parliament first established regulations respecting the debts of the nabob of Arcot, the funds which had from time to time been appropriated for their discharge, and the effects produced by the successive treaties and arrangements:—he had shown, and he trusted satisfactorily, the justice and propriety of the agreement which in July 1805 had been made between the East India company and the creditors of the late nabobs:—he had also explained the grounds of the present application to parliament,

ment, and the leading provisions in the proposed bill. He trusted that the decision of parliament, whatever it might be, would be speedy. The commissioners were unwilling longer to remain in a state of inactivity as to the most important part of their duty, namely, the adjudication of claims. He had every reason to believe that many of the claimants were in the greatest state of pecuniary embarrassment; their claims, therefore, should as soon as possible be brought to a decision; that, if solid, the parties might possess the means of relieving their distress; and, if unfounded, they might be taught no longer to depend upon an unsubstantial resource, or lean upon a broken reed.

Mr. W. Keene could not help remarking, that in looking over the list of claimants he saw a number of names of persons bearing high situations in India, and who perhaps had no strong claims on the humanity and equity of the company in this instance. He must also observe, that although in 1784 this country claimed no right of participation in the surplus revenue of the company, yet from the year 1793 the public had a claim of half a million annually, which it had never received; and, on the contrary, it was now stated, that a million was due from the public to the company. This might be a consideration in the discussion of the measure proposed.

On the 16th Mr. Francis moved for an account of all moneys which have been paid to the private creditors of the nabob of the Carnatic, since the passing of the act of the 24th of his present majesty; and also for an account of the several debts now due or demandable from the said nabob. Reverting to the subject to which he was about to attract the notice of the house, the hon. member remarked upon the equivocal character of these frequent claims upon the nabob of Arcot. A great deal of such claims had been already paid. After the payment of several millions (five or six), it was naturally supposed that no more debts were to be heard of. But still some pretended creditors started up. If such pretensions were attended to, he really believed that the whole revenue of the Carnatic would be insufficient to answer them; and if not, then they must come upon this country. He therefore cautioned the house to pause upon a transaction, of the character of which scarcely any one who heard him could be wholly ignorant; for every one must remember something of the nabob of Arcot's debts; it was a tolerably notorious topic. That distinguished statesman Mr. Burke had many years since very properly stated his opinion, that a combination of evidence served to show that sums had been distributed for a course of years, in the name of the old nabob of Arcot, to the servants of the East India company, in a most scandalous manner, and that there was strong reason to suspect that most part of the debts demanded were only fictitious. And that great orator showed that, even if these debts were really due, they were, from their amount, calculated to excite alarm, as the affairs of the company were so distressed as to be unequal to their liquidation. This the house would recollect was in the year 1784, when the situation of the India company was almost prosperity itself, compared to what it is at present. But even then, as Mr. Burke remarked, the company's

company's servants were in affluence, while the company itself was very much embarrassed. Yet although such was the case, although the company's servants were possessed of no less than ten millions, still their claims of three millions of debt upon our subsidiary princes were paid off by order of the board of control, against the strongest remonstrances from the court of directors, seconded by the opinion of lord Macartney. This served to show what might be done through the interest of individuals, notwithstanding this distress of the company's affairs; and as bearing very closely upon the present question, he requested gentlemen to look at the speech of Mr. Burke, to which he referred, and which, independently of its relevancy upon this occasion, must be read with pleasure by every man of taste; for certainly, among all the productions of ancient and modern eloquence, nothing could be found worthy to be put in comparison with it. The hon. gentleman, adverting to the bill in progress through the house, observed, that it was not accompanied by any specification whatever, of the amount or nature of the debts to which it was meant to apply. This specification it was his wish to obtain. Seeing that so many millions had been already paid on this score, and that, the more these claims were paid, the more they seemed to grow, he desired at once to ascertain their precise extent: that knowledge attained, questions would then arise, whether such claims were made by *bonâ fide* creditors or not; whether any, and which of them, should be paid; whether, in a word, under all the circumstances, that money should be granted to such claimants, which ought to be applied to the support of our army and navy? That no equitable demands were to be found among those brought forward, he was not prepared to say. But, before any were acceded to, the house should be made acquainted with the whole amount. It would be unsafe to proceed without such knowledge; for, if a comparatively small sum were at first granted, it would be difficult to say how far the house might be led, upon the principle of that grant. It might not be known when to stop, and therefore he thought it best to make a stand *in limine*.

On the 20th of May, Mr Hobhouse moved the second reading of the bill for securing the payment of the nabob of Arcot's debts; upon which, Mr. W. Keene begged to call the attention of the house to the statute by which the charter was renewed. Every gentleman at that time did expect, and the public had a right to expect, that the time of participating in the revenues of India would have arrived before this. This charter was a sort of deed or partnership between the country and the company; but although the country had hitherto acted the part of a sleeping partner, yet it most clearly possessed the right of examining into the affairs of the concern, and investigating the causes which had prevented it from receiving that participation to which it naturally appeared to be entitled. When an object of that nature came before the house, it was necessary to look very narrowly into the causes which prevented this participation. In this point of view, he hoped the chancellor of the exchequer would bestow his attention to this subject, as, in the present difficulties of the country, it was a serious loss, in a financial point of view,

view, to be kept from that participation in the revenues of India to which the country appeared entitled. In India, we had claims upon the government which were suffered to grow and accumulate for forty or fifty years, and which, after that lapse of time, burst upon the house all at once. The first set of debts of the nabob, although enormously great, had been already paid, and the debts now brought forward were those which had been kept in the back ground for a considerable time. Most of them had arrived to their present magnitude, from great and usurious interest given contrary to law. He believed, that of the debts now claimed, amounting to 5,600,000*l.*, there was not more than 500,000*l.* honestly and fairly contracted. The honourable member then took a review of the nature of some of the debts claimed: he desired the clerk to read a report respecting the conduct of John Macpherson, esq. afterwards governor-general of Bengal, while he was at Madras, in the year 1767. This report charged Mr. Macpherson with entering into negotiations hostile to the company, and of having gained an undue influence over the nabob.

Mr. Johnstone rose with some degree of warmth. He said, that he had not originally intended to speak upon the question, but could not sit silent when he heard the character of a most respectable friend of his, and to whom he owed many obligations (sir John Macpherson), aspersed in this manner. He thought it was extraordinary that the honourable gentleman should have chosen to go near forty years back for transactions, with which to charge sir John Macpherson.—As to the reports on which he grounded his accusation, there were some reports, and that which had been read was one, which deserved no more credit than the reveries of Robinson Crusoe. The sense that was entertained by the country of the conduct and services of that gentleman, was directly opposite to the statement in that report. Long subsequent to those transactions, he had been made governor of Bengal, and had introduced savings, or reductions, to the amount of twelve hundred thousand pounds. He wished all other governors of Bengal had done as much good. His majesty had shown his sense of his services, by creating him a baronet. As to what had been done forty years ago, it was a little hard to go so far back. If at that time he was perfectly unemployed by the company, he had a right to accept employment from the nabob.

After several other members had spoken, the debate was adjourned, and the second reading of the bill did not take place till the 7th of July. On the 11th, the bill was read a third time and passed in the house of commons. In the house of peers, it went through all its stages without discussion, and on the 21st it received the royal assent.

On the 21st of April lord Archibald Hamilton rose, in consequence of the notice he had previously given, of a motion for a paper containing the opinion of the court of directors relative to the transactions in India during the administration of lord Wellesley. His object in moving for this paper was, to make it a ground of charge against the late board of control, and the noble lord who presided there. If it appeared afterwards that the proceedings of that board had been just and proper, nobody could be more ready to acknowledge his

his error than he would be: but unless he was very much mistaken indeed, it would turn out that there were good grounds of charge against them. The noble lord had, year after year, gone on stating that the affairs of India were in a condition of the highest prosperity. The directors now said they had been on the brink of ruin. One or other must be mistaken; and his object was, to ascertain which statement was correct, and to whom the evils that had fallen upon India were to be attributed, supposing that the opinion of the directors was well founded. He was inclined to believe, that they were to be attributed to the board of control, or to the noble lord himself (Castlereagh), who in that case must, one would suppose, be tormented by all those feelings of bitter remorse which the cruelties committed in India, and the calamities which would follow the difficulties they had occasioned, must naturally excite. A dispatch had been signed by the secret committee, approving of the treaty with the nabob of Oude: yet it would appear that they had not approved of this, but reprobated it in the strongest manner. One object was to turn the attention of the house to the unhappy situation of the directors under the bill of 1784, which forced them to sign what they abhorred. If the sentiments of an honourable gentleman (Mr. Francis), who had turned his attention much to Indian affairs, had been adopted, we should not have seen this absurd anomaly of a government, which was neither responsible nor efficient. It was proper to see the contrast between the real sentiments of the directors and those to be found in the papers to which they gave their signatures. He concluded by moving for the proposed dispatch of the directors, the letter of the board of control refusing that dispatch, and the reply to the letter.

Mr. Huddleston observed, that with regard to these papers, the facts were, that the directors were anxious to show that, notwithstanding the signatures of the secret committee, their opinions were not favourable to the transactions in India under lord Wellesley. This was his view in moving for the papers; from particular circumstances he had postponed his motion, till, finding that the papers had been produced to the proprietors of East India stock, and the affair made sufficiently public, he thought it unnecessary to persist. But he supported the motion, however, on the grounds that every paper ought to be produced, that could be produced without injury to the public, since the public attention had been now so much directed to this subject.

Mr. secretary Fox declared, that it was with regret he heard that such a motion as the present was to be made, and more especially that it was to be made by two persons for whom he had a great respect (Mr Huddleston and Mr. Thornton). But the pain which he felt was not a little increased, when he found it was to be made by the noble lord near him (Hamilton), for whom he had the highest esteem, whose personal regard he would wish to conciliate, and with whom he would always desire to cultivate a political connection; for to him that noble lord's ideas respecting the constitution, and his sentiments on political subjects in general, appeared to rest on principles so just, and well founded, that it gave him the greatest concern to differ from him, even in the

application of these principles to any particular point. But he thought that the present question ought to be considered with a view to the judicial inquiry about to come before the house, and therefore our attention ought to be directed to justice alone. Now, reviewing the matter in this light, he could not reconcile it to his mind that the papers called for by his noble friend were not manifestly and grossly unjust. His noble friend seemed to admit, that it would be improper to produce them as a ground of crimination against my lord Wellesley, and he was glad that he coincided with him even thus far; but let us consider whether they would not operate against him in an unjust and oppressive manner. First, he might contend that these papers were not strictly official; but suppose they were, was the character of a man under accusation to be weighed down even by official papers? Look at the common judicial proceedings of the country, with which every person must be more or less acquainted; would it be endured that the general opinion should be stated as a ground of crimination against a person on trial? Nay, would not the publication of any thing like this against his character be a reason for putting off the trial, instead of being admitted as evidence before a jury? Now to apply this to the present case; whose opinions were they calling for? Those of the court of directors. But they, by law, could only communicate their opinions to the board of control; though, certainly, he did not mean to say that this was a good law.—This, however, was at present the only way in which they could give their opinion; and when they were obliged to sign a thing which they strongly disapproved, their only remedy was that which was open to all in such a situation, namely, an application to parliament. But, besides, what were these directors? They were the persons supposed to be most conversant with the affairs of India; and, both on account of their knowledge of the subject, and their respectability as a body, justly considered as a high authority.—So much the worse. The higher their authority, so much the worse would it be to produce these papers when a man is under accusation. This was so clear, on every well founded principle of jurisprudence, that he was amazed that it could escape the attention of any person, nor could he except in particular circumstances. Now, in this case, there were some particular circumstances. The first was, the anomalous situation of the directors—they were bound to execute the commands of others. In every other department, when any thing was proposed to a person which appeared to him of the most mischievous tendency, he might refuse to sign it; but they were by law bound to sign, whether they approved or not, and their condition was more anomalous than that of any class of men in Europe, even under the most despotic government. In the most absolute state in Europe, perhaps, the king has been unable to find any minister about him, who would countersign his own order, and he was under the necessity of sending for a minister from a distance to do it. But the directors could never refuse to sign any thing offered to them by the board of control. The only remedy they had, when they found that the board of control insisted upon measures which to them appeared of the most dangerous ten-

dency, was to come and state their case to the house. Last session, a motion was made for a letter of the secret committee, which could properly be considered only as a letter of the board of control. It was fairly moved for, because an individual, when his conduct was called in question, might justly enough call for such documents as showed the subsequent approbation of his superiors—he said, of his superiors, because, though you (the directors) remonstrated with the board of control, you did not, it seems, think the matter of sufficient importance to come to the house and state your case; which, if you were aggrieved, was a plain and obvious course for you to pursue. Another point was, that the directors probably wished to defend themselves. This was not the stage for that. When the affair of the marquis Wellesley was decided upon, and when the papers now called for could have no influence on his case, then they might fairly be moved for. But it would be an intolerable hardship to an accused person, if you could say that you did not call for such papers to injure him, but to defend your own characters. The answer would be, that he had a great regard for your characters, but, in defending them, you were not entitled to injure him. There was another point to be considered. If the actions of lord Wellesley were such as they were represented to be, then the papers would operate against the board of control, and their influence would be increased when it was found that the board had rejected the better counsel of the directors. But, till the conduct of that board came under consideration, the papers ought not to be produced. Nothing at present would be lost in point of information; and though these papers might be useful at another period, they could just now be attended but with the most injurious effects.—Though it was not very usual to move the previous question on motions for papers, yet, as there was nothing in the forms of the house to prevent it, he would move it in the present instance.

The question being then put,

Mr. Johnstone said, that the degree of astonishment under which he rose to present himself to the house, after what had just fallen from the right honourable secretary of state, scarcely left him the power of utterance. When that right honourable gentleman and his friends were on that side of the house, where they were so long in the habit of sitting, he always understood them to be not only the warm friends, but the loud and strenuous advocates for investigation on Indian affairs. They had repeatedly asserted and urged, that unless a thorough and minute inquiry into the whole system was speedily adopted, India must be inevitably lost to this country; but now that they had changed places, they, it seemed, had totally altered their opinions also, and deprecated inquiry as useless and unnecessary. The only argument in which he could agree with the right honourable gentleman was, that justice should not be violated; and if he could conceive that any such violation was likely to result from the production of the papers in question, he should be one of the last men to urge it: but seeing no such cause of apprehension, he could not conceive why the house, in proceeding to an inquiry of so much importance, should debar itself from seeing what was the opinion of the court of directors and of the board of con-

trol on the subject of Indian affairs. Those were the officers to whom the government of India was intrusted, and surely their opinions it must be extremely important for the house to know. After the repeated assurances given to the house by the friends of the noble lord of their readiness to give, upon every subject connected with his conduct, the fullest information to the house, the refusal in this instance was a strong reflection upon the character of that noble lord, and upon the conduct of the right honourable gentleman. If the noble lord's conduct was pure and unsullied, he could have nothing to fear from the production of these, or of any other opinions. He himself really had no idea that the noble lord was guilty of any intentional criminality, though it was possible he might have fallen into errors but too incident to men in great power, by making an improper use of that power, and this was really the utmost he meant to impute to the noble lord. But if differences of opinion had existed between the court of directors and the board of control upon this subject, he owned that it was somewhat singular that the India company and the public should be put in possession of those differences, and parliament alone kept in the dark. In short, conceiving as he did, that the house, by being possessed of those papers, would have a much more accurate knowledge of the existing state of India, and of course be better capacitated to discuss the subject, he should persist in supporting the noble lord's motion.

Mr. Hiley Addington declared, that nothing ever surprised him more than the astonishment expressed by the honourable member, in rising to answer the speech of his right honourable friend near him (Mr. Fox); and in the whole of what had fallen from that right honourable gentleman, his own opinion so fully coincided, that he felt it unnecessary to add any thing further upon points so ably and so eloquently elucidated. The noble lord who brought forward this motion had professed, that he had no intention thereby to criminate the conduct of marquis Wellesley. He was willing to give the noble lord full credit for sincerity in his declaration; but yet he thought it was impossible, if those papers were produced, but that they must give rise to opinions injurious to his character, and strongly tend to excite prejudices against him. The document alluded to certainly was laid upon the table of the court of proprietors, by an honourable gentleman who conceived it to be a confidential communication. It had, by some underhand means, he understood, found its way into print; and it contained a series of opinions in condemnation of the conduct of lord Wellesley, from the time he first set foot in India, upon a variety of points totally unconnected with the matters now in charge, and consequently irrelevant, and going only to excite general prejudice, in order to influence any decision that might take place upon the particular points in question.

Mr. R. Thornton said, that the house, in refusing to comply with the noble lord's motion, would voluntarily shut its own eyes, and keep itself in darkness and ignorance, when the fullest information was absolutely necessary. If he had been heretofore backward in moving to bring those documents forth, it was not because he thought them unimportant or unnecessary, but in deference to the opinion of the

the right honourable secretary, the weight of whose talents and influence he understood would be against him. But now that the motion was brought before the house, it placed him in quite a different situation. The embarrassed state of the company's affairs, in consequence of the wars in India, was well known to the house. It was equally well known, that differences of opinion had long subsisted between the court of directors and the board of control, respecting Indian affairs; and that the directions forwarded to India by the court of directors had not been obeyed. But when the house was told that the Indian system was to be reformed, that the board of control was to be changed, and that an entirely new system was to be adopted, was it not important that the house should be put in possession of the opinions of the court of directors, as to what were the errors of the former system, in order to judge how India ought to be governed? Was it not of high importance that a declaration on this subject, signed by twenty-nine independent men out of the thirty appointed under an act of parliament for the direction of Indian affairs, should be in possession of the house, in order to its guidance on proceeding upon so important a topic? The affairs of India, both at home and abroad, had become extremely embarrassed, and those embarrassments might ultimately come home with claims upon that house. Without any feeling of private animosity to the marquis Wellesley, for the sake of truth and justice, he thought the paper moved for ought to be before the house; for this was a question upon which, as had been said upon a late glorious occasion, "England expects that every man should do his duty."

After a long and desultory debate, Mr Fox's motion was carried; but several other papers were afterwards ordered on the motion of Mr. Pole.

On the following day Mr. Paull rose, in pursuance of the notice which he had previously given. He should barely state the heads of the charges he meant to bring forward, and the manner in which he meant to proceed in following them up.—It might possibly be asked of him, why he had volunteered in this business? or why he had not left it to the discussion of the India directors themselves, to have instituted proceedings, as being the parties to whom that duty most properly belonged? To this he would answer, That finding the India directors, to some of whom he had applied on the subject, averse to urge any proceeding, he certainly did volunteer; and more especially in the case of the nabob of Ferruckabad, because he was intimately acquainted, from his own knowledge, with the whole of the circumstances, and therefore felt it his duty to bring the matter forward. Before he had determined so to do, he had applied to that body, whose treasures the noble marquis had so profusely squandered, whose orders he had so uniformly transgressed, and whose authority he had so totally disregarded; but they had declined the proceeding. Since he had given notice of his intention to bring forward the accusation, and evinced his determination to follow up his purpose, the court of directors were so sensible of the criminality of that noble lord, that they had drawn up an indictment against him, abounding with charges of the most criminal and flagitious nature, and in terms as strong as ever were submitted to the decision of a court of criminal judicature. For the manner in which the

charge was drawn up, he must beg leave to apologize, and to appeal to the indulgence of the house. He had much difficulty in obtaining the documents upon which the charges were founded. Scarcely known as he was to the house, and unaided by any support or influence that could tend to facilitate his purpose, he felt it equally difficult to shape his charges from such documents as he had been able to procure, not having applied for any professional aid upon the occasion. In the course he had adopted, he had endeavoured, to the best of his judgment, to found himself on the precedent of Mr. Hastings's case. The honourable member then proceeded to read from a written paper the several heads of charges against marquis Wellesley. The statement commenced with recapitulating the appointment of the noble marquis to the chief government of Bengal, about the middle of October 1797, as successor to marquis Cornwallis, and that he reached the seat of his government in May 1798, in which he continued until he was superseded by the marquis Cornwallis's reappointment to the government in August 1805; and that the said marquis Wellesley, though he was solemnly sworn to obey the instructions of his employers, and do every thing in his power, and to the best of his judgement, to promote and support their just and lawful interests in India; yet, instead of so doing, on his arrival in India he disregarded their authority, disobeyed their instructions, assumed to himself a despotic power, turned his back upon the true interests of the company, and did, without their permission, and contrary to their instructions, for the gratification of his own caprice, with the most flagitious profusion, and for corrupt purposes, squander the money of the said company to an enormous extent. The result of this was, that the debt of the company, which on the accession of the marquis Wellesley to the Indian government in 1798 stood at 11,033,648*l.*, was on his departure from that government in 1805 increased to above 31,000,000*l.* That, when marquis Wellesley first arrived in India, every part of the company's affairs wore an aspect of prosperity; it had, therefore, only remained for him to have acted with an ordinary vigilance, and to have followed the example and the system of his noble predecessor, the marquis Cornwallis. Instead of which, the said marquis Wellesley, by wantonly and profusely increasing the public expenditure, did not only squander all the ordinary means in his hands, but all the additional money he was able to raise by loans and additional taxes, supporting a wanton and profuse style of living, unparalleled in the case of any former chief governor of that country, insomuch that he was driven by his extravagance to attempt the selling of the imposts upon the lands of Bengal; and he so much embarrassed the finances and affairs of the company, as to endanger the loss of their territory. The statement next proceeded to recapitulate the contents of the letter received by the court of directors from the marquis Cornwallis, dated in August 1805, when sent out to India for the purpose of superseding marquis Wellesley; in which he gives a deplorable statement of the company's affairs, arising entirely from the profuseness of his predecessor, in squandering the resources of the company, one branch of which was his keeping up unnecessarily an army of irregular troops, at an enormous expense, which the marquis Cornwallis

Cornwallis found it absolutely necessary to disband, in order to avoid losing the means of defraying the charges indispensable for the maintenance of the regular army. Having gone through many other items on the letter of marquis Cornwallis, the statement next alluded to the war, that broke out in the month of March 1799, with Tippoo Sultan, which ended with the taking of Seringapatam and the death of that tyrant; that the consequence of that war was, that enormous sums of money were extorted by order of marquis Wellesley from the nabobs of Oude, Arcot, Ferruckabad, and some others: after which commenced the Mahratta war, in 1804, which was terminated in the course of the year; and so far from the expenses of those wars being the cause of those embarrassments of the company's affairs already stated, it appeared, from letters of lord Wellesley himself to the court of directors, that, by the treaty of Hyderabad, the annual revenues in the provinces that then became tributary increased their income above 544,000*l.* a-year. That, therefore, not wars, but the unexampled prodigality and wanton profusion of the marquis were the true causes of the embarrassment of the company's affairs; a profusion and extravagance engaged in with the most sinister, vicious, and corrupt views, and in defiance of the authority, and contempt of the orders, of his employers.—The embarrassment partly arose from new modelling the criminal courts of Bengal; from increasing wantonly and unnecessarily the number of their officers, and giving large salaries to his friends and favourites; in the expenditure of an enormous sum for the establishment of packets, and granting large salaries and sinecures to his followers (amongst which was the grant of 1500*l.* a-year to sir William Burroughs), amounting altogether to the sum of 1,300,000*l.*; the erection of a college at Fort William, without the authority of the company, which cost 181,689*l.*; an unnecessary journey of the noble marquis, in 1801, to the upper provinces, in which the most extravagant expenditure took place, one item of which was for 1100 boats, and the whole charge 80,000*l.* There was a charge also of 220,000*l.* for the erecting and fitting up a palace for the residence of the marquis, which was decorated in a style of splendour unparalleled even among eastern princes. There was a charge for a house and garden for the noble marquis at Bhurtpore, 15,000*l.* Besides all this, there was a charge for reviving a body-guard of cavalry, which had been put down by sir John Shore, who, on a principle of œconomy, was satisfied to be attended on state occasions by a party of the garrison, commanded by a captain: but marquis Wellesley resolved to revive this body, and to increase his own splendour; and it was maintained, for the first five years, at an annual expense of 40,800*l.*; and for the whole period, including for horses, accoutrements, and outfit, the sum of 240,000*l.* There was also a large sum advanced by the marquis for building a town-house for the citizens of Calcutta, the cost of which was afterwards to be reimbursed by them in such subscriptions as could be obtained within four years; a statue of lord Cornwallis was designed to be erected in the town-house; instead of which, it was thrown amongst the rubbish in the vaults under the building, and an expensive statue of

lord Wellesley erected in its place, —and this at a time when an arrear of five months pay was due to the troops. The next charge against him was, the appointment of his brother, the honourable Henry Wellesley, in 1801, to the government of Oude, with the title of governor and commander in chief, and at an expense, in thirteen months, of about 26,000*l.*, which exceeded the annual allowance of the company to the governor-general. He arbitrarily maintained in his own hands, to the exclusion of all authority or interference from the court, to the amount of 628,206*l.* per annum; and under the influence which such a patronage enabled him to exert, he procured addresses from every part of the country, in approbation of his justice, conduct, and services: and further, although the trade laws of the country strictly forbade him to accept any money from the people of the country, in consideration of his official authority, yet he received for the luxuries of the table, and other purposes of his own private gratification, no less a sum than 120,000*l.*; and while he was thus misapplying such enormous sums of the company's property to the most corrupt and profligate purposes, and for the maintenance of his household and establishment in the most gorgeous style of splendour and profusion; he was supporting those extravagancies by loans borrowed in the name of the company, nominally at an interest of 12*l.* per cent., but, from the manner in which they were raised, at a real interest of 16*l.* per cent. Throughout he had set at nought the authority of his employers, and acted in direct opposition to his instructions. Mr. Paull concluded his statement by saying, he had read it as part of his speech, and should now move that it be ordered to lie on the table.

Upon the suggestion of the speaker, he moved that the title of the charges be read by the clerk; which being done, he moved that the charges be printed; which was accordingly ordered.

Mr. Sheridan, however, in the course of the evening said, he should hereafter move that the order for printing be rescinded. This on the 23d he proceeded to perform, because it could not, in his mind, nor in the mind of any fair reflecting man, be consistent with justice, that a charge against that noble lord, or any other person, should be published to the world under the authority of that house, merely upon the allegation of guilt, unaccompanied by any proof whatever. The honourable gentleman had moved for volumes of papers respecting the conduct of the marquis of Wellesley, most of which were already on the table; yet he chose to overlook all these papers, and to bring forward the charge before the house, with regard to which, not one document was to be found on the table, or was ever moved for. This motion, after some debate, was put and carried.

Many other motions and consequent debates on this subject took place between this period and the 28th of May; when Mr. Paull presented his charge of high crimes and misdemeanours against the marquis Wellesley, on account of the transactions in Oude. Of this charge the following is a summary:—After the usual allegations, that marquis Wellesley had been governor-general of India, and captain-general of the forces, during a certain period, it went to

state

state that Oude was a territory of Bengal, equal in extent to England and Wales; that Lucknow, the capital, was equal in extent to London and Westminster; and that the population of the country was about six millions. That the nabob of Oude was a very considerable sovereign, having a military force of 30,000 foot and 15,000 horse, with a splendid retinue of men, elephants, and every thing in the highest style of eastern magnificence. That the principality of Oude, before the spoliation of the marquis Wellesley, abounded in valuable commodities and manufactures, and yielded a very large revenue. That the taxes there were collected after the Indian manner, the nabob employing some of the highest officers of his court, who employed the zemindars, who collected the tax from the ryots or peasants, who had nothing that could properly be called property, and to whom only the means of subsistence were left. The charge then proceeded to state the various treaties that had been concluded with the nabob of Oude. That in 1784 an act had been passed, asserting the impolicy of further conquests with a view to extend our dominions in India; and forbidding any future governor to engage in any hostilities with the native princes, except upon an attack on their part, without the knowledge and authority of the council and the directors, or to guaranty the territories of any prince, except he assisted in repelling an attack as above mentioned; and commanding that the earliest possible information should be given to the directors, and India board, of any hostilities which might unavoidably be commenced. That the act of 1773 provided that the council of Fort William, in Bengal, should be consulted, and its suggestions attended to, in the political transactions of India. That nevertheless marquis Wellesley did conceive the idea of encroaching upon the power of the nabob of Oude; of undermining his authority, and destroying his government; and, under foul and false pretences, of extorting from him his hereditary dominions; and had acted upon this idea both without the knowledge of the council, and without any communication with the government at home. That the means which the marquis Wellesley employed to accomplish his object were, unfounded complaints respecting the failure of the nabob in the payment of the instalments; applications to him to disband his troops; and various expedients to render the subjects of the said nabob disgusted with his government, and to encourage them to opposition and revolt; pouring troops into his territories, and thus causing an enormous expense; heaping demand upon demand, till the revenue of the principality was no longer adequate to satisfy them; and then forcing the nabob to give up one half of his territories: transactions so foul and wicked, that they brought disgrace upon the British name. And that for the purpose of carrying these schemes into execution, he had removed the former resident at the court of Lucknow, and appointed a Mr. Scott in his stead, who appeared more fit for his designs. That with respect to the payment of the instalments, the sum which the nabob had to pay had been augmented from 305,000*l.* to 950,000*l.*; that notwithstanding the difficulties to which he had been thus reduced, the nabob did nevertheless

theless punctually pay his instalments, and adhere to the stipulations of the treaty; and that the pretensions of the marquis Wellesley were false and unfounded, and only brought forward with a view to seize upon the territories of the said nabob, in defiance of justice and of the law, which marquis Wellesley ought to have obeyed. As to disbanding the troops; that the nabob had, by treaty, the full authority over his own troops, his household, and government. That though, in consequence of the difficulties of his situation, he was in arrears to the company, yet the secret committee were satisfied that he was fully disposed to pay, and that all causes of complaint would be removed. Yet that the said marquis Wellesley did, by means of the said William Scott, interfere in the household and internal concerns of the nabob, and propose such terms of reduction as would leave him no troops to command, no authority to exercise. That he sent large bodies of the company's troops into the territories of the nabob, who was then almost a prisoner in his own capital, to induce him to resign his authority, give up the whole administration and revenue of Oude, thus to disinherit his sons and his family for ever, and reside in any place where the governor-general might appoint. That the nabob, astonished at such an arrogant and unjust proposition, strenuously refused to accede to it. The charge then proceeded with the means which the marquis Wellesley had used, with the assistance of Mr. Scott, to render the nabob and his government odious to his subjects, by surreptitiously seizing upon propositions which the distress of his situation had compelled the nabob to make, and publishing them to the principal persons at Lucknow. It stated that fraudulent estimates had been given in of the expense of the troops, and that when the demand was made for payment, the nabob said, in the bitterness of his heart, that they deprived him of the means of collecting his revenue, and then demanded payment of money. That in consequence of this failure, marquis Wellesley, with the assistance of his brother, Henry Wellesley, seized upon the one-half of the nabob's territories, and employed every kind of menace to force him to give up the whole. That the nabob, after every means had been exhausted against him, and even his life put in danger, still refused the cession. That the marquis Wellesley augmented the revenue of the half which he had seized to double what it was before, and had deprived the husbandman even of themeans of existence,—so that the ryots rebelled,—and thus what was begun in injustice and oppression was finished in violence and murder. That the marquis Wellesley, in order to cut off all hopes of redress, always asserted, that in this conduct he was sanctioned by the British government; and thus he had brought disgrace and dishonour upon the British name. Mr. Paull concluded by observing, that a more important business than this had never come before the house. He movedtherefore that the charge should be printed.

Mr. W. Keene was glad the charge had been brought forward; but it must be remembered that the situation of princes in India did not resemble that of the European princes, whose territories were guarantied in order to preserve the balance of Europe. There was no power in India but the power of

the sword. The changes of governments, or of sovereigns, there, were not to be regarded with the same feelings as those which happened in Europe.

Mr. Francis said, he was afraid that it was too true there was no power in India but the power of the sword, and that was the British sword, and no other. These princes held their sovereignty in consequence of the dissolution of the Mogul empire ever since the year 1740. But whatever might be the original right of these princes, they had been acknowledged by us; to deprive them, therefore, of their territories was, in the first place, a violation of justice itself; and in the next place, an infringement of the orders of this house; and therefore he hoped we should go to the discussion of this question, with the conviction that the rights of the Indian princes were founded on justice, and the authority of this house.

Mr. Fox observed, that if the hon. gentleman thought that the Indian princes were not entitled, at our hands, to the same justice as other independent sovereigns, he hoped that the number in this house who agreed with him were but small. There was no proposition more universal than this, that you acknowledged the right of a sovereign with whom you treated. But if ever there was one case where the breach of treaty ought to occasion more indignation than in another, it was where there was no power but the power of the sword, especially in India, where, as has been stated, that sword was the British sword. If ever there could be a case where a breach of treaty could be defended, it was only in support of the weak against the strong. But in India the British ought to be bound by their compacts the more closely, the more it was in their power to break them. This he hoped and believed would be the general sentiment of the house. The charge was ordered to be printed.

Lord Temple on the 3d of June rose for the purpose of moving a specific day, for taking into consideration the charges of high crimes and misdemeanours against the marquis Wellesley, laid upon the table by an hon. member on the 28th of last month. He hoped it would not be necessary for him to preface his motion by observations to any great length. But as the hon. member who had brought forward those charges, had named no particular day for moving the house to their consideration—feeling as he did the nature and importance of those charges to be such as called for their full investigation with the least possible delay—he now rose for that purpose. Gentlemen who had looked into those charges, must have felt them to be of the most weighty nature. They directly imputed to lord Wellesley, not only every species of public delinquency that could brand the character of a public officer, but every charge of private depravity that could stain the personal reputation of an individual. He had no doubt that the hon. gentleman who brought forward those charges had done so under a self-persuasion of their truth, and a belief that he should be able to substantiate them in evidence. But the hon. gentleman must allow that, notwithstanding the strength of his own persuasion upon the subject, it was still possible the noble lord might possess a confidence in his own innocence, superior to every accusation of such

such a nature, and must feel extremely impatient for the opportunity of his own vindication, more especially when those charges included one of a nature more atrocious than all the rest, and such a one as called for the most immediate investigation, namely, the charge of a foul, deliberate, and cruel murther. In this charge was also included another person, not a member of either house of parliament, on whose account also much anxiety must be felt, though he had not the honour even of a slight personal acquaintance with him, namely, Mr. Henry Wellesley. But, from the nature of the charges altogether, and more especially the last, it became absolutely necessary that an early investigation should now take place. If the hon. gentleman had named any day for such an inquiry, it would not be his wish to take it out of his hands: for the present, however, he should move, "That the house do, on to-morrow fortnight, take into its consideration the charges of high crimes and misdemeanours, laid on their table, against Richard marquis Wellesley, on the 28th ult., concerning the affair of Oude."

Mr. Paull adverted to the precedent of Mr. Burke's proceedings against governor Hastings, and said, that that right hon. gentleman, after five years deliberation and repeated motions, had, upon the 4th April, 1786, laid on the table seven articles of charge against Mr. Hastings; on the 12th of April, he laid four more; and on the 7th of May, three more: and notwithstanding the right hon. gentleman had taken five years to deliberate upon his purpose; that he had the benefit of the reports of the secret committee, of various papers he moved for, and of evidence examined at the bar for the proof of his charges; yet it was not in less than six weeks afterwards, that he moved the house to any proceeding upon those charges. Now he had given notice only the preceding day that he had witnesses to examine, and had also moved for a number of papers, many of which were absolutely necessary in support of the charges alluded to by the noble lord. Let those witnesses be examined at the bar; let those papers be produced in proper time, and he should not have the smallest objection to proceed to the investigation on the day proposed. With respect to the charge of murther, alluded to by the noble lord, it was a general charge, and only mentioned amongst others, with a hope that, upon substantiating the preceding charges, he would be allowed to bring a supplementary charge upon that distinct head; and he would be ready to go into the proofs upon that point the next day, if the others were gone through.

Lord Archibald Hamilton could not let pass some expressions which had fallen from the noble lord, without making some observations upon them. The noble lord had complained that the charges of the hon. gentleman went to impeach the private character of lord Wellesley for acts merely of public and official conduct, and that he had applied to the noble marquis personally every atrocious epithet of tyranny, cruelty, oppression, plunder, and even of murther, for acts done in his public and official situation. But he must conceive it impossible, that such could have been the purpose of the hon. gentleman; and as to the charge of murther, he did not conceive it to be put by the hon. gentleman in

the way it was imputed. But really, if in bringing forward charges such as those now on the table of the house, and every tittle of which his lordship conceived to be warranted by the documents already brought forward in support of them, a member was to be restrained in the use of such language and such epithets as were usual in expressing opinions, extremely natural to his feelings, upon such circumstances as those charged, lest the private character of the party accused should be supposed to be implicated in his public conduct, it would be impossible for any man to devise a becoming language for bringing before that house criminal charges against public delinquency in any man.

Sir John Newport expressed some surprise, how the noble lord who spoke last, if he had read the charges upon the table, could so far mistake that particular charge which related to murther, as to say the crime was not roundly and specifically charged against the noble marquis, in conjunction with others. The hon. baronet here read an extract from the charge, which stated, that the said marquis, in conjunction with Richard Wellesley, had, with numbers of armed men, surrounded the mansions of certain zemindars and rajahs, the subjects of the nabob of Oude, and within his dominions; and did attack, slay, and destroy several of the rajah's said zemindars, and their attendants and adherents, and did sack and plunder their said mansions of their property; thus completing the measure of his oppression and tyranny, by a foul, deliberate, wanton, and cruel murther. If this, then, was not a charge of murther, couched in as strong words as had ever appeared in the language of an indictment, he was at a loss to conceive what words could describe it more strongly.

Sir Arthur Wellesley rose, to express some surprise at the declaration made by the noble lord who spoke last but one; namely, that he thought the charges against the noble marquis, his relation, borne out by the documents already laid upon the table; and more especially, as the noble lord's hon. friend (Mr. Paull) had said, only the moment before, that he could not sustain those charges without several other documents which he had moved for; and also the examination of several witnesses at the bar. It was very extraordinary, therefore, that the noble lord should pronounce so decidedly upon the truth of charges (which however remained to be proved), that his hon. friend who brought them forward declared he was not able to sustain without much more evidence. With respect to the charge of murther, however, it was one of too foul and atrocious a nature to be suffered to go forth unexplained, or remain as a stain upon the character of his noble relation, without placing the circumstances upon which it was founded in a proper point of view. There were certain officers, called zemindars and rajahs, resident in that part of the nabob's territory which was ceded to the company in 1801, and rendered liable to pay certain tributes, in the way of land-tax, upon that territory annually to the company. The first year's tribute they did pay, he believed, regularly; and the regulations of the company, which were the laws of the country, were promulgated and established in that territory; but upon the second payment being required, instead of complying with the law, they

they combined to resist it: they assembled together their armed forces under the chief command of an officer named Amas Ali Khan; they retired to their forts; they set the laws at defiance; they refused to pay any tribute; and it was found necessary by the governor-general, in support of the laws, to reduce those men by force. So formidable were they, that it required the whole of the Bengal army, with the commander in chief at their head, to effect this service. They were attacked in their forts, and in the course of their obstinate resistance some persons fell; some blood was spilt; and this was what the hon. gentleman imputed to the noble marquis as a murther. It was an act of public power done in support of the laws of the country, like what would have been done against any class of British subjects in similar resistance to the laws passed by that house; and the house would judge how far it was just to describe such a measure by the epithet of murther.

Lord Temple's motion was, after some other conversation, put and carried. The charges were at length brought, and several witnesses were on different points examined, and here the business ended. The only subject remaining for us to notice on Indian affairs, was that of the East India annual accounts, which, on the 10th of July were referred to a committee of the whole house: when

Lord Morpeth observed, that the present was a subject which, he conceived, must at all times involve considerations of the highest importance, and at no time more so than at the present moment, when every thing connected with India was, from peculiar circumstances, more than commonly interesting. The financial system, as the vital principle which animated the whole, was therefore at present entitled to particular attention. He should endeavour to make the house as fully acquainted on this subject as he could, by submitting to them the leading features of the accounts on the table, by which the situation of the company's affairs, both home and foreign, the revenue and expenditure, debts and assets for the last three years, might be compared with the three years preceding; and the general result might be easily drawn, and the debt of the company at the latest period to which it could be made up, and the rates of interest payable on it, both at home and in India, would at once be seen. His lordship then went over the results of the different accounts; which having finished, he said, he did not think he went too far, when he said, that, in his opinion, the deficiency or excess charge could not be taken at less than 3,000,000*l.* The debts bearing interest in India he was aware there might be danger of having called in, though the directors had the power of protracting the payment for some time. Should this be the case, some extraordinary means might be necessary to be resorted to; but of this there was no immediate appearance. It might be expected that he should be able to give some account of the measures proposed to be adopted, for reducing the expenditure in India. It was well known that government had lately been pretty much employed in devising measures of reform in the public expenditure; but it was deemed more expedient to wait till it was seen how far any schemes of the kind were practicable, before they should be gone into as to India.

dia. It would be the duty of the commissioners for Indian affairs, to call the attention of parliament to this subject, at as early a period as possible. It was not his intention to trouble the committee on the subject of the treaties with Scindia or Holkar, nor did he think himself even called on to give any opinion on that subject. He knew it was the opinion of others, that these treaties were honourable to the British character, and calculated to preserve pacific dispositions in India. On the whole, though he admitted that the financial department in India did not wear the most cheerful aspect, and although he would be the last person in the world to raise sanguine hopes which were not likely to be realised, still he thought it would be wrong to give any sanction to unmanly despondency. Our resources in the east were great, and, by proper management and œconomy, might still be brought to answer our highest expectations. He did not speak of that œconomy which would teach us to withhold a reward from merit, or to retrench in the becoming grandeur of the executive government—œconomy which only tended to defeat the objects which it had in view—but that œconomy which would teach us to act on principles of moderation, justice and equity. His lordship concluded by moving his first resolution, showing the revenue of the company for the years 1802-3-4. On the question being put,

Mr. Johnstone expressed the high satisfaction which he felt at the fair and candid manner in which the noble lord had made his statement. In looking at the accounts, which were as full and distinct as could well be expected, he could not help remarking, that though the period to which they applied was a period of war, a great part of the increase was for civil charges. In the first year there was an increase of 65,000*l.* in the civil department above the year preceding; in the second year, an increase of 96,000*l.*; and in the third year, an increase of 123,000*l.*: and he thought, without withholding any due reward from meritorious services to the company, the expenses in the civil establishment might be greatly reduced. He hoped, with the noble lord, that we should always observe moderation and good faith in our conduct with the neighbouring states: but what concern that could have in diminishing our expenses, he could not conceive; and as to splendour in the representation of the executive government being necessary in India, that he denied. It might be necessary in Europe; but in India, so far from contributing to the stability our government, it would rather tend to degrade it into a copy of the native governments of the country. As to the treaties being subject to be differently regarded by different persons, surely the noble lord did not mean this as a censure. He, for one, at least, and he knew the East India company, regarded them in a very different light. If they renounced territory which we held, they renounced what it was not proper we should possess. The honourable person who concluded those treaties was, unquestionably, the most proper hand to have carried his own plans into execution. Under that feeling, the honourable member could not help remarking on the circumstances under which he had been recalled, to which he begged leave to call the attention of the committee and of the country.

Immediately

Immediately after the news of lord Cornwallis's death reached this country, on the 26th of February, ministers recommended to the court of directors to confirm sir G. Barlow as governor-general of India. In twelve days thereafter, however, namely on the 8th of March, they tell them that it is necessary he should be recalled. The directors are then desired to appoint a certain nobleman in his room, which on the 24th of May they refuse to do by a majority of twelve to four; and on the 28th ministers proceed to vacate the office by the intervention of the sign manual. What had since occurred it was not necessary for him to state; but it had been seen that yesterday another lord had been sworn into the office. He admitted that, by the letter of the law, ministers, were warranted in recommending to his majesty such an exercise of the prerogative, but contended it was a discretion which was meant to be exercised only in extreme cases, and could be only compared to that extraordinary prerogative by which his majesty might dismiss a military officer. As a proof of this, it had never been exercised, except on the present occasion, for the 24 years it had existed. He contended there never was an exercise of a prerogative more unjust and more wanton. He proceeded to consider the different reasons which had been assigned for this step, for which he argued that not only no necessity had been shown, but that it was unwise and impolitic. Holkar had territories to be restored to him at the distance of eighteen months; and it must have been infinitely more satisfactory to the other contracting party, if the same person who concluded the treaty with him had been allowed to carry it into complete effect.

Lord Henry Petty replied to the observations of the honourable gentleman, who had not, he presumed to say, read the act of 1784 with attention, or he would have seen that the interpretation which he and others attempted to put upon it was unfounded. For in the same clause in which the power of recalling a governor was vested in the directors, it was also vested in his majesty and council; but this seemed to have been overlooked by the honourable member, who condemned the exercise of a power which was necessary to maintain the pre-eminence of the present state. That honourable member would have a dependent state governed without being subject to control, and yet his brain was unwilling to admit paradoxes. It was asserted by the honourable member that this power of recall was quite new and extraordinary, and that it never had been exercised before since 1784; but it seemed to be forgotten, that the same power had been before exercised by the directors. Yet it excited no complaint. But when his majesty ventured to use his undoubted prerogative, some gentlemen appeared to be anxious to raise a clamour against it, and truly because ministers thought proper to appoint a man of their own choice. But was any thing more natural than that the administration of the sovereign's government should choose a governor for any of the dependencies, in whom they could confide? Were they not by the statute of 1784 armed with that power? and did not their duty call upon them for the exercise of it? They were as responsible for the government of India, as for that of Ireland;

Ireland; and it would be as just to interfere with their appointment of a viceroy for the one, as with that of a governor for the other. The governor whose appointment had just taken place for India would, he was persuaded, afford general satisfaction, and this persuasion rested upon the belief that the noble lord would carry out with him to India those principles of moderation, economy, and a strict adherence to treaties, which the house had heard so distinctly laid down by his noble friend who opened the debate, and which formed the firmest basis of every good government.

Lord Castlereagh maintained, that the tendency of the revenues of India was to augment in the manner and proportion which he had described to the house, and that his predictions were falsified by events upon which it was impossible for any man to calculate, namely, by wars which he had not in his contemplation when he made the statement to which the noble lord on the treasury-bench referred. The noble lord vindicated the grounds upon which the late war in India was commenced, the manner in which it was conducted by marquis Wellesley, and also the terms upon which it was concluded by sir G. Barlow. The removal of this deserving individual from the government of India, the noble lord condemned in the most unqualified terms.

Mr. Francis considered the India debt as not less than thirty-one millions sterling, and the annual deficiency to be 2,655,957*l.* although there was a territorial revenue of fourteen millions. Even on the sales in England from which the dividends were discharged, there appeared to be a loss of 418,540*l.* Then what was called the stock account exhibited at one view the true state of the affairs of the company; and what was the true state of this account? All they took credit for was 6,181,000*l.* and yet even this was fallacious; for out of this amount was not deducted the capital, which in every mercantile statement must be considered, and when that was subtracted, there was, in truth, a balance against them of from three to four millions. Again, they claimed upon government 4,460,000*l.* which was a manifest excess on the just demand of 2,000,000*l.* In a very short time there would be become due from the company in England 17,500,000*l.*, and what were the measures to be taken to meet this exigency, he was totally at a loss to conjecture.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, after having adverted to a variety of political subjects that had been touched on by other members, proceeded in a most elaborate speech to consider the financial state of India, the object of which was to show: (1) the real situation in which the finances of India will be in time of peace: (2) the real state of the India debt in April 1805, at the close of lord Wellesley's government, and in April 1806: and (3) to compare the debt with the assets, and shew in what manner it had been incurred. From the documents which were before the house, and to which he referred in proof of his several positions, he assumed that the total increase of revenues during lord Wellesley's administration, in different parts of India, was - - - - - 5,608,239*l.*

The revenues having been, in 1798 - - 8,059,880*l.*

And those estimated in future - - - - 13,668,119*l.*

The honourable member declared that notwithstanding the large amount of the debt, and the embarrassments occasioned in India, at different times, by the great demands for various services which were in progress, the company's credit had been improving from the moment of lord Wellesley's arrival in India to the moment of his departure. The general commerce of the country, he observed, is equally improved with the revenue. It appears by the public documents before the house of commons, that the commerce of India is able to supply the China market so effectually, as nearly to preclude the necessity of sending bullion to China; and that large sums in specie are now imported into India from that country.

After the view which I have taken, added the honourable member, of the general situation of the affairs of the East India company, I hope that it will be found, that their debt, although large, and certainly pressing in a very great degree upon their prosperity, and upon the attention of those who have the management of their affairs, is not of a magnitude to create any danger; that it appears there are means of reducing it at no very great distance of time, to a moderate amount; and that under the auspices of the noble lord (Morpeth), by a just system of economy which he has recommended, and by reverting to the system and scale of establishments fixed in 1802-3, with such augmentations as the change of affairs has rendered necessary, the revenues of that great empire will be found to afford ample means of restoring the finances.

After a short conversation the debate was adjourned to a future day; when it was resumed, and the resolutions moved by lord Morpeth were carried.

CHAPTER. VIII.

Funeral of Lord Nelson—Illness of Mr. Pitt—His Death—View of his Administration—Accession of Mr. Fox to Power—List of the New Administration—Peace of Presburg—Transfers of Sovereignty—Coronation of a Daughter of the King of England by Bonaparte—Advantage of the Treaty to France—Its Depression of Austria—Denunciation against Naples—Siege of Gaeta—Insurrection in Calabria—Military Tribunals there—Public Entry of Joseph Bonaparte into Naples as its Sovereign—Continuance of Atrocities in Calabria—Landing of the British Troops under Sir John Stuart—Victory of Maida—Withdrawing of the British Forces—Surrender of Gaeta—Termination of the Neapolitan War—Successes of the British Navy—Victory of Sir J. Duckworth—Engagement in the Bay of Campeachy—of the Pique Frigate and two Corvettes—of the Constance and Salamander—Enterprise of Sir Sydney Smith—of Lord Cochrane—Capture of the Marengo and Belle Poule—of four Frigates off Rochefort—Expedition to the Cape—Taking of Buenos Ayres.

THE "transcendent and heroic services" of lord Nelson, whose life was a continued career of glory concluding with the most brilliant of all naval achievements, having procured a vote of parliament

ment for bestowing public funeral honours on his remains, the procession for this purpose took place in the commencement of the present year. The spectacle was calculated at once to gratify the eye and to impress the heart. The hero was attended by heroes to his grave: accompanied by the seven sons of his sovereign, the chief nobility and gentry of the kingdom, detachments of various corps of volunteers, and immense multitudes of all classes of the community, testifying in the most striking manner gratitude for his services and regret for their loss. This grand consecration of valour and patriotism was worthy of the departed commander and of the commemorating nation. The expense which it occasioned was in fact an economical and effectual encouragement of high honour and the thirst of renown; and independently of the circumstance that such ceremonies on similar occasions appear requisite to satisfy the public sensibilities, and veil in some degree the infirmities of mortality, they may well be regarded as among the most efficient means of the defence and glory of empires.

The funeral of lord Nelson was very speedily followed by the death of Mr. Pitt. The strains of panegyric and invective which were heard on this event, in every quarter, united at least in attesting that no common character had left the world. Impartial and authentic history will at length succeed to the strife of tongues. His accessibility and industry are universally admitted. His eye was ever vigilant for the public interest, and he was incessant in the labours and duties of his office. His personal administration was free from the least taint of corruption, and his poverty, which might be referred by many to a culpable remissness or profusion, will be regarded by others as an evidence of his being above seeking power as an instrument of pecuniary emolument. His talents as an orator were of the very first description, and rendered him in every debate the boast of his friends, the admiration of his opponents, and the delight of all who could dismiss from their minds political prejudices or attachments. His voice was commanding and agreeable, his utterance in the precise medium between slowness and rapidity: to these qualities were added a luminousness of method and an uninterrupted flow of the most correct and elegant diction. Whether in the opening speech, the comprehensive reply, or the casual explanation, there were in his address a pertinence, dignity, and fluency, which rendered him always great and always impressive. The partisans of the late premier will naturally observe, that in the first period of Mr. Pitt's administration he was successfully employed in repairing the evils of the American war; in establishing and extending our commerce; in arranging our system of revenue laws; in reducing the political power of the East India company at home, and confirming its authority abroad; in maturing that plan for the liquidation of the public debt, which if adhered to must preclude the possibility of bankruptcy, and obtain the professed object of finally extinguishing its burden. The regulation of the mails, trifling as the circumstance may seem, contributed most eminently to mercantile and national convenience. The liberty of the subject received improvement from the law of libel,

passed if not immediately under his auspices, with his most express and decided approbation; and the rights of the people were supported by him in the discussions on the regency. They will remark, that the latter period of his ministry was a period of extreme turbulence and difficulty: that, when the principles of anarchy were kindled on the continent of Europe, and threatened to involve in one scene of ruin the institutions of civilized society, he exerted his mighty energies to oppose their spread: that he cut off the communication between this country and France, from which many returned tainted by the fanaticism of liberty, and zealous to make proselytes of thousands who were here but too ready to be converted. They ask with a tone of triumph, Who quelled the hydra of faction? Who prevented the successful organization of treason? Who guarantied this happy nation from the Marats and the Robespierres, from the committees of public safety, the bloody palaces, the republican marriages, the indefatigable guillotines, and the areas of carnage, of revolutionary France? Who, but that illustrious and immortal man, whose measures of security were decried as so many steps to ruin; who withdrew indeed for a time a portion of our liberties to prevent the subversion of all, and who in the most critical navigation, steered the vessel of the state with a steadiness and skill equalled only by its unprecedented danger. They add that he enlightened the nation on the subject of their political rights and duties, and instead of depriving the English people of their liberties, at length put arms into their hands to effect the preservation of them. He it was who advanced the glory of our navy to a pre-eminence of splendour unapproached in the records of nations, and who in the midst of a harassing and destructive war checked the rebellion raging in our sister kingdom, and consolidated for ever the strength of Great Britain and Ireland, by that union which must be considered as a master-piece of policy. It would ill become us to pass the limits of sobriety, and adopt that style of eulogium which would exclude all spots and failures from the subject of it. Unrestrained panegyric is often more injurious than calumnious censure, and those who admit of no faults and those who will allow no palliation are equally and highly injudicious. The deficiency, not in success, which the best plans cannot command, but in the plans themselves which attended several of Mr. Pitt's military enterprises; the high tone in which he vindicated the landing of foreign troops without the consent of parliament; the Spanish and Russian armaments, which exposed the nation to great burdens for frivolous causes, and had nearly interrupted by the horrors of war his schemes for national prosperity, together with that profuse expenditure of public money which was too certainly characteristic of his government, may perhaps justly be imputed as blemishes to his administration. After these deductions, to which undoubtedly others might be added, enough will remain to do credit to his patriotism, integrity and talents, and particularly that striking fact which might redeem a thousand political errors that amidst the convulsions of the continent and the threatened disorganization of civil society, the British nation has retained the constitution

constitution which our ancestors purchased with their blood, and that we have escaped from the crisis, a free, a prosperous, and a happy people.

The associates of Mr. Pitt in office, although several of them men of talents and business, felt his death the signal of the termination of their political power, and the way was now open for Mr. Fox's return to office, after one of the longest intervals of active and determined opposition which the history of the country records. His union with the Grenville party, which had existed almost ever since their retirement from office, appeared intimate and cordial; and although it had obliged him somewhat to lower the tone of his parliamentary hostility, and, in deference to his new associates, to touch lightly on various plans and measures in the suggestion or support of which the Grenvilles had taken an important part with Mr. Pitt, it was to him an acquisition of strength and talents, and indeed was of eminent mutual policy and advantage. Lord Grenville was commissioned by the king to make the necessary arrangements for a new administration, an appointment which gave general satisfaction. His high honour, his family connections, and his distinguished talents well qualified him to execute the trust reposed in him. Those who had viewed with some degree of apprehension the popular politics of Mr. Fox, were particularly pleased at the idea that any unfavourable tendency which might arise from them in the new character, which it was not doubted he would now fill, would meet with a counteraction in the circumspect policy of his colleagues in office. The completion of the new arrangements was a work of great difficulty. Difficulties however and, if such there were, dissensions having at length vanished, the names of the new ministers were announced in the Gazette. The cabinet ministers, eleven in number, consisted of lords Erskine, Grenville, Spencer, Fitzwilliam, Moira, Sidmouth and Ellenborough, lord Henry Petty, Mr. Fox, Mr. Windham and Mr. Grey. Lord Grenville succeeded Mr. Pitt as first lord of the treasury; and lord Henry Petty as chancellor of the exchequer. Earl Fitzwilliam was made president of the council in the room of lord Camden, and viscount Sidmouth lord privy seal, in the room of the earl of Westmoreland. Mr. Fox became secretary of the foreign office, which had been held by lord Mulgrave; general Fitzpatrick followed Mr. William Dundas as secretary of war; and Mr. Windham lord Castlereagh, in the department of war and colonies; while in the home department lord Hawkesbury was succeeded by earl Spencer. Mr. Erskine, now made a baron by the title of lord Erskine, was presented with the great seal of England, which had been held by lord Eldon. Mr. Grey was appointed first lord of the admiralty, over which lord Barham had last presided. The mastership of the ordnance, last in the possession of the earl of Chatham, was conferred on lord Moira. Mr. Sheridan succeeded Mr. Canning as treasurer of the navy; and the duke of Bedford lord Hardwicke, in the government of Ireland. Earl St. Vincent, with powers of a very superior and comprehensive description, was appointed to the

command of the channel fleet. Lords Minto and Auckland presided respectively over the boards of control and trade.

This list presented an assemblage of whatever is held by men in extraordinary regard. To rank and immense property were added an uncommon share of wit, taste, learning, and genius; a knowledge of the human mind, sought not merely in the recesses of the closet but in the varied scenes of European society. The eloquence of several of them was of a very brilliant and powerful order, and was inferior only to Mr. Pitt's. Their acquaintance with business was the result of long experience in the duties of office, or of unceasing vigilance and keen inquiry into the measures of the executive power for a series of twenty years. They possessed an attachment to popular rights mingled in the mass by a due veneration for ancient institutions, associating a wish to preserve, with the spirit of improvements. Sentiments of high honour were blended with those of conciliation and humanity: and in a period of such exigence the public were somewhat consoled for the loss they had so recently experienced, and looked with confidence to the new administration for the settlement of peace with honour, or the continuance of hostilities with glory.

From the papers laid before parliament relating to the coalition it appears that, whatever might be the merits or demerits of the general plan of the allies, those who were intrusted with the execution of it seem justly chargeable with something little less than absolute infatuation. Those who had flattered themselves with the hope of seeing an effectual stop put to the usurpation of France were completely disappointed. In the note of sir A. Paget on the causes of the inauspicious commencement of the campaign, which indeed was decisive, and speedily so, of its final event, he lays extreme stress on the Austrian general taking the field in Germany, which was ascertained rather than Italy to be intended being made by the French emperor the most important scene of military operation over which he designed to preside in person, with too small a force, and pressing into Swabia instead of remaining in Bavaria. Indeed, the circumstance of commencing operations before the arrival of the first division of Russians, as no important object was to be secured by it, seemed to evince a disposition or rather determination to engage single-handed, with the imminent danger of defeat, rather than wait for that reinforcement, which, as it was destined, so it might be supposed able, to ensure victory. Though the Austrian general was conscious of extreme inferiority to the enemy, he pushed forward as far as the Iller, and remained in that situation in the midst of extreme peril, which could be avoided only by retreat; while the archduke Charles, to oppose Massena who had only about seventy thousand men, was at the head of one hundred and ten thousand, yet availed not himself of this advantage; to these circumstances is ascribed by sir Arthur the unpropitious or rather fatal opening of military operations. And surely such an application of means to ends, such injudicious and miserable combinations, might well excite the satirical remarks of their successful enemy,

enemy, who from his thirst of military glory, his unrivalled skill and brilliant achievements, may easily be supposed chagrined that the facility of his success should so detract from its splendour, and that he had not an adversary to contend with, over whom a victory would have better merited the name of a triumph. The alienation between the Austrian commanders is mentioned in the same dispatch, as existing to the highest degree of disgust and antipathy. This circumstance is stated as probably having prevented, on the part of general Mack, the application for reinforcements, which could well have been spared from the Italian army, and were absolutely necessary, and would perhaps have been decidedly effectual in supporting that plan of operations which Mack had adopted. The latter however can by no means be vindicated in taking the measures he did without the arrival of the requisite additions to his force, whether from the archduke or the first Russian division: and the appointment of two officers to the command of armies, engaged in a conflict for the order and happiness of political society and for the individual existence of their country, who instead of cordial esteem felt for each other only the most decided hatred, cannot be too strongly censured. The neglect of the garrison of Memmingen to join general Jellachich on his way to the Tyrol, whither he had most unaccountably been detached by general Mack, with fifteen battalions, after the junction of Bonaparte with the divisions of Marmont and Bernadotte; the neglect to burn the bridge of Vienna, which would have impeded the progress of the French for several days, a period often of decisive consequence in the operations of war, are also among the singular and unfortunate circumstances of this deplorable campaign. But the contest was in fact between vigour and weakness, which can never be of long duration whether in the cabinet or in the field: an armistice therefore soon took place which did not long precede pacification; and on the 27th of December the treaty of Presburg was signed by the plenipotentiaries of France and Austria.

By this act Austria acknowledges the annexation of Genoa to France, and the complete sovereignty of all the territories beyond the Alps which France had incorporated before the present treaty; and the city and territory of Venice, which Austria had gained by the treaties of Campo Formio and Luneville, are united for ever to the kingdom of Italy. In Germany, the elector of Bavaria and the duke of Wurtemburg are acknowledged as kings by the Austrian emperor, from whom Bavaria receives all the margraviate of Burgau and its dependencies, the principality of Eichstadt in Franconia, and that part of the territory of Passau belonging to the elector of Saltsburg, brother to the emperor, situated between Bohemia, Austria, the Danube and the Inn. Bavaria obtains, besides, the country of the Tyrol, comprehending the principalities of Brixen and Botzen, the seven lordships of the Voralberg with their dependencies, the county of Hoenembs near the lake of Constance, the county of Koningsegg bordering on the Tyrol, Rottensells on the Main; the lordships of Tettnany and Argen on the lake of Constance, and the town and territory of Lindau situated on two islands of that lake. The

five Danube towns in Swabia, known by that general designation, with their dependencies, are given to the king of Wurtemburg; and that part of the Austrian Brisgau to the east of the territory of Baden with several towns and territories in the Black Forest. To the elector of Baden is ceded the city of Constance, with that part of the Brisgau not appropriated as before mentioned, with the Ortenau and their dependencies. Austria engages to give no interruption to the occupation of Augsburg and its territory by the king of Bavaria; and of the country of Borndorff belonging to the abbey of St. Blaize by the king of Wurtemburg. In return for these cessions and recognitions the emperor of Germany and Austria acquires the county of Saltzburg and Berchtolsgaden, belonging to the archduke Ferdinand, his brother; who is to receive in consideration thereof the principality of Wurtzburg, with the electoral title transferred to it, and a promise of every effort for full and complete indemnity in Germany. He is also to enjoy the right of appointing to the dignity of grand master of the Teutonic order any prince of his family, in whose male descendants the honour shall be hereditary, together will all the revenues and domains of the order. The independence of the Helvetic and the Batavian republics is guaranteed, and Bonaparte is acknowledged king of Italy, with the express provision, that beyond a certain period, limited in his original declaration on assuming the dominion of that country, the crowns of Italy and France shall be for ever separated.

The facility with which towns, cities and territories are thus transferred from one government to another, is a circumstance in this treaty which cannot but attract attention. The practice, it is true, has no claim in this instance to originality, and has ever occurred in the history of conquerors: in few cases, however, has it been carried to a greater extent than in the present. Like common moveable property, societies of human beings have been bartered away from one proprietor to another; sensible from this circumstance, probably, only of an exchange of yokes, still bound to toil for arrogant and unfeeling masters, and bend the knee to those by whom they are oppressed and despised. Mortifying, it must be undoubtedly to the friends of humanity to observe such instances of degradation, yet the arrangements adverted to may in some cases be attended with advantage: the superstitious feelings associated with submission to certain dynasties for a long series of years will be thus impaired, and gleams of civil rights and manly dignity will pervade the gloom in which intellect and energy have been so long involved. Among the changes of title referred to in this important document, and ratified by it, one circumstance, particularly, is a point of curiosity although not of moment. This is the elevation of the daughter of the king of England to a crown at the hands of Bonaparte. Among many causes of surprise which have occurred within a few years, this is not one of the least striking. The progress from small beginnings to great results, from obscurity to splendour, has rarely if ever been more effectually illustrated than by this extraordinary man, who having a few years since solicited in vain admission into the armies of England, has now attained that eminence of power in

in which he can dispose of sceptres without interruption, and has in this instance crowned the daughter of a monarch whom he formerly requested to serve as an ensign.

The events of the campaign thus enabling him to dispose of principalities and kingdoms, Bonaparte, by the treaty of Presburg, has drawn around a considerable part of the frontiers of France, a cordon of feudatory sovereigns, who owe their elevation to his power, and are bound by gratitude and policy to his service; possessing too much collision of interest, in almost any supposable case, to combine in opposition to him, and exhibiting a mighty bulwark to break the attack of any formidable power which might be disposed or able on that side to give her molestation. His kingdom of Italy derived also, from this treaty, advantage, in territory and population, of the highest consequence, and by which he may be considered as having strengthened his iron crown with bands of steel. But, beneficial as the treaty most certainly was to Bonaparte, by these and other arragements, and triumphant as it must be admitted to have been both for the French emperor and nation, in the same proportion must we deplore the humiliation of Austria. Her losses were deplorable, if not absolutely irreparable. Her influence in the affairs of Germany was almost annihilated with her authority; and although the title of emperor of that country was permitted to remain by the treaty of Presburg, that of emperor of China would have been almost equally appropriate. Her splendid dependents, her mitred ecclesiastics, and long catalogue of princes, which formed the minor stars of her imperial constellation, were many of them for ever extinguished; and with impaired and almost destroyed influence in the west of Europe, influence which it appeared scarcely possible she should ever regain, she seemed by this treaty retrograde from the world of civilization, and likely to be shut out from all those political concerns of it, in which she had borne so commanding and pre-eminent a part for a succession of ages.

The consequences of Bonaparte's successes against Austria, were particularly unfortunate for the kingdom, or at least the government, of Naples. The government of that country had but recently entered into a treaty of peace and amity with that of France; and the permission of the Anglo-Russian army to embark at Naples with unequivocal intentions to act against the French, was considered by Bonaparte as a perfidy deserving of the severest punishment. His resolution was taken to punish so flagrant a violation of good faith, and Massena was appointed to carry his resolve into execution; but he was afterwards superseded in the principal command by the emperor's brother Joseph. The army marched in three divisions; the right commanded by general Regnier, which proceeded by Gaeta, the centre by Massena, through Capua, while the left advanced through Istria, under general Lacy. Capua was invested on the 12th of February, and on the 13th a deputation from the city waited on the prince, and signed the surrender of Gaeta, Capua, Peschari, Naples and the other forts. But it afterwards appeared that, whatever the above-mentioned deputation might sign, Gaeta was in fact very far from having surrendered; and that the prince

prince of Hesse Philipstahl, having been summoned by general Regnier to capitulate, answered with becoming firmness that he intended to justify the king's confidence in him. This fortress is situated in the gulf of Gaeta; and although called an insignificant fortress by the enemy, they found it necessary at length to carry on their siege of it by accumulating their forces before it as much as possible. The activity of the governor was most distinguished. With slight intervals of rest and refreshment he was busy in the fortifications night and day, and by his exhortations and example stimulated his troops to sustain the pressure of their situation with heroism. He kept up so smart a fire on the besiegers that immense numbers of them were destroyed. Although his garrison consisted of little more than 1600 regulars, he made a sortie for the purpose of demolishing the works which had been carried on by the enemy under the fortifications. The valour with which the place was defended, and the advantages which were obtained by it over the besieging army, excited in a considerable degree the attention and admiration of Europe, and a hundred pieces of cannon with five mortars were at length brought to bear on a fortress which had so completely baffled the hope of an immediate surrender, and by detaining before it a very large part of the enemy's forces delayed the reduction of the kingdom: for the spirit which animated the governor and troops at Gaeta was by no means confined to that fortress. Even within the city of Naples evidences of disgust, or, as is was styled on the part of the new government, rebellion, began to manifest themselves, and the population of Calabria became at length fully agitated by such a hostile spirit, as led unorganized masses of peasantry to oppose the disciplined force of the conquerors of Europe. The ardour of patriotism was mingled with the thirst of vengeance. The first instances of opposition from insurgents had been punished with inexorable severity. These violent inflictions animated the spirit of opposition in the Calabrians, and increased the deadliness of their hatred. Mutual exasperations gradually led to the establishment, by the French, of military commissions at Naples and throughout the country; the constitution of which, wherever they were thought expedient, was intrusted to Massena, a man whose feelings never warred against his interest, and whose long apprenticeship to the trade of carnage, together with an original fierceness of character, rendered him a secure deposit for any bloody instructions. The proceedings of these commissions were marked by all the horrors of banishment, pillage, and summary execution, which could gratify barbarity or avarice. The kingdom of Naples, which, in the dispatches published by the Parisians, was stated to be tranquilly enjoying the bounties and blessings of the new government, and to be animated in return with the most cordial regard, was a great part of it become a scene of rapine, massacre, and devastation. The triumphant entrance of Joseph Bonaparte into his capital, to take upon himself the sovereignty of the kingdom, to which he had been appointed by his brother to the extinction of the recent dynasty, was attended by those acclamations and addresses which can always be procured by power, and will ever impose upon simplicity.

simplicity. But these external demonstrations of joy could ill conceal the real situation of his new acquisition. The invader and the patriot were still, in some parts, in determined and active hostility. The feelings of the different parties had attained the paroxysm of rage. Military tyranny, mortified and incensed at the resistance of an enemy which it despised, gave free scope to its fury in all those excesses which it has been the pride of modern warfare to have mitigated. The brave Calabrians, maddened by the infliction of such horrors on men whose crime consisted only in the defence of their country, resolved if possible to outdo them in retaliation. The disposition to an exterminating contest appeared mutual. The excess of resentment seemed to destroy every relenting of humanity, and in the weaker party all regard to the chances against their success. Impulse superseded calculation; passion imparted energy to weakness, and the want of discipline often seemed supplied by the phrensy of revenge.

This extremely unequal opposition was viewed by many with the most painful feelings of regret, from a conviction that men thus nobly distinguished by valour and perseverance, must at length bend under the yoke of usurpation. Their successes, however, would occasionally animate the gloom of this despair, and the hope was sometimes for a moment cherished, as well as the wish, that they might shake the throne of the new sovereign to its foundation. One event in particular of the Calabrian war excited this pleasing, although transient anticipation; and as it is connected with the display of British skill and valour, it would be unpardonable not to give it distinguishing notice. The Russian forces had retreated from Naples, on the approach of the French, to the republic of the Seven Islands and to Corfu, where, the events of the war having prevented their exertions in their former destination, they might await the progress of hostilities and avail themselves of any opportunity of benefiting the common cause that might occur, such as they afterwards found in the preservation of Albania. The British forces had withdrawn to Sicily with the royal family of Naples. The best means were employed, however, that skill could suggest, for the defence of this island. The troops of Great Britain, the command of which had now devolved upon sir James Stuart, assisted in completing those arrangements which were thought to contribute to this purpose, and the commander extended his view at the same time to the shores of Italy, watching the progress of the war, and ready to seize any circumstances which might be available to the cause of the allies, or contribute to the glory of the British arms.

It was not long before an opportunity of this description occurred, which led to an enterprise which will form a splendid figure in the British annals. With a force of less than five thousand men general Stuart embarked from Sicily in the month of July, and landed at St. Euphemia on the opposite shore. The French general Regnier was no sooner informed of this landing than he marched his troops from his station at Reggio, collecting as he proceeded his scattered detachments, to meet the English, in full confidence of success. Having arrived within ten miles of their army, he encamped with a force which, with the addition

addition of three thousand men, who joined the night before the battle, amounted at the lowest calculation to seven thousand men, on the side of a woody hill, beneath the village of Maida, sloping into the plain of St. Euphemia. His flanks were strengthened by an impervious underwood, and the Annato, a fordable river, but the sides of which were extremely marshy, along his front. On the fourth he was approached by general Stuart in this strong position over a spacious plain, which gave him an opportunity of observing the minutest motions; and about nine o'clock in the morning, after some loose firing on both sides to cover the manœuvrings of the two armies the opposing fronts were warmly engaged, "when the prowess of the rival nations seemed fairly to be at issue before the world." The right of the advanced line consisted of lieutenant-colonel Kempt's battalion of light infantry, with the light companies of seven other regiments and one hundred and fifty chosen battalion-men under major Robinson, who were opposed by the favourite French regiment of St. Legere. A few rounds were fired reciprocally by both armies at the distance of about one hundred yards; "when, as if by mutual consent, the firing was suspended, and in close compact order and awful silence they advanced towards each other till their bayonets began to close. At this momentous crisis the enemy became appalled. They broke, and endeavoured to fly. But it was too late; they were overtaken with the most dreadful slaughter." General Ackland availed himself of the opportunity to press with his brigade, which was on the left of the light infantry, upon the corps in front; which completed their dismay and disorder on the left, and covered the plain with their dead and wounded. In hope of recovering the day, the enemy made a new effort on the right, where they were received with the most undaunted firmness by general Coles's brigade, and the grenadiers and 27th regiment under lieutenant-colonels Smith and O'Callaghan. The French cavalry, repelled successively from before their front, attempted to turn their left; when lieutenant-colonel Ross, who had that morning landed at Messina with the 20th regiment and was coming up with the army during the action, by a well directed fire from his regiment, opportunely manœuvred for that purpose, totally disconcerted the attempt. This was the last feeble struggle of the enemy; who, astonished and dismayed, now precipitately retreated from the field of battle, which was covered with carnage. Seven hundred of them were buried on the spot: a general and a lieutenant-colonel were among the wounded, who amounted to above a thousand. In Montelcone and various positions between the field of battle and Reggio were stationed also above a thousand men, who speedily surrendered. The total loss to the enemy was estimated at 4000; while that on the side of the British consisted of one officer, three serjeants, forty-one rank and file killed, eleven officers, eight serjeants, two drummers, and two hundred and sixty-one rank and file wounded. It was soon however perceived that every effort, according to all human probability, would be ultimately ineffectual to expel the French from their conquest. With that prudence therefore which should always accompany and direct valour, general

neral Stuart soon after reembarked for Sicily. We may lament that this most splendid victory was attended with no permanent advantage with respect to the immediate object of it; but the impression it made of the discipline and bravery of British soldiers was of incalculable value. The pride of the enemy was mortified at seeing those of his troops most distinguished for high exploits, retiring before the bayonets of the English, and, with all their experience and reputation in arms, yielding an easy victory to a very inferior force. The honours were here tarnished which had been acquired at Lodi and Arcola, at Marengo and Austerlitz; while from the plain of Maida sprung another and perhaps more brilliant wreath to adorn the brow of British valour, in addition to what it had recently acquired in the fields of Egypt. Men, who in a distant country can thus fight the battles of allies with whom they have no ties of language, or manners, or intimacy of any description, whose piety they deprecate, whose ignorance they despise, at whose morals they blush, what achievements would they not effect when contending for all that is valuable on their native soil? In such a situation, what suffering would be deemed severe, or what difficulties would prove insurmountable? When contending on their patrimonial ground, for their wives and children, for plenty and security, for a constitution of freedom, and a religion of benevolence, what limits can be fixed to the operation of so grand an impulse, and what enemies, however numerous or however formidable, must not be overthrown and blasted in the conflict?

The complete subjection of the Neapolitan territory by the French followed not long after this illustrious victory, which might somewhat delay, but could not prevent its accomplishment. The support of the British arms, which could not have been effectual, being withdrawn, the enthusiasm of the Calabrians abated, and they finally yielded to a fate which they nobly resisted while a chance of success attended their endeavours for that purpose. Gaeta had firmly withstood the effects of all that force and skill on the part of the enemy could effect: but its garrison was diminished by the fire of the French, and borne down by incessant exertion; its heroic commander was severely wounded; the works of the besiegers were completed; two practicable breaches were made in the walls; and a signal was every moment expected to be made for the assault, which would have been attended with a profusion of blood with no object in view equal to so dreadful an expense. In these circumstances, the commandant truly and wisely concluded that he had done enough for glory; and a capitulation was signed by him and the French general, which was without delay communicated by the new monarch to his brother in a dispatch, in which Gaeta was no longer represented as an insignificant fortress with a petty garrison, but the acquisition of it was extolled as of the highest value, and as obtained, which it certainly was, only by the most persevering activity and valour.

This event may be regarded as completing the reduction upon the continent of the kingdom of Ferdinand, a monarch descended from a long line of royal ancestors, yet succeeded on the throne of Naples by the son of a plebeian, but the brother of a man, who from this low

low origin has raised himself to an elevation of power above any of the continental sovereigns; whose conscience has never proved a bar to his ambition, and whose profound plans and unrivalled energies have baffled the projects of confederated Europe. The fall of Naples under the influence of France it is inevitable to deplore, as adding to the already accumulated power of an inveterate enemy; but with respect to the people of that country, however repulsive at first the change might be to their habits and prejudices, it would appear scarcely supposable that in fact it can be eventually for the worse. The state of the Lazaroni in the city of Naples, was a perpetual reproach to the government which could not devise some mode of turning to account a vast portion of tractable and athletic population, but rather suffered it to remain a stumbling-block to public order, a nursery for all physical and moral disease. The sloth and bigotry, the assassinations and pollutions existing hitherto in this large portion of Italy, and which, it must be admitted, the late government seemed but little studious to reform, will in all probability be mitigated under the present dynasty. Industry and arts will probably be cherished. The treasures of literature which yet lie buried in subterraneous ruins may be produced to light; a palliated superstition, and at length a rational piety, may take place of that rank and foul corruption which has hitherto passed under the name of religion; and the institutions about to be introduced by an active and enterprising government into this delightful country, may be the elements of that moral maturity in which the virtues of the inhabitants may bear an affinity to the purity of the atmosphere and the fertility of the soil, and beauty of character may predominate equally with the sublime and attractive scenery of nature: a prospect which the philanthropist will be pleased to cherish, and which, for a moment at least, shall console for the successes of an aggrandized and arrogant enemy.

The successes of the British navy during the last year, did not by any means relax the attention of government to that bulwark of our defence and source of national glory. The wretched remains of the combined fleets of France and Spain were closely blockaded by lord Collingwood off Cadiz, which they had such reason to regret that, in a moment of temerity, they had lately quitted. Admiral Russel was employed in watching the motions of the Dutch. Off Brest our cruisers were exercising, indefatigable vigilance, and displaying that cheerful activity in their meritorious exertions, to which nothing could stimulate but the service of their country, and which the idea of this rendered not merely tolerable, but attractive. The light squadron in the Downs kept a scrutinizing eye over the port of Boulogne, from which the flotilla of the enemy durst not move beyond the batteries, lest it should incur inevitable destruction. From the North sea to the straits of Gibraltar the enemy were slunk within their harbours, and had the mortifying spectacle to see the British squadrons perpetually riding before them in triumph, or, if driven off for a short period by the power of the elements, to which all human skill and efforts must yield, speedily returning to their station with renewed activity.

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With all the vigilance which it was possible to exercise in blockading the enemy, opportunities inevitably occurred of which they availed themselves for sending out their remaining vessels of war. The reinforcement of their colonies was an affair of considerable urgency. The annoyance of the British trade was an object, for effecting which they were always ready to incur a greater hazard of ruin, than there was a chance of their success. At the close of the preceding year, admiral Villaumez accompanied by Jerome, the brother of Bonaparte, had availed himself of one of those opportunities to escape from port, with eleven sail of the line and a number of frigates: which afterwards separated into two squadrons. The alarm naturally excited among the mercantile interest on this occasion was not small; and reports of victory and defeat were circulated in rapid alternation. Government lost no time in dispatching instructions to the West and East Indies, that the dependencies of the empire in those quarters of the world might be prepared for the reception of the enemy; and various squadrons were sent in pursuit of them. Early in February one of the enemy's squadrons was discovered by admiral Duckworth to the windward of Ocoa bay, near the island of St. Domingo. By judicious manœuvres he secured their being brought to action; his own force consisted of seven sail of the line, and that of the enemy of five. The French, notwithstanding their inferiority, fought with intrepidity. The engagement lasted for two hours, at the end of which time the French commander ran his ship, l'Imperiale of a hundred and twenty guns, on shore, in which he was followed by the captain of the Diomede. The three others, the Alexandre, the Braave, and the Egyptienne, struck to his majesty's arms, and were immediately taken possession of by the conqueror. The loss on the part of the English consisted of seventy-four killed, and two hundred and sixty-four wounded. In the three French vessels which were captured, and in which alone the loss was ascertained at the date of the dispatch, the killed and wounded amounted to upward of seven hundred; and, from the circumstances of the action, the loss in the two on shore must have been at least in that proportion. The Diomede and Imperiale were afterwards completely burnt by the exertions of the British fleet; whose perfect success, in so short a period of time, was undoubtedly a matter, if not of astonishment, yet of glory; redounding highly to the praise of British valour and discipline, and well meriting that honour which it received in the thanks of both houses of the British parliament.

The other squadron of Villaumez, with prince Jerome, yet remained, and was even more capable of inflicting injury, amounting to six sail of the line with three frigates. Several transports proceeding with troops from Gibraltar fell into its power. The vessels were burnt, and the troops put on board a frigate belonging to the admiral, which afterwards was captured by the English. At St. Domingo, forces were landed to strengthen the rallying point of French power, which yet existed on that island. At Montserrat, Nevis, and St. Kitt's, predatory landings were effected; and the operations of this force under Villaumez appear to have been attended

tended with some injury to our colonies, and considerably more terror. Admiral Cochrane, who was on the windward station with a force consisting of four sail of the line with frigates, discovered the enemy near Barbadoes, but considered the inequality of his force to be too great to justify his hazarding an attack; and, having the option in his power, he waited for an accession of strength in the island of Tortola. The ruin of this hostile fleet, however, was at length accomplished by the fury of the elements. A gale of wind, one of the most tremendous ever experienced, separated the ships of the enemy, of which the French admiral's with extreme difficulty and in a most shattered state reached the Havannah. The Impetueux made for the coast of North America, and was followed into the bay of Chesapeak by his majesty's ships the Belleisle and Bellona, where she ran ashore, and was burnt by the crew of the Melampus. Of the remaining vessels of the fleet two were eventually destroyed by the English on the same coast, and the Castor was supposed to have foundered at sea; while prince Jerome, whose appearance in a British port was anticipated with confidence and rapture, with the good fortune which appears characteristic of his family, arrived in the Veteran, some time in August, at L'Orient.

Captain Burrows of the Constance frigate was appointed to the command also of a sloop of war of 16 guns, and a brig of 14, off one of the ports belonging to the enemy, from which he observed a large vessel, which proved afterwards to be the Salamander of 44 guns, attempting to make her way out. Being attacked by the English frigate, she was driven on shore; but having been got off and found to have received no material damage, was advancing again for her original destination. After a smart action she was a second time driven for protection under the batteries, in a condition so completely shattered, that it was necessary almost immediately after the engagement, which was fought before thousands of spectators on the French coast, to abandon and destroy her. From the violence of the contest the Constance herself was become unmanageable and at length driven on shore, where she was taken possession of by the enemy, her crew having previously quitted her, while that of the Salamander was brought off by the Sheldrake sloop; affording unequivocal and triumphant evidence of the capture of the French frigate by one of little more than half her force. The commanders of both vessels were killed in the action.

The capture of the Pomona frigate of 40 guns was another instance of the daring and success attendant on British seamen. She was at anchor about a league from Moro castle in the island of Cuba, and had been reinforced by ten gun-boats from the Havannah. In this situation, and while under a battery, landing specie with which she had returned from the Gulf of Mexico, two English frigates hove in sight and immediately bore down towards the battery; notwithstanding a most dreadful fire which proceeded from all this accumulation of hostile force, after a resistance of fifteen minutes the Pomona struck her colours, two of the gun-boats were blown up, five were taken, and three driven on shore; the fort was afterwards silenced; and the captured vessel, having still on board the

the greater part of her Mexican cargo, consisting of money, plate, and valuable articles of merchandise, was taken possession of and brought out; the enemy having sustained a loss of nearly two hundred men, while that of the English vessels was of little extent and consequence.

Sir Sydney Smith, having the command of the Pompée, and being stationed off the coast of Italy, was of eminent service to the prince of Hesse Philipstahl during the siege of Gaeta, as well as in repairing, provisioning, and reinforcing that important fortress. A successful attack was made by him on the island of Capri near Naples; and with the boats of the Pompée he cut out a vessel from one of the enemy's ports, notwithstanding her being protected by a heavy fire of musquetry. In a sortie from Gaeta, already mentioned, concerted between himself and the commandant of that place, he co-operated by a detachment which penetrated considerably into the country on the high-road towards Naples, destroyed one of the enemy's batteries and spiked its cannon; affording an opportunity to the prince of Hesse, by this diversion, for the destruction of certain works of the besiegers, which was the grand object of this effort.—The reputation of lord Cochrane was also well sustained this year by several gallant exploits made in his majesty's ship the Pallas. The Colpoys hired brig, having driven three Spanish luggers under the batteries of Avillos, proceeded, notwithstanding a heavy fire from them, to complete the triumph by bringing out the vessels. For this purpose two boats were armed, the first of which, with only six men, took possession of them, in defiance of the musquetry of soldiers who had actually been sent from the shore for their defence; the second boat arriving only in time to assist in conveying them out of the harbour. This is an achievement which it would be difficult to credit, were it not ascertained that actions equally surprising have, in various instances, been accomplished in our naval warfare, and that the resolution of a handful of brave men, in attempting what the enemy had deemed it impossible to perform, has often produced that consternation, that total prostration of the greater physical strength before the less, through which events have taken place that, after the moment of victory, have equally astonished the conquered at their defeat, and the victors at their triumph.

An action which requires honourable mention in the catalogue of illustrious exertions by sea in the present year, was performed by a part of the Jamaica fleet. Eleven of these vessels being on their passage, and destitute of convoy, were attacked by a privateer, which they beat off twice. Having received intelligence soon after, that three vessels of this description were in pursuit of them, they provided for their arrival by constituting captain M'Farlan, master of one of the ships, their commodore, and sending detachments of men to enable him to discharge the duty of that office with effect. The privateers soon after arrived, and met with that reception which they were but little prepared to expect from merchantmen; and after about an hour's warm firing they thought proper to retire from a conflict with those martial

traders, and left them to pursue their course without the slightest farther attempt at molestation.

It may be remembered that the French admiral Linois had some time previously to the year 1806 found his way with a squadron to the East Indies, where he had evaded the notice of our most vigilant commanders, and effected depredations on the British trade to a very considerable extent. His successes were a theme of exultation to the enemy, and excited feelings of depression and apprehension in this country, such as in similar circumstances will ever occur in a mercantile community. The Isle of France had been the grand depôt of the plunder he had collected in the Indian seas; whence, in different bottoms, and after having in great measure been converted into specie, it had been transferred to France. Thither the admiral's ship, the Marengo, of eighty guns and seven hundred and forty-four men; and the Belle Poule, of forty eighteen-pounders and three hundred and twenty men, were this year steering their course, having completed their levies on British property, and looking forward to the splendid enjoyment of the fruit of their toils. These hopes, however, were fatally intercepted by sir John Warren, with one of the squadrons which had been dispatched in pursuit of Jerome Bonaparte. After a running fire of about three hours the Marengo was obliged to strike, and was speedily followed by the Belle Poule. This event, mortifying as it must of course have been to the French admiral, was equally gratifying to the British public, who could not fail of being highly pleased with this catastrophe of an expedition, which in its progress had given considerable uneasiness and done very material injury.

Amidst its important European concerns, the government of France was not inattentive to its colonial dependencies; and sensible of the expediency of reinforcements, a squadron of five frigates and two corvettes, containing about two thousand troops, was fitted out towards the close of the year, at Rochfort. Watching a favourable opportunity to escape, and at length finding what they deemed such, they quitted the harbour. The day after sir Samuel Hood was fortunate enough to fall in with them; and after a chase of several hours, in the latter part of which a very heavy cannonading took place, four of the frigates struck to the British arms. They were remarkably fine vessels, of large dimensions, mounting twenty-eight eighteen-pounders on their main decks, and containing each about 650 men including troops; full of stores, arms, ammunition, and provisions.

Under the auspices of Mr. Pitt's administration, an important expedition had been fitted out in the preceding autumn, consisting of several ships of the line and frigates, under the command of sir Home Popham, and a force of between four and five thousand men under sir David Baird, destined against the Cape of Good Hope. On the 6th of January, the violence of the swell, which had previously been dangerous, having considerably abated along the shore of Lepard's bay, a successful effort was made for the landing. A party of the enemy's sharp shooters hovered on the surround-

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ing heights, and commanded the operation, but without effecting any material impediment; by far the greatest misfortune attending the disembarkation of the whole army, which was completed the ensuing day, being the overturning of one boat containing thirty-five men of the ninety-third regiment. On the morning of the 8th, the army, consisting of four thousand men, which, by the difficulty of keeping up any intercourse with the fleet, had been barely able to obtain the necessary supplies, formed into two brigades, moved on towards Cape Town, and, having ascended the Blue Mountains, discovered the troops of the enemy drawn up in two lines, in motion, to anticipate sir David's approach. They appeared to consist of about five thousand men, the greater part cavalry, with twenty-three pieces of cannon. As it appeared that they intended to refuse their right wing, and with their left to attempt turning the right flank of the British, the arrangements for this object were immediately counteracted by sir David, whose means for this purpose were completed with celerity and order. The Highland brigade now advanced, under a very heavy fire, with perfect steadiness. The enemy maintained their position, and received the British fire with firmness; but the courage of the latter, at the moment of charging, bore down all opposition, and forced the enemy to a precipitate retreat. The loss of the Dutch was stated at seven hundred men in killed and wounded; forming a striking contrast with that of the English, whose loss was considerably under two hundred. The difficulties of the troops were of a most harassing and distressful kind. Their advance towards the enemy was impeded by a deep and heavy sand covered with underwood. The total privation of water, under a burning sun, was a circumstance of peculiar aggravation, and, although the most cordial co-operation existed between the different departments (no expedition, probably, having been conducted with more perfect concert of feeling and energy) from the time of the landing to the surrender of Cape Town, the difficulties attending the bringing on shore of provisions were such, that a great part of the army was in absolute and extreme want of food. Terms for this surrender, however, were offered on the part of the commandant of the town, on the 9th, and a capitulation was effected on the 10th, the outworks having been previously delivered up. After the action of the 8th, general Jansen retired into the interior of the country with the remainder of his troops; but proposals of pacification being made to him by sir D. Baird, they were speedily acceded to, and the whole settlement thus came under the undisputed sovereignty of his Britannic majesty.

The intelligence of the capture of the Cape was received in England with the highest satisfaction; and it is an acquisition of such value to this country, that it will probably be permanently united to the British dependencies. Its intrinsic value is very great, as it consists of a large territory favoured with a most salubrious climate, and a soil in the highest degree productive. Its fruits and wines are of the most exquisite flavour, and of the most exuberant plenty; vines are seen growing wild in its woods. Beef, mutton, and poultry, are of extraordinary excellence

and cheapness; and in the year 1796 considerable quantities of wheat were exported from it to relieve the scarcity then prevailing in this country. The principal place in this large settlement is Cape Town, which is situated on an elevation defended by three fortresses: on the land side it is protected by several blockhouses, which, togetherwith other fortifications, were left by the British government, when the Cape was delivered up in conformity to the treaty of Amiens, in a state of admirable repair and improvement. In a commercial and political point of view, this settlement is justly described as being of inestimable value, as it may justly be regarded a half-way station for our India fleets, where they may procure refreshments of every description in the greatest plenty, and repair the injuries, which may have occurred on the voyage, to the vessels or the health of their men: two fleets have been actually seen at one time in its bays, breaking the tedium of an immense progress over the ocean, enjoying the balmy atmosphere, and rejoicing in the freshening bloom and healthful luxuriance of its innumerable productions. Among its political advantages may be regarded its situation with respect to the Mauritius that grand depôt of the French, in time of war, for all their means of molestation in these distant regions, against which the possession of the Cape must facilitate any expedition, and must at all events palliate an annoyance which has frequently been so formidable. Those who by general consent are qualified to give an opinion on the value of this acquisition, have stated it, for the reasons above given, among others, to be of the most distinguished utility; and it is well known that the noble lord, by whom, during Mr. Pitt's administration, the department of India affairs was conducted, was so impressed with the value of this settlement, that he did not hesitate at pronouncing, that the minister who should advise his majesty to the cession of it would deserve to lose his head.

The capture of the Cape gave rise to another expedition, which well deserves also some particular notice. The new settlement being deemed perfectly secure, not only in the liberal and conciliating character of its government but in positive strength, which no organized force of the recent establishment remained to oppose, an attack was meditated from it on the Spanish province of Buenos Ayres, in South America; and a detachment from the forces at the Cape, it was thought, might be spared sufficient for the enterprise. The squadron destined for this service conveyed about eleven hundred troops, and arrived off Cape St. Mary on the 6th of June. It was a question of consequence whether Monte Video or Buenos Ayres should be the place of attack, which, after much discussion, was carried in favour of the latter. On the 25th they were all disembarked without the slightest opposition; and on the 26th the enemy were still stationed on the brow of a hill about two miles distant, with the village of Reduction beneath them, from which situation they had observed the landing on the preceding day. Their right flank was protected by the village, and their force appeared to consist of about two thousand men, principally of cavalry, and of eight field-pieces. General Beresford, who commanded

commanded the British force, began to move against the enemy about eleven o'clock in the morning. The bottom of the heights was soon reached by them, when the Spanish army quitted precipitately the brow of the hill, which was rapidly ascended by the assailants, who by a brisk fire of musquetry produced the flight of the enemy on all sides, leaving four field-pieces and one tumbril behind them. In their flight towards the town they took care to destroy the bridge over the river Chiulo which led to the city, through which they immediately passed into the interior of the country; and by eleven o'clock at night all the British troops had arrived over the river: upon this general Beresford proceeded towards the city, and a capitulation was in a very short time proposed and acceded to.

Buenos Ayres, at the time of its capture, possessed in its treasury and warehouses a large quantity of specie and valuable merchandise, belonging to the public companies or to the king of Spain, which was reasonably deemed fair booty to the conquerors, and a great part of which, to the amount of more than a million of dollars, was almost immediately embarked in the Narcissus, and dispatched, with intelligence of the success of the expedition, to England. Two hundred thousand dollars remained in the royal treasury, and the property in the public depôts was estimated to amount to two or three millions.

The proceedings of sir Home Popham and general Beresford, who in this enterprise acted with a union of sentiment which does not seem to have experienced the slightest interruption, and which should be regarded as a model by all engaged in joint commands, were attended with a sense of honour and equity highly gratifying to the feelings of Englishmen. Disdaining that line of conduct for which, to the disgrace of the British name, precedents were afforded in the commencement of the first French war, by men now covered with public honours, whose love of wealth so far prevailed over the noblest feelings as to lead them to revive, in a great degree, the systematic pillage, the "*crudelem hastam*" of antiquity, their transactions with the inhabitants of the conquered country were eminently distinguished by justice and liberality. Private property was held sacred by them. That part of the shipping in the river which consisted of coasting vessels freighted with merchandise belonging to individual proprietors, and which was supposed worth nearly a million and a half of dollars, was delivered up with the most scrupulous and honourable correctness. Besides this security of private property, guarantied in the capitulation, and by a proclamation which speedily followed, the free exercise of religion was allowed to the inhabitants according to its established modes, the possession of their civil rights and immunities, and their forms of municipal and judicial administration were continued; heavy duties were taken off, or mitigated; a free trade was granted to them as it was enjoyed by the inhabitants of Trinidad, whose happiness under his Britannic majesty's government was held forth as an example of what might result to his new subjects of Buenos Ayres:—all were invited to join in promoting the public order and tranquillity, which the troops were in no in-

stance suffered to molest; and the grand object of the new possessors appeared to be, to create that happy state of the public feeling, with respect to the government, which might supersede all exercise of violence, and which would flow from mild authority, and lead to willing obedience.

From this review of the events of the war in which Great Britain was particularly engaged, it will appear that the bravery of its seamen and officers was never superior, and does not seem capable of being exceeded in future times;—one generation of heroes moves off the stage of public life only to be followed by another, the same in ardor, the same in talents, but not always the same in the opportunities enjoyed by them of mortifying the pride and impairing the resources of the enemy. The scene of combat uniformly proves the theatre of glory; and whenever the enemy will supply a Trafalgar, the British navy will be certain to display a Nelson. To the plains of Maida the patriot will turn his eye with feelings similar to those which he experiences on the view of the maritime successes of his countrymen, enhanced, perhaps, somewhat, by the circumstance, that, while our naval pre-eminence is as fully allowed as it is obvious, the victory of sir John Stuart was gained on an element on which the French admit of no superior, or even equal. In this contest, however, though they produced their choicest troops, their ablest generals, and were of far superior numbers, they were subdued under the energy of British heroism, and fled from the shock of battle with precipitation and dismay. To the expeditions of the year he will look, as having procured an addition to the British empire of inestimable importance to the safety and prosperity of its commerce and the annoyance of the enemy; and laid the foundation of enterprises pregnant with consequences of unspeakable benefit to this country, and which may more than counterbalance the advantages obtained by our insatiable rival by his destruction of the balance of Europe. In the British successes he will, in short, see the illustration of national renown, the security of trade, the acquisition of extensive territory, and the humiliation of the enemy, shut up and barred within all his ports; or, if escaping from imprisonment, pursued to his destruction.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER IX.

Conduct of Prussia—Versatility and Selfishness of its Policy—Its Occupation of Hanover—War between Prussia and England—Disgust of the Prussian People and Army with their Government—Prohibition by that Government of Political Discussion—Cashiering of Officers for their Strictures on Public Affairs—War between Sweden and Prussia—Conduct of Russia—Capture of Cattaro from the Austrians by a Russian Force—Doubtful State of France and Austria—Detention of Brannau and the Austrian Prisoners—Reforms of the Emperor of Germany—Appointment of the Archduke Charles to the supreme Regulation of the Military Department—His Punishment of the Defaulters in the late Campaign—Extent and Importance of his Arrangements—French Troops in Germany—Austria, unable with all her Exertions to struggle with France, is obliged to abdicate the Imperial Crown of Germany—Federations of the Rhine—Act of Abdication—Consequences of these Changes.

THE conduct of Prussia towards the close of the preceding year had baffled the hopes of all who ardently wished a check should finally be imposed on the ambition and usurpations of France. The rivalship between Austria and Prussia in ordinary circumstances, might well be supposed to preclude cordial co-operation; but a common participation of danger will frequently banish mutual jealousies and soften disgusts, and produce a union sufficiently firm, for a time, and capable of repressing a common adversary, although afterwards the ancient feuds are revived, and found to have been suspended only, and not annihilated.—Such, it was hoped, might have been the case with respect to the two great powers, Austria and Prussia; and many indications seemed to be given by the latter of a strong propensity, sometimes, it was thought, of a strong determination, to join the coalition. In a short time, however, such was the progress of Bonaparte that the last spark of hope relating to this concert was extinguished, while the versatility and equivocation, the odious rivalry and selfish rapacity of Prussian policy, became the theme of universal invective; and circumstances took place which convinced those who remained unconvinced before, that she had been guided in her conduct by motives of the most unworthy character. On the 27th of January, a proclamation was published by the king of Prussia to the inhabitants of Hanover, in which it was observed, that, since the events which terminated in the peace of Presburg, the only means of preserving that country from the flames of war consisted in forming a convention with the French emperor, by which the states of his Britannic majesty in Germany were to be wholly occupied and governed by Prussia, till peace; and all the authorities of that country were called upon to conform to the dispositions made for this purpose; and to yield submission to the civil and military administration as appointed in the person of general Kecknert and the commissioners chosen by him. On this subject a note was presented on the 17th of

March, by Mr. secretary Fox, to baron Jacobi, which states the great anxiety of his majesty at the manner in which possession had been taken of the electorate by the Prussian troops, and that, certainly, for any avowed purpose of its occupation, the subversion of its civil administration could not by any means be requisite. The honour of his Prussian majesty required his most clear and decided declaration, before all Europe, of the occupation being intended only to be temporary; and his majesty desired to be equally explicit to put an end to all hopes, if indeed any such had been entertained by the court of Berlin, that any convenience of political arrangement, much less any offer of equivalent or indemnity, could induce his majesty so far to forget what was due to his legitimate rights, as well as to the fidelity and attachment of his Hanoverian subjects, as to consent to the alienation of the electorate. Whatever cessions might be contemplated to France, they could be no justification of the taking of the king of Great Britain's lawful inheritance by his Prussian majesty, who will rather, it is added, follow the honourable dictates of his own heart, and not have recourse to so dreadful an example as this conduct would exhibit to all Europe. Soon after this, however, his Prussian majesty thought proper to drop the slight veil with which he had so ineffectually attempted the concealment of his real designs on the electorate, by publishing, on the first of April, a proclamation, in which he states the conclusion of a convention between himself and the French emperor, for the exchange of Hanover in return for three provinces of his monarchy: and, as the Hanoverian states were possessed by France in right of conquest, he declares that the rightful possession of the electoral states of the house of Brunswick situated in Germany, had passed over to him in return for the above cession on his part, and that they were now subjected only to his power; that thenceforth their government would be administered in his name alone, and under his supreme authority. The ports of the North Sea, and rivers running into the same, were also to be shut against the English trade and navigation.

On the 8th of April, the ministers of the neutral powers were informed that measures had been taken for blockading the rivers Ems, Weser, Elbe and Trave; and a message was sent to both houses of parliament, stating the termination of friendly intercourse between Prussia and Great Britain, in consequence of those aggressions which it was impossible for his majesty to pass unnoticed, without violating his first duty to his people. An order was issued for the seizure and detention of all vessels found navigating under Prussian colours. The greatest activity was immediately manifested by all the British cruizers, and the harbours of the island were speedily crowded with captured vessels.

The greater proportion of the subjects of Prussia were well aware of this abject degradation in which they had been involved by their government; and the disaffection and discontents which ensued were natural to the occasion. Expressions of loyal and devout attachment were suspended. Conversations in public assumed a tone of animated comment upon public measures which had rarely been employed. Men of rank and sta-

tion deplored the shade which had been thrown over the character of their country. The military entered into the general feeling with peculiar ardour: this feeling was in some instances almost roused to phrensy, and, if probable reports may be credited, the attendants and relations of Majesty itself were daring enough in the royal presence to give intimations of their disgusts. This spirit of high disdain, dangerous in any government, and particularly in a military one, when those who are destined for the support of despotism feel a stronger disposition to remonstrate than to obey, was thought not unworthy the notice of power. Several of the military officers of the staff were not only reprimanded, but cashiered, for the freedom with which they had expressed themselves on political topics; and a proclamation was published, prohibiting the discussion of the proceedings of government: measures which checked the ebullition of popular feeling, but confirmed probably rather than changed the public opinion. To the king of Sweden the conduct of Prussia was equally exceptionable as to her own subjects, and he felt not that restraint in the expression of his disgust which was experienced by them. The conduct of this prince may be regarded as forming a striking and laudable contrast to that of the king of Prussia, which inspired him with sentiments of extreme irritation and aversion; and, agreeably to authority which can easily be credited, led him to apply epithets of no qualified indignation. In conformity to the treaty between Great Britain, Russia, and himself, he had united with them for the protection of the electorate against France. With this view the territory of Lauenburg, which belongs to the electorate, had been occupied by him: and when the views of Prussia against this dependency were fully unfolded, he manifested every disposition of hostility to her pretensions; and, although obliged to evacuate Lauenburg by the superiority of the Prussian force, when threatened with the most active and dangerous hostilities against his Pomeranian states, he exerted himself with the utmost assiduity to prepare for their defence, co-operated in the blockade of the ports of Prussia, and wanted nothing but more efficient means to punish her selfish and pernicious policy as it merited. The circumstances, however, of the political relations of these powers were of so singular and varying a nature, in the course of the year, that these hostile demonstrations, threatening as they were for a time, were attended with no important consequences.

The Russian forces, after their return, in consequence of peace between France and Austria, were still kept up to their establishment, or rather indeed considerably increased by new levies. The idea of prosecuting the war seemed by no means abandoned on the part of the emperor, and the hope seemed to be entertained by him of a renewed opportunity for retrieving the affairs of the allies, and effecting the deliverance of Europe. In the mean time he was not inactive in that field which was still open to his exertions. By the treaty of Presburg, the Venetian territories which had been ceded to Austria by the peace of Luneville, together with part of Istria and Dalmatia, were to be added to the kingdom of Italy, as also

also the mouths of the Cattaro. The latter constitute a position upon the Adriatic, of extraordinary strength. By the various intersections of rivers, and other peculiar circumstances attending this situation, it is capable of defence by a very small number of men against a very superior force. The officer who commanded the fortress was general Brady, who possessed but a small number of troops,—according to the Austrian statement, not more than eighty men. The time for delivering it up had expired, and nevertheless it remained still in the hands of the Austrian commandant; when an officer in the Russian service, whether instructed by his government, or acting from the suggestions of his own mind with respect to the importance of the enterprise, appeared before the place, and summoned it to surrender. The expedition was conducted with promptitude and decision; and from the suddenness of his appearance, the inefficacy of the garrison, or a disposition on the part of the governor to accommodate the recent ally, rather than enemy of his master, with so valuable a station, the Russian officer easily succeeded, and the summons was obeyed without delay. The dexterity with which the French in this instance were circumvented by an enemy whom they had affected to despise as destitute of the least portion of skill or stratagem, gave no small triumph to the court of Petersburg, little less perhaps than what arose from the importance of the acquisition itself. On the other hand, intelligence of this event was received by the cabinet of the Thuilleries with all those indications of chagrin and rage which might naturally be expected. The French ambassador at Vienna was ordered to remonstrate on the occasion with extreme energy, and to insist most peremptorily on the fulfilment of the treaty of Presburg, and on the delivery of Cattaro, not through the medium of its present Russian possessor, but by the Austrians themselves, from whose hands alone the French should receive it. Russia, however, retained her conquest amidst all the discussions and irritation to which it gave rise, and until towards the conclusion of the year, when a larger theatre was opened for her exertions, and the circumstances of Albania (which, yet, after its original seizure, afforded no event of considerable consequence,) formed the principal object of her attention and hostility.

The disgust occasioned in the French cabinet by the surrender of Cattaro, was connected with the refusal of Austria to permit a passage through its territory into Dalmatia, the reason for which refusal was stated to be, that the Russians would expect, in consequence of such an advantage granted to the French, similar facilities, and the hereditary states would be exposed to those inconveniences which never fail to attend the march of large bodies of armed men in any country. These two causes of disgust led to the detention of Brannau by the French. The Austrian prisoners also, who had not already returned to their own country, were ordered to halt and go back to France. Such were the unsettled relations between France and Austria for a long time: and, considering the distress and loss which Austria had experienced in the late campaign, it was gratifying to see that she thought herself

self strong enough to refuse any demand and resist any pretension of the conqueror. Opposition, however slight, excited gleams of hope, that the emperor might yet recover in time some means of effectual resistance; a hope which was, also, somewhat encouraged by the appointment of the archduke Charles to the chief command of all the forces of his empire, with full power to effect such reform in the state of the armies as the crisis of the times called for. The defaulters in the late miserable campaign were brought to trial, and many of them received that punishment which their treachery or cowardice fully merited. One general was shot for his conduct at Ulm. Neglect of duty, arising from no mean or criminal intentions, was far from being passed unnoticed. The prince of Auesburg, by whose neglect and folly the bridge of Vienna, which he had been ordered to burn down, was left standing, was sentenced to an imprisonment of ten years.

Innumerable were the courts martial held, by order of the archduke, in his new and distinguished situation; and in many cases, where no higher punishment was required, a dismissal from the service was the result. Those officers, also, who, from whatever cause, had become infirm, were superseded on respectable establishments; and in the room of men who had shown themselves in the crisis of danger totally incompetent to afford their country protection, were substituted others of high honour, vigorous activity, and alert obedience. The judgment and energy displayed by the emperor's brother in the duties of his department were such as did honour to his appointment. He dismissed all foreigners who held commands in the Austrian armies. He was convinced that a nation will ever be best protected by its own children. In pursuance of this last idea, the institution of voluntary corps was adopted; and in the capital, and in various parts of the hereditary states, vast numbers obeyed the impulse of honour and patriotism, and formed themselves into armed associations, ready at their country's call to fly to her assistance. Arrangements were made to facilitate the means of recruiting, and filling up the different battalions in the service to their correct complement, as well as for increasing the number already on the establishment. The former system of military regulations was succeeded by a new code, calculated to introduce simplicity and dispatch: and in few cases has so general and valuable a change been effected in the military arrangements of a country as in this instance was accomplished.

These regulations were certainly not unnoticed by Bonaparte; but in the existing circumstances of Europe, the reinforcements of the Austrian armies could not certainly be construed into any deviation from even the spirit of treaties. With Russia, in vast force on the frontiers of Poland, Prussia upon the full war establishment, and Bonaparte himself covering Germany with his battalions, the justification of this increase was too obvious to admit of reasonable exception, and the captious vigilance of Napoleon could not pretend that it was not a measure of vindicable and essential policy. In the situation however in which Bonaparte at present was, he had an opportunity of watching the progress of political change. After withdrawing from Bohemia and Moravia

Moravia he had concentrated his army. To this formidable engine he was indebted for all his political as well as military distinction, and he was determined to keep it in that commanding situation, by which he might not only secure what he had gained, but complete the yet undeveloped plans of his ambition. In the heart of Germany he fixed its station: hence, if any blush of shame for her degradation should kindle on the cheek of Prussia; if Austria should attempt to escape from that depression wherein she had been plunged, in which, however, amidst all her losses, she had preserved her honour; if in the territories of either power the emperor of Russia should see reason to expect a theatre for those formidable hostilities which he wanted only an opportunity for displaying;—from this commanding eminence Bonaparte could discern and anticipate their movements. Here he could exercise his eagle eye, and was ready to crush with his talons the first offspring of the hostile mind. But Austria, with all her exertions, was little inclined to engage again in the contest; and although not calmly contented with her situation, she felt it preferable to irretrievable ruin. She seemed indeed destined to verify the declaration of Bonaparte,—that, in his arrangements with that power, posterity would never be able to reproach him with the want of foresight; and, having not reached the ultimate point of her depression by the treaty of Presburg, she was afterwards induced or compelled to sign an abdication of her German imperial title. In the month of August this abdication took place. In a proclamation by the emperor of this date, he stated, that, even had the slightest hope remained after the treaty of Presburg of such an alteration of affairs, as might have permitted the execution of his various imperial duties, the convention lately ratified at Paris, relative to the separation of several considerable states of the empire, and their peculiar confederation, would have utterly and for ever extinguished it. His principles and duty therefore required of him the abdication of a crown which was valued by him only while he enjoyed the confidence of the German states, and could perform the duties which were connected with it. But the charge of chief of the empire having ceased by this new confederation, the ties by which he was attached to the states of Germany were completely dissolved. He was acquitted of his obligations; he resigned the imperial crown: and he absolved all the electors, princes, states and magistrates, from all those obligations by which they had been united to himself by the laws of the Germanic constitution.

The confederation of the Rhine, to which his imperial majesty referred in this curious and humiliating document, was ratified on the 12th of July. This important paper, which by a few lines of the pen, supported, however, by the power of the sword, subverted the complicated establishment of ages, commences with observing that their majesties the emperor of the French, and the kings of Bavaria and Wurtemburg, the archchancellor, the elector of Baden, the duke of Berg, (the emperor's brother-in-law Murat,) together with the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, and various other princes, dukes and counts, whose names are enumerated, being desirous to secure the

the peace of Southern Germany, which experience had long since proved could derive no guarantee from the existing constitution, had appointed certain plenipotentiaries to effect arrangements, from which this guarantee would naturally and decidedly result. In consequence of the dispositions which they had agreed on, and which were ratified, the states of the contracting parties were to be for ever separated from the Germanic body, and united by a particular act, called the Confederated States of the Empire. The affairs of this confederation were to be discussed in a congress which should sit at Frankfort, divided into two colleges, respectively of kings and princes, where all disputes should be settled that might arise among the members, who could in no case enter into the service of any other power than the confederation, nor alienate to any other power their sovereignty or territory. The elector archchancellor was to preside in this congress under the title of prince primate, having the city and territory of Frankfort under his complete sovereignty, and on the demise of any prince primate the right of naming a successor should attach to the emperor of France, who was to be proclaimed protector of the confederation. Various cessions and exchanges between the several members of the federation are specified, and very considerable additions of territory were made to many of them, to which they had no other right than what arose from the power of the union. With respect to each member, the limits are minutely set down of his territory and authority, in which the sovereignty of the imperial knightdoms in each state is included. In the event of a continental war, which should involve either the emperor of France or any individual of the union, all parties should make a common cause, and, in case of preparations for war against one of the parties, his minister should be authorised to demand of the congress a general arming of the confederation. The congress should regulate the proportion of assistance to the emergency of the case, and the summons of the emperor to the parties should be the signal for their taking the field.

The fallen fortunes of the house of Austria, thus stripped of its honours, and compelled to shelter its most distinguished title of emperor in its hereditary states, where, as if by a prophetic anticipation, it had secured an asylum, presents an impressive picture to the imagination. It was a spectacle of no common interest, to observe the descendant of imperial chiefs through a long series of generations, degraded into a renunciation of his dignity in behalf of a man, who, by his talents and his sword, was enabled to trample on the necks of sovereigns; and by whom family honours, and political establishments, which had endured for centuries, were swept away in promiscuous ruin.

Most of the members of the new confederation, in consequence of their accession to it, found their dominions compacted or extended. The princes, counts, and other members of the ancient establishment, who are not named in the act of confederation, and whose possessions joined or were included in those of the princes whose names were attached to it, lost their territorial sovereignty. The right of maintaining troops, the right of holding tribunals, of raising revenue,

venue, of appointing diplomatic agents, which constitute the chief characteristics of dominion, was transferred to this selection of potentates. A great number of administrations and jurisdictions was thus for ever extinguished. Personages who had kept splendid courts, supported guards, and exhibited in the college of the empire, and in their own dominions, the magnificence of princely revenue, were now suppressed, and the former associates of the splendour attached to the chief of the empire, when high occasions called for a concentration of the dignities of Germany, now participated in his humiliation. All reverses of this description in the fortunes of individuals will inevitably, in the man of comprehensive and enlightened humanity, excite sentiments of commiseration. But with respect to the inhabitants of Germany, the benefits which may result from the subversion of its cumbrous constitution may easily be supposed great. Its tardy deliberations and complicated forms, which were calculated to repress all useful enthusiasm, and to procrastinate action till energy was impaired, and the opportunity for action was passed, will be superseded by regulations less inconsistent with promptitude and vigour. A security will now be presented to the smaller states of the confederation, in the vigilance and resources of their imperial guardian, who will suffer no infractions, at least beyond his own, to pass unnoticed and unavenged. The substitution of a few despotisms, in the room of many, will certainly not long be deplored by the mass of German population. It is perhaps difficult to paint, in colours stronger than the case would justify, the arrogance of the great, and the depression of the little, the rapacity and impoverishment, the pride and abjectness, which were the consequences of that minute subdivision of sovereignty, which existed under the ancient constitution of the empire. To support a pageantry of state, which, to those who had seen the splendors of a powerful and opulent monarchy, would appear deserving of every expression of ridicule or contempt; the territories of these petty sovereigns were exposed to every oppression that inventive poverty could suggest. The extortion of revenue was a summary of the cares of government. The acquisition of that property from the people which ought to be employed in the means of its security, in the elevation of its sentiments, the development of its resources, the improvement of its valuable establishments, and thus increasing the sympathies which should ever exist between power and subjection, was applied to exhibit as strikingly as possible the contrast of princely splendor and plebeian poverty, and in cherishing that pride and servility which, in these miserable states, too often prevailed over every better feeling, absorbing all the benevolence of authority, all the dignity of submission, and every impulse of manly character. At the funeral of institutions such as these, few tears can be shed by the genuine friends of mankind, who will rather rejoice that the mitigated despotism of a few individuals has supplanted that aristocracy of German potentates, which, with some illustrious exceptions, fettered the energies of the human mind, and whose haughtiness and avarice involved their subjects, whom they considered as the more

valuable species of cattle upon their patrimonial soil, in all the meanness of servility, and all the penury of destitution.

CHAPTER X.

Some Circumstances relating to Bonaparte and France—Bonaparte's Visit to the King of Bavaria, and Amusements at Munich—His Opening of the Legislative Body—His Address—Exposé of the Empire—Conduct of Bonaparte to France—Decree proposed to the Senate by the Arch-chancellor—Law of the Imperial Family—Settlement of Joseph Bonaparte on the Throne of Naples—Preferment of Murat. Berthier, and the Prince Borghese—Titles and Establishments conferred on various Officers from the Italian States—Settlement of the Italian Crown on Prince Eugene—Order of 'The Knights of the Iron Crown'—Requiem for the Soldiers who fell in Battle—Appointment of a Grand Military Festival—Arrival of the Turkish Ambassador—Embassy from their High Mightinesses of Holland—Appointment of Louis Bonaparte to the Throne of Holland—Constitutional Act—Specimen of Dutch Liberty—Bonaparte's Military Execution of Palm—Hostility to the Freedom of the Press—Deputies at Paris from the Jews throughout France—Their Answers to the Questions of the Government—The Convocation of a Sanhedrim—Object of these Measures of the French Government—Assiduity, Penetration and Vigilance of Bonaparte.

THE solicitude of Bonaparte to preserve the affections of the military, who have constituted that mighty lever which has removed for him every obstacle in his way to empire, has been at all times conspicuous. When his successes against the emperor of Austria were completed, he issued a proclamation expressive of his high satisfaction for their services. But the bare expression of his gratitude would not do justice to his feelings or his policy. The widows of those who had fallen in the campaign were pensioned with liberality. Their children also were to be provided for at the public expense. Contributions to an enormous extent were levied on the conquered territories, a great proportion of which was applied to the discharge of the regular pay of his armies; part was converted into funds for the annuities of the relations of those who had died in battle, for the support of those who had been disabled in the service by wounds or hardships necessarily incident to their mode of life; and from the rest rewards were distributed among those individuals of the army who had displayed particular prowess or skill. Having made those provisions, and ordered such arrangements as were deemed requisite in the existing circumstances of his army, he was preparing to return to France. His arrival, however, was for some time delayed. At Munich in Bavaria he was occupied in celebrating the nuptials of his step-son Beauharnois with the daughter of the elector of Bavaria, whom he had lately created a king. In this city he appears to have

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shaken off, in a great degree, the anxieties of civil and military business. He entered with alacrity into the amusements which his royal host prepared for him in rapid and various successions. In the mornings he visited the warehouses and manufactures of the city, or was engaged with his regal associate in the diversion of hunting. Concerts and the theatre filled up a great portion of the evening, together with assemblies, in which the dignity of power was laid aside for the sprightly freedom of conversation; and these were occasionally followed by balls, in which Napoleon himself did not hesitate to join, while the Bavarian ladies admired the gracefulness of his dance, and were delighted with the elegance of his imperial foot.

Bonaparte, having at length arrived at his capital, received those expressions of congratulation and attachment which might naturally be expected. He proceeded on the 2d of March to open the sitting of the legislative body. His arrival was announced by the firing of cannon. The head of his statue in the hall was adorned with a crown of laurel. Military music played at the emperor's entrance, and at the moment he ascended the throne the empress and the whole assembly stood up while the shouts of 'Long live the emperor!' resounded through the hall. The ceremony of taking the oath by some members being concluded, the emperor rose and addressed the assembly in a speech, of which what follows is a summary. Since his last meeting that assembly, a coalition of the greater part of Europe, effected by England, had been subdued. His allies had acquired power and consideration. Weak states had been avenged of the strong. The king of Naples had lost his crown. The whole peninsula of Italy was attached to the Great Empire, and the sovereigns and constitutions of its several parts were guarantied by himself. Russia had been obliged to retreat to her own territories with the wreck of her armies. Austria might have been irreparably destroyed, but her power had been confirmed. Complete confidence was reposed in her declarations. But the liberality of his arrangements was connected with vigilance and foresight, and she could never again injure France: indeed the high destinies of his crown would ever maintain his throne against all the efforts of envy and hatred, and his people were ready for any sacrifice when combinations of foreign powers menaced its security. Although he had been bred in armies always successful, his soldiers had exceeded his hopes, and had ceased to conquer only when they had ceased to fight; while all classes of his people had performed their duty, and manifested that ardour of attachment which was more glorious to him than all his military renown. Some ships had been lost through the violence of the elements, and in consequence of a battle imprudently begun, but which did credit to the zeal and attachment of his ally the king of Spain. With England he desired peace, which should experience on his part no delay, and which might have for its basis the treaty of Amiens.

The exposé of the empire was, a few days after, laid before the same assembly. In this paper are detailed the events of consequence which had taken place since the coronation of the emperor. The prodigies of the preceding year, which

which had transported the French with love and overwhelmed the rest of Europe with consternation, sufficiently explained how well he had discharged the obligations then incurred. The visits of the emperor during the year 1805 to various parts of his dominions are then mentioned. Returning from Italy before it was thought possible to have completed his object, the emperor had arrived on the western coast of France; and England, now justly alarmed for her security, excited that diversion on the continent which was the only mode of delaying her destruction. The forces of France were instantly transported from Boulogne to the Rhine, and advanced in a series of unrivalled successes to Ulm, Vienna, and Austerlitz. By the genius of the chief of the empire, the war was completed in a space of time shorter than one of the annual sessions of the assembly. In the midst of his labours, and experiencing the fatigue of a common soldier, with no bed but straw, and no canopy but that heaven from which his genius flowed, he still held the reins of the government of France, entered into all the minuteness of its details, was acquainted with every circumstance of its complicated œconomy, and, during his absence from his beloved people, "resembled that invisible being who is only known by his power and benevolence." The order of the interior, from which all regular soldiers were removed to the scene of hostility, was not for a single moment interrupted. The war of unprecedented success was followed by a peace, the terms of which were dictated by generosity and moderation. An enemy unfortunate in battle had lost eventually only a portion of those dominions which might have been wholly detained from him. France had been surrounded by nations friendly to her government, under the administration of princes whose power she had extended, and to whose titles she had added splendour; and Italy, which was a conquest over England, whose commerce and armies were now driven from her shores, was advanced by the war to a degree of power and prosperity, which promised to France itself, although under a different crown, the most important advantage. She was united to Germany by the recent alliance with Bavaria; and peace and commercial activity would be now enjoyed by that delightful country, whose subjugation by the French arms would prove her highest benefit.

With respect to the internal state of France, amidst innumerable and important improvements, the parts of the empire, it was observed, had been an object of peculiar attention and solicitude; particularly the new port Bonaparte, which would be worthy of that great name, and become the terror of England on the Channel. In consequence of great exertions Toulon also, one of the most beautiful works of art and nature, would speedily be recovered from its disasters, restored to its former prosperity by the same hand which delivered it from the enemy. In Bretagne, a country almost desolated by the civil wars of France during her revolutionary progress, and which had participated but little in her general civilization, a new city was to be erected, called Napoleonville, which was to be a dépôt of commerce in peace, and of naval stores in war. In Vendée, also, a city was building, to be designated by the same great name, which would, in this application,

most appropriately bring to the recollection of all Frenchmen great misfortunes completely repaired.

But the colonies and commerce of the empire called for the particular attention of the government; and, fleets and seamen being indispensable for these purposes, it was requisite explicitly to state, that the finances necessary would be very considerable to attain those objects, and to support also that numerous army which must be kept up, to prevent surprise and counteract the contingencies of circumstances. But all the warlike preparations of fleets and armies, even the revival of the flotilla, which would speedily take place by the return of the conquerors of Vienna to the coast, were to be regarded only as a necessary apparatus for that moderate but secure peace, which was the grand object of the anxieties of government. The coalition had been baffled in all its projects; under the protection of the imperial eagle were now placed one hundred and ten departments of France, Holland, Italy, Venice, Istria, Dalmatia, and Naples; and there were given by it as allies to France, Bavaria, Wurtemburg and Baden, besides several other of the principal powers of Germany. Austria was fully sensible of the dangers of the English connection, and was aware it could, only in the friendship of France, enjoy that repose which its states wanted more than any other power in Europe. Russia would soon discover that her genuine glory consisted in the liberation of the empire of the seas. Having offered peace to Austria and Naples before their destruction or disasters, the emperor now offered it to England, which might certainly retain her immense acquisitions in India; but, in reasonable correspondence with this concession, she must recognise the new federative system of the French emperor. Each succeeding coalition which England had formed, had only increased the power and territory of the French nation. By the first had been gained Belgium, the boundary of the Rhine; the federation of Holland with France; and the conquest of the states of the present kingdom of Italy. The second had procured for it Piedmont. The third had added to her grand federation Naples and Venice. It was time now for that power to discern her imbecility. Finally, however, the emperor considered what had actually been done for the glory of France as but little, compared with what remained. He had exhausted military glory, and wanted none of those blood-stained laurels which he had been compelled to gather. He wished now to perfect the public administration, to promote the permanent and increasing happiness of his people, to render his acts a lesson and example of elevated morality, and merit the blessing of the present and future generations by a life devoted to these most laborious, but most glorious of human exertions.

On the 31st of March, the arch-chancellor of the empire was authorized to preside in the room of the emperor in the assembly of the senate, and presented for their sanction, from his imperial majesty, an act, the first part of which was a code of regulations, by which the education of the princes of the imperial family, who ought to be trained to the most elevated sensibilities, and could be accomplished for their high destinies only by extraordinary means, should be intrusted in all cases to the father

father of the empire, and which specified the duties of their relationship to that august personage in almost all possible variations of circumstances. The city and territories of Venice were by the next part to be added to the kingdom of Italy. By the third, the pious affection of the emperor's brother, Joseph, for the head of his house, was to be remunerated by the throne of Naples, which in no case was to be connected with that of France. In consideration of the splendid services and virtues of prince Murat, he was by the fourth part of this act to possess in full sovereignty the duchies of Cleves and Berg. The principality of Guastalla, with some others, was conferred on the princess Paulina and her husband the prince Borghese; and by another part of this comprehensive act the principality of Neufchatel was conferred on marshal Berthier, whom his majesty was pleased to designate as an officer equally fearless and intelligent, his old companion in arms; whose elevation to this dignity, while it gave peculiar gratification to the emperor, would excite the sensibility of every good heart. From the inability which the emperor experienced to provide adequately for many who had distinguished themselves by the importance or splendour of their services, Parma, Placentia, Venice, and several other states of Italy, were by the last article of the act to furnish upwards of twenty titles of high distinction, accompanied with appropriate domains, to be both transmitted by those heroic men to their descendants. The intended marriage of his niece Stephanie to the hereditary prince of Baden was announced by a message to the senate; and, in another address to the same body, the emperor signified his wish to cut off from his people of Italy that suspense which they must feel about their future destiny, and which must materially interrupt their happiness under that government which they wished to see perpetuated. With this view, in case of failure of heirs to himself, he had, as authorized by the constitutional act, adopted to the hereditary throne of that kingdom his son the existing viceroy, whose skill in government and war entitled him to this distinction; who had achieved exploits in the field which renewed his own renown; and who, in critical and stormy emergencies, had conducted himself, in the supreme administration of affairs, with that peculiar judgment and conciliation which had confirmed the powers of government by the affections of the people. But, as uniformity of laws, beyond certain geographical and moral limits, must ever be injurious, the crown of Italy was in no circumstances whatever to be joined with that of France.

In connection with the establishment of the new monarch of Italy, a military order of knighthood was instituted by Bonaparte, to consist of 200 knights of the order of the "Iron Crown," which afforded an opportunity of rewarding many of his officers, and may be regarded as another evidence of his devotion to that class of merit, from which he had derived such singular advantage.

Soon after the termination of the campaign in Germany, a grand requiem was celebrated, with all the popular solemnities of the Romish religion and all the pomp of cathedral service, for the warriors who had fallen in battle. The most depressive aspect of war was soothed by scattering honours over the tombs of heroes, whose widows

and children had obtained a settlement from the funds of the nation, and whose patriotic exertions, now closed in honourable death, called forth those tears and intercessions before the Supreme Mind for their eternal felicity, which, springing from pious affection, were supposed to effect changes in the state of the dead, or in the destinations of omniscience. While the rites of the departed were performed with those expressions of unequivocal regret and veneration, which in a moment of enthusiasm might almost inspire the spectators of this captivating ceremony with the wish of exchanging situations with the celebrated dead, festivals were contemplated, with the same principal object in view, and to an unequalled extent. The armies of Napoleon, on their return from the seat of war, were to assemble in the heart of their country. For a succession of days they were to enjoy all those festivities which the bounty of gratitude or the invention of genius could suggest. Rewards were to be distributed by their chief. Games should be instituted, which were to exceed, in elegance and dignity, every thing that antiquity had transmitted; and the civil administrations were to furnish every facility to give success to this comprehensive project of national and enthusiastic commemoration. The circumstances of the continent, however, prevented the accomplishment of this intended festival.

A circumstance of gratification for the people of Paris, which occurred this year, was the arrival of an ambassador from the grand Signor, expressly appointed to congratulate Bonaparte on his accession to the throne of France. The eastern style of address and compliment which characterized his excellency's speech to Napoleon on his grand audience, was not so remote from the habits of the Parisians as to prevent their cordial sympathies. The bright star of glory of the western nations; the greatest of the sovereigns in the christian faith; he, who grasped in one hand the sword of valour, and in the other the sceptre of justice; were designations which met with their complete concurrence.

The embassy from Constantinople was followed by one from their high mightinesses of Holland, the object of which was, the effecting of a change in the constitution of that country, stated by the commissioners to be demanded by the necessities and desires of the people, by erecting Holland into a kingdom, and establishing prince Louis, the brother of the emperor, upon its throne.

By the constitutional code, agreed upon at Paris for this purpose, and accepted by Louis Napoleon, the constitutional laws actually existing were still to remain in force, excepting in cases in which they might be superseded by the recent treaty, or by the articles of the new code. The government of the Dutch colonies, whose receipts and expenditure should be incorporated with those of the state, was to be conducted by special regulations. The guarantees of the public debt; the employment of the Dutch language in all laws, ordinances and publications of authority; the preservation of the existing weight and value of the coin, unless altered by any express statute; the continuance of the former flag of the state; and the appointment of a council of state to consist of thirteen members, among whom the ministers were to vote and deliberate, were established by the general dispositions

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of the first part of the code. By the second part, equal protection was extended to all the modes of religion professed in the state, and the exercise of public religious duties was limited to the respective churches of all the different sects. Every thing relative to the organization, protection and exercise of worship was to be regulated by the king, and the law; and the king was to enjoy, wherever he might fix his residence, the free and public exercise of his religion. By the third part of these dispositions the complete exercise of the executive government, and of all the power necessary for carrying the laws into effect, was possessed by the king. He appointed to all the offices and places, the nomination to which had belonged to the grand pensionary, and possessed all the pre-eminence and prerogatives attached to that dignity. The coin was to bear his effigy. Justice was to be administered in his name; and the power of pardoning offences and remitting punishments was to be possessed by him, although not to be exercised without an audience of the members of the national court in the privy council. The regent, in case of a minority, should be the queen, otherwise some person appointed by the emperor, who should always have natives for counsellors, and never be personally responsible for the acts of administration. The government and internal administration of the colonies were exclusively vested in the king; and the general government of the kingdom was to be under the immediate inspection of four ministers of state, respectively for the interior, for finance, for naval and military concerns, and for the department of foreign affairs. With respect to the law, the fourth part declares it to be established by the union of the legislative assembly of their high mightinesses and the king. The legislative body was to consist of thirty-eight members chosen by the different provinces for five years; and on the present occasion, as nineteen members were necessary to complete that number, for every place to be filled, their high mightinesses, and the departmental assemblies of each department, were each to present a nomination of two persons, from whom the king should make his choice. The present grand pensionary was to take the office of president of their high mightinesses, for life, and his successor was to be appointed agreeably to the dispositions of 1805. The legislative body should in general assemble twice a-year for the space of about six weeks or two months, and might be summoned by the king on any extraordinary occasion: and on the 15th of November in every year, after the few first instances, which should be regulated by lot, the eldest five of this body should go out, without losing their re-eligibility. With regard to the fifth and last part of this code, and which treats of the judicial power, the power attached to the late pensionary devolved on the king, and the judicial tribunals remained also upon the former establishment, excepting that a particular law was to regulate the administration of criminal justice on military affairs.

What portion of freedom was likely to be allowed by the new government, was soon collected from the circumstance of the suppression of a public paper called the Amsterdam Evening Journal, the editor of which had certainly

taken undue liberties, and might in a free country have reasonably incurred penalties from the ordinary tribunals. But by the suppression of this paper by the royal edict, Louis manifested to his people his attachment to that summary process which despotism ever prefers to the tediousness and uncertainty attending public forms, and courts of justice; and in thus confounding the judicial and executive administration of power, too plainly evinced that he had more at heart the extension of his own authority, than the dignity and liberty of the people whom he governed. The constitution itself, however, of this new kingdom is by no means the establishment of an unqualified monarchy, and in better times may lead to a system of polity, which shall unite the due limitation of power with the complete security of order.

The pressure of the armies of France upon the German territories, while Bonaparte was watching the motions of his neighbours, or carrying into effect his projects of spoliation, was great, and contributions were levied by him on the inhabitants not only without reluctance but without moderation. In these circumstances, complaint was expressed in a tone of firmness and animation. The spirit of resistance was summoned to its noblest exertions, in a variety of publications which soon attracted the notice of the French government. Orders were given for the apprehension of various booksellers in Franconia, Bavaria, and Swabia, who were carried to the fortress of Braunau. Among these the fate of John Palm, a resident of Nuremburg, which was one of the free towns of Germany possessing laws and tribunals of its own, attracted particular notice. This person was the publisher of a pamphlet entitled "Germany in the lowest State of Degradation," which had been read with great avidity. He was in consequence arrested by order of the French government and dragged to Braunau, charged with the publication of a work libellous against the French emperor, and tending to mislead the people of the south of Germany. A court martial was held on his case, consisting of general Berthier, seven colonels, and an adjutant with a reporter. After sitting for three days, Palm, who had not been present during the depositions, was brought into court, where the evidence was read to him; after which he was ordered to withdraw, and the court consulted about the extent of his guilt and punishment, and adjudged him to be shot within 24 hours. This proceeding, although affecting immediately only an obscure individual, excited considerable attention and indignation throughout Europe, in several countries of which subscriptions were raised for the family of the deceased: and although the chief of the French government did not personally appear upon the bloody stage, he incurred that odium which might naturally attach to him from the consideration, that the performers on the scene must have been at least well aware of his approbation of their conduct, and that he has ever entertained a decided enmity to that freedom of the press which is certainly the most formidable foe to tyranny, and will eventually effect its extermination. The state of the press in France is just such as in these circumstances might be expected. No foreign publications are permitted to be imported with-

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out an express sanction, and the British journals are excluded from circulation with the most anxious solicitude. From the certainty that any work including free strictures on the conduct of public affairs, would expose its circulators to the swift infliction of vengeance proportioned to the energy and the truth with which they were delivered, nothing in the form of censure on these topics is ever exhibited. Every page of politics is a panegyric on the imperial administration; and even science has condescended to adopt the adulation of the public journals, and to extol the liberty as well as glory of the great nation.

The attention of the religious world was particularly drawn by some events occurring this year in France in relation to the Jews. The situation of this people has ever interested those who have adverted to their universal dispersion through barbarous and civilized nations, without melting in either case into the common mass, and sinking their national language, manners, or religion, to which with inviolable fidelity they have adhered, amidst that scorn and persecution which through a long succession of ages have been their only inheritance. Liberal religionists have thought they saw in it some corroboration of their faith, attended with certain inexplicable difficulties: speculative men of the world have found in it a moral problem, for which their utmost ingenuity has been unable to furnish a satisfactory solution; while the humane of all descriptions have viewed with sentiments of the most sincere commiseration, a race of people, who, inheriting a tainted reputation, are precluded, perhaps, from the very strongest motive to upright and manly character, and, despairing to derive estimation, like other men, from virtue, not unnaturally plunge into all the circumventions of fraud and all the profligacy of dishonour. Complaint had been repeatedly communicated to the emperor from various departments, of the fraudulent and usurious conduct of these people; and deputations from the Jews scattered over the various parts of the empire, were ordered to appear at Paris in an assembly, which might hold conferences with the government for the correction of the evil complained of, and the consideration of other subjects, interesting to their body in particular and also to the nation at large. The assembly soon met in consequence of these instructions, and was opened by a commissioner of the government. Their meeting was stated to be pregnant with very important consequences. They were now for the first time to be judged by a christian prince with fairness and impartiality. It would be their wisdom not to suspect the beneficial intentions of government, and, showing no desire to separate from other classes of society, to co-operate with the kind exertions of the emperor, whose ardent desire it was to see them become genuine Frenchmen, and who demanded their attention and deliberation on various questions, to which [illegible] expected they would reply with perfect freedom and explicitness.

In answer to several of the questions presented to them, they, after several discussions, at length stated, that their law permitted polygamy, divorce, and mixed marriages, which were, however, modified by usage. In reply to the questions relative to the duties of

French citizens, their answers were in a high degree satisfactory. The imperial commissioner attended at the assembly of the Jewish deputies some time after the delivery of these answers, and expressed his majesty's approbation of them. In return for the free exercise of their religion, and the full enjoyment of their political rights, the emperor observed, through his deputy, that he exacted a religious guarantee for the observance of the principles announced in their answers. For this purpose, it was requisite that these answers should be converted into decisions by an assembly of a more impressive and religious form, that they might be placed by the side of the Talmud, and acquire the greatest possible authority. It was therefore proposed to convoke the grand Sanhedrim; which, having fallen with the Temple, would now re-appear to enlighten the people in the law, and to animate them to the love and defence of that country which was the only one wherein they had been permitted to attain any respectable notice since the ruin of their ancient polity. The Sanhedrim should consist of sixty-six members, and a committee of the present assembly should be appointed to arrange the subjects of discussion for that grand council, whose convocation they were to announce to all the synagogues of Europe.

The anticipated consequences of these events, respecting a nation which from its first bondage in Egypt has been exposed to the perpetual abhorrence of the world, from the unsocial spirit and ferocious fanaticism of its manners and institutions, varied in different minds according to their respective habits of speculation or prejudice. Judicious observers, however, were pleased with beholding evidences of that progressive reason, which, by slow indeed, but certain influences, ameliorates the affairs of the world: and the removal or mitigation of sectarian hatred, the abandonment of inhuman ceremonies, and the elevation of a degraded race of men to usefulness, to estimation, and dignity, were conceived to be the tendency and object of these extraordinary measures of the French government, which were, however, speedily suspended by the more urgent events which pressed upon its attention.

The range and multiplicity of subjects which occupied the attention of the chief of this government, are not undeserving of notice. It might seem as if nothing was too vast for his comprehension, or too minute for his observation; and it appears impossible not to admire the facility with which he personally directs the details of affairs, civil as well as military, the most complicated and the most various, Not merely to the transcendence of his genius, but also to his indefatigable and incessant application of it, he is indebted for his almost uninterrupted success. He inspects every thing with his own eye. He labours with more industry than any secretary or clerk in office. His principal relaxation is in the variety of business. He considers the refreshments of nature "not as the premium and privilege," but as the task of life. He appoints to stations of distinction, those only who by experience or talents are qualified to discharge the duties of them, and superintends that discharge with a vigilance which will not permit the approach of delinquency or remissness. These are qualities which merit imitation, and enough will still

still remain to gratify those who are delighted with censure. No formidable adversary to any nation or individual ever yet existed, from whom something valuable might not be imitated, and the most effectual way to injure an enemy, is to follow his example in those judicious regulations which have led to his success. The industry of Bonaparte may be copied by those who detest the ultimate object of it. In his bestowment of honours upon merit, in his inspection into the abuses of administration, he may be resembled, not only without disgrace but even with honour, while that boundless thirst of power, which prevents the repose of harassed Europe, receives all the reprobation which it merits. His temperance and energy, his prompt decision, his steady vigilance, his unwearied assiduity, may be praised, and at least partly imitated, while he is justly condemned for his spoliation of peaceful states, and breach of the most solemn engagements, for that policy of expedience which admits no moral check to the enterprises of his ambition, and that abject prostration of his country's rights, amidst which he asserts the perfection both of her glory and freedom.

CHAPTER XI.

Views of the New Ministry to Peace—Commencement of Negotiation—Appointment of Lord Yarmouth to conduct it—Difficulties about Russia—Arrival of M. d'Oubril at Paris—a separate Peace signed by Russia—High Tone of the French Plenipotentiaries—Mission of Lord Lauderdale—His first Efforts—The Imperial Communication to the English Minister—Non-ratification of D'Oubril's Treaty by the Emperor of Russia—Near Prospect of War between Prussia and France—Rupture of the Negotiation—Peace between Prussia and Sweden—Prussian Declaration—Battle of Schleitz—Battle of Jena—Successes and Skill of the Duke of Berg—Surrender of Prince Hohenloe—Retreat of General Bucher—Bonaparte's Entry into Berlin—Seizure of Hamburgh—Blockade of the British Islands—French advance to Praga—Defeat of the Russian Forces under Benningsen and Buxhoveden—Retreat of the Russians—Situation of the King of Prussia—Conduct of Bonaparte and his Enemies.

THE new ministry soon after entering upon office, having taken a clear and full view of the state of the country, appear to have formed the resolution of directing their views to the accomplishment of a peace with France. About this period, a project for assassinating the French emperor was communicated by a foreigner to Mr. Fox, who immediately transmitted to M. Talleyrand a statement of the circumstances, with some detail of his feelings on the occasion, observing, that, as an honest man, he thought himself bound to make this communication to the French government; adding, that he would not send away the prisoner till full time had been allowed

allowed for precaution against his attempts, and then to some part of the continent as remote as possible from France. In a respectful reply to this letter by M. Talleyrand, is introduced, unofficially, an extract from the emperor's speech to the legislative body, expressive of his wish for peace with England, and his readiness to negotiate for it without a moment's delay, agreeably to the treaty of Amiens. Mr. Fox on the 26th of February, in a letter to M. Talleyrand, states, that he had laid before the king that part of his private letter relating to the pacific wishes of the French government, and he expresses the ardent disposition of the British cabinet to smooth the obstacles in the way to peace, a basis for which would be best formed by the reciprocal acknowledgment of the two nations, that the peace should be honourable both for them and their allies, and calculated to secure the future repose of Europe. Such, however, were the ties existing between England and Russia, as made it necessary to observe, that the latter could not treat, and much less conclude any thing, but in concert with the emperor Alexander, who, with fewer interests to discuss with France, was warmly concerned in the greater or less degree of independence enjoyed by the different states of Europe. His majesty's name being thus introduced into the discussion by Mr. Fox, the intercourse began to assume an official aspect. M. Talleyrand was authorized by his master to declare, that France wished for nothing that England was in possession of, and was only desirous of repose, and the unobstructed exercise of her industry; that the emperor adopted the general principle laid down by Mr. Fox, that the peace should be honourable for the two courts and their respective allies; that, while he was ready to make every concession which the naval preponderance of England could justly claim, he reasonably expected in return proposals conformable to the honour of his crown and the commercial rights of his dominions. But he conceived, that two enlightened and neighbouring nations would not do justice to their own dignity and wisdom, in calling for the intervention of a foreign and distant power in the discussion of the great interests by which they were divided. To obviate some of the inconveniences attending the existing mode of communication between the two governments, lord Yarmouth, one of the persons who had been detained by Bonaparte at the commencement of the war, was induced, at the request of the French government, to go from Verdun to Paris, and was invested with powers as a diplomatic agent. In his first conversation with M. Talleyrand, the latter specifically detailed to him the reasons which had been urged against admitting Russia to a concert in the treaty with Great Britain; soon after which his lordship suggested that a medium might perhaps be discovered, by which the object desired by the French government, and that of Great Britain of not treating in a manner unconnected with Russia, might be obtained: to which the French minister replied, that they were ready to give every facility to the arrangement of the respective interests of the two powers, or that the British minister might be authorized by the emperor Alexander to stipulate also for him. From the expression of M.

Talleyrand, that France demanded nothing of Great Britain, rather than from any explicit and unequivocal statement that appears in the documents, it was understood that the basis of the treaty was to be the *uti possidetis*, with exchange upon equivalents. Respecting Hanover, as it was seized without the due exercise of the rights of war, taken from the elector, and not from the king of Great Britain, it was made a point of honour by Mr. Fox to procure an agreement for its restoration at peace without exchange, as a preliminary to negotiation, and it was conceded to lord Yarmouth in his second interview, that, in consequence of the stress laid upon this subject by the English minister, Hanover should make no difficulty. Sicily also was an important object of attention; and lord Yarmouth was instructed to urge the retention of it, as indispensable to the continuance of the negotiation. In the above conference, the question relating to Sicily was explicitly proposed by his lordship, who was answered by the observation, that the English were in possession of that island, the French therefore did not demand it of them; and that, if it had been otherwise, the difficulties of the negotiation would be very considerably increased; another circumstance from which the admission of the *uti possidetis* by the French government was inferred by the English. At the conclusion of this interview M. Talleyrand observed, in coincidence with that spirit of politeness and conciliation with which it had been conducted, "the sentiments of France are extremely different from what they were. The asperity which characterized the commencement of the war no longer exists, and what we most desire is to live in harmony with so great a power as Great Britain." Lord Yarmouth was now dispatched to London to communicate personally (particularly on the subject of Hanover, on which the French government declined to commit itself in writing) with Mr. Fox; and having discharged the object of his mission at London he returned to Paris. About this period a circumstance occurred which had an important influence on the state of the negotiation. This was the arrival of M. d'Oubril at Paris, with full powers from the Russian government to conclude a peace. The court of France had for some time known, that that of Russia was not averse to negotiation, and expected an authorized agent for this purpose; and with this expectation it connected the hope of detaching the interests of that empire from those of Great Britain, and of inducing the Russian plenipotentiary to a separate pacification. The intercourse between the Russian and British ministers does not seem, even at the commencement of their joint residence at Paris, to have been precisely of that confidential and intimate nature which might have been expected, from the disposition which had been ever manifested to unite the interests of both nations in a joint treaty of peace with France, by the British ministry, whose honourable and undeviating firmness on this subject must have commanded universal admiration. To remove the difficulty in the way of this joint settlement, had been the object of their perpetual efforts and ingenuity. The British agent also was instructed to make it an object of express and particular provision to procure a Turkish barrier, knowing not only

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its importance to the general interest of Europe, but having reason to presume that the greatest stress was laid upon it by the emperor of Russia. The retention of Sicily was demanded with decided determination. Proposals of exchange and equivalent were perpetually rejected on this subject, supposed so indispensable to the Russian cabinet. And when, after lord Yarmouth's return from London, M. Talleyrand, on being recalled to the case of Sicily, explicitly stated, that circumstances were materially changed, and that, during the pending of discussions for the termination of hostility, either power was always at liberty to avail itself of the contingencies of fortune or the changes of opinion that might occur, and intimated that the cession of Sicily was indispensable, lord Yarmouth had instructions to state, that if he could not recall the French plenipotentiary to the basis of possession, he should in the most decided, but at the same time the most polite terms, demand his passports. Yet after all this determination and energy had been manifested with respect to Sicily by the cabinet of London, M. d'Oubril expressed a wish, that England would admit the possibility of an equivalent being found for that island, if its monarch could be persuaded to accept it. The full views of the Russian minister were not at this time developed; and it was thought proper by the British ministry distinctly to admit, that, if an equivalent could be found for Sicily, with the approbation of king Ferdinand, it should be accepted. While this equivalent was in discussion, M. d'Oubril communicated to count Strogonoff, the Russian ambassador in London, the proposal which had been made to him of concluding a separate peace with France; the object of which communication, probably, was, to sound the disposition of the British cabinet. On the suggestion by the count to Mr. Fox, that such an overture had been made, which it was impossible indeed for him to have doubted, he scrupled not to express the most marked disapprobation of whatever would tend to such a result, stating, that the enemy would thereby be encouraged to the most extensive hopes of carrying into effect his plans of aggrandizement; that by such a course Europe would be deprived of all effectual resource amidst the new projects of danger entertained against it by France; that above all things, therefore, England and Russia should combine their efforts for pacification, and leave the enemy no expectation of destroying that union, which, so far as it depended on the king of Great Britain, would ever remain indissoluble. While these dignified remonstrances, however, were urged against the measure by the British cabinet, general Clarke received from his government express powers to treat with M. d'Oubril for a peace between the two empires, and conferences with a view to this object were held in rapid succession and of extreme length. Just before the well known result of these conferences actually took place, when circumstances had occurred confirming his suspicions and fears, lord Yarmouth pressed the Russian ambassador closely on the subject of this separation; who admitted that he had produced his powers, and that, if certain conditions could be procured by him, he should certainly sign a truce of ten months; and in the imminent

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danger of Austria, if he could thus save her by a separate peace, he should think it his duty to do so. Every argument to prevent this measure was employed, that the ingenuity of the British agent could suggest: every appeal to policy and honour, which the circumstances supplied, was urged with all the energy of wounded sensibility; but they appeared to be applied to a man who had come with a predetermination to accomplish a peace at whatever expense, whether good or bad, and with or without the concert of Great Britain. Within three days from this interview and remonstrance, the separate treaty between France and Russia was actually signed.

When the British cabinet knew that Russia had made peace, and without any stipulation whatever on the subject of Sicily or Naples, which were not even mentioned in the treaty; agreeing at the same time to abandon Cattaro and Dalmatia, contenting herself with the establishment of the Seven Islands, the general guarantee of the Turkish empire, the independence of Ragusa under her protection, and the engagement for withdrawing, within three months, the French troops from Germany, their astonishment was extreme. Any hope that the Russian plenipotentiary had materially exceeded his instructions, so as to justify a refusal of ratification on the part of the emperor, seemed counteracted by the known ability of the plenipotentiary himself. Had the power of infatuated or insane caprice invaded the grand depository of Russian authority himself? a case which, under the autocracy of that government, might ever be suspected, and of which a recent and flagrant precedent was upon record. The Russian ministry under whom D'Oubril had received his appointment, it was true, had been changed; but, as that administration had ever been firm adherents to the English connection and the true interests of their country, so, from their successors the British cabinet had received the most unequivocal pledges for continued concert in war or peace. Yet, again, time had expired since their accession to office, for their communication of corresponding instructions to M. d'Oubril at Paris, who, however, it was certain could have received no such instructions. Such was the existing chaos of circumstances, in which conjecture only could be substituted for conclusion, and which baffled a penetration perhaps never exceeded.

But, whatever inconvenience might be supposed to have resulted from the separate treaty of Russia, it at least liberated Great Britain from all engagements to that power, and diminished that complexity which had hitherto embarrassed the discussions for peace, and which originally prevented a compliance with the proposal of France to send over a public minister openly accredited. This difficulty being now completely removed, the British government, immediately on the receipt of the intelligence respecting D'Oubril's treaty, appointed lord Lauderdale, with lord Yarmouth indeed in conjunction, to this situation of responsibility and delicacy. The court of France, it may easily be supposed, were at least as much delighted at the success of their policy with regard to Russia, as England was surprised and disgusted at it. It was soon observed by its plenipotentiary, that, as the season of the year was now arrived for accomplishing the

the ulterior views entertained by France, no arrangements which had for their object the removal to a distance of months, or even weeks, the conclusion of a definitive treaty with England, could be permitted. The Russian treaty was represented as equal to a splendid victory, and as entitling France to terms proportionally more advantageous than she would formerly have yielded to. Before the arrival of the new plenipotentiary from England, or the knowledge of his appointment, in an interview between lord Yarmouth, who had indiscreetly announced his full powers, and general Clarke, who had been appointed to conduct the negotiation with his lordship, the French minister stated, that the consent of Great Britain was demanded to the arrangement proposed respecting Sicily by France; and although some great points might, in justice, be withdrawn in consequence of the high situation of the emperor, as he had, however, committed himself upon them, they would remain untouched. Hanover would be ceded; Malta should be confirmed in full sovereignty to England; as likewise the Cape, with an expressed desire that the port, at least part of it, should be made free to all nations. The guarantee of the Porte, of Spain throughout all her foreign dependencies, and of the dominions of Sweden, should be acceded to by both powers. England should recognise the recent titles and establishments of France or her allies, and cede all other conquests which she had made, in any part of the world, to those nations from whom they had been made. These demands were the subject of long conferences between the plenipotentiaries, without any admission on the part of lord Yarmouth, of the possibility of his majesty's making the cessions demanded, and with a view, as he states, to ascertain to what extent, and in what manner, they might be modified.

In a short period after this, lord Lauderdale arrived at Paris. His first efforts were directed to fixing the negotiation on a certain basis. With this view he laid before general Clarke a paper, in which he stated how much the king of England had been pleased with the original proposal on the part of France, for treating on the principle of the *uti possidetis*, which, with the exception of the case of Hanover, was to have been scrupulously observed. This proposal had not indeed been made directly by an accredited minister, but was of undoubted authenticity, from the character of the person who was the medium of its communication, and from its coincidence with the original declaration of the French minister for foreign affairs, that France wanted nothing which England possessed; a declaration the natural prelude to a proposal, which appeared the only one likely to lead to an accommodation between nations in possession of extensive and valuable acquisitions, which could not, in all probability, be changed by the continuance of hostilities. By the demand of Sicily, however, this principle had been most obviously infringed, and it was necessary, therefore, to revert to it; while it was at the same time admitted, that Sicily might possibly be ceded upon indemnity or equivalent. Since the first proposal of this basis of treaty, France had indeed made peace with Russia; but she had, on the other hand, concluded very considerable and extensive changes in Germany,

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most decidedly to her advantage; and England was at all events entitled to negotiate with France on equal terms, insisting on the obvious truth, that to both parties hostilities were equally injurious.

This statement of lord Lauderdale was laid before the head of the French government, and on the next day was replied to by a communication under his authority and direction. The tone of this impassioned reply could indeed leave no doubt of the too active intervention of a party most nearly concerned in the subject of it. That dignified remoteness of principals, in discussions of diplomacy, which has been the practice of civilized courts, so favourable to free investigation and just conclusion; and which is, indeed, the only mode of preventing the oppositions of opinions from being involved in the conflict of the passions, has been too frequently violated by the court of St. Cloud. For the decorum of ministerial agency it has substituted that irritation and asperity which almost uniformly attend the champion of his own cause, and employed frequently that pen of iron, which, instead of blotting out injuries, inflicts wounds. The undeviating policy of France was stated in this reply to have been, not to treat with England and Russia in conjunction; a point which, although long insisted upon by England, had been at length abandoned by her. Lord Yarmouth had been appointed an accredited minister for treating. Since that, Russia had made a peace with France, and conferences of a free and ingenuous character had taken place between the appointed ministers, almost daily, and of long duration, instead of conducting the negotiation by notes of greater or less ingenuity, which, far from approximating the grand object in view, removed it to a greater distance, and were the beginning of controversies not less injurious to nations than open hostility. In these conferences the emperor had granted all that was possible without sacrificing the dignity of his crown and the interests of his allies. The plenipotentiary was permitted, by his majesty, to advert to the main question, the basis of the negotiation, which had been far advanced and on the point of ultimate success. The principle of Mr. Fox, proposed in his letter of the 26th of March, that the peace ought to be honourable for both parties and their allies, was fully adopted in the reply. In M. Talleyrand's letter to Mr. Fox, his excellency went further, and suggested the establishment of two fundamental principles, as a basis: the first, that just stated; the second, a mutual acknowledgment of the right of guarantee and intervention by both powers, in continental and maritime affairs. This was the basis adopted by the British government. The French emperor could not have thought of taking the *uti possidetis* for the basis of negotiation. If such had been his intention, he would have retained his conquests in Moravia, and Hungary, and Austria, in Italy, and in Germany; and would then willingly have acceded to the proposed foundation of treaty. And with regard to Sicily, this would also have been comprehended in the required principle, as he would have secured the possession of it before he opened negotiation; which he would have been enabled to do through its vicinity to the shores of Italy. And if the detaching of the Cape and other Dutch dependencies

dencies from the kingdom of Holland were to be insisted upon, this would prevent the capability of the existence of Holland as a distinct nation, and her incorporation with France would be the natural and necessary consequence; a change, to England, of extreme importance and danger. Under these circumstances, with Hanover a province of France, and Trieste and Fiume, with their territories, to be attached to Italy, Great Britain might securely be allowed to keep all that she pretended to, and have the full application of the *uti possidetis*. In the suggestion of such a basis, it must have been thought, that the emperor was reduced to a state of extreme humiliation and distress. So far as it would tend to deprive France of her commerce, and all her establishments, and to effect the ruin of her allies, so far the basis was to be preserved. So far as, by the verification of it, France would be compelled to renounce her engagements, and break her treaties, and dissolve her continental system, to that extent it was to be infringed upon. But the longest war would be less disastrous than such mean concession. The peace could never be deemed honourable, were the emperor to lose a single island or a single subject; and therefore neither should Tobago, nor any other colony, in the same manner belonging to him before the war, be on any condition alienated. The very idea of the basis mentioned was considered by him as disgraceful.

It certainly may be regarded as a singular circumstance, that, after an intercourse of months, the actual foundation of the treaty was not so decidedly established, not by oral declaration but by written and irrevocable document, as to admit of no possibility of dispute or denial. And although it can scarcely be presumed, that, whatever basis had been adopted, (as it was admitted, that, during the discussion, a variation of the terms was allowable according to the nature of the contingencies which occurred in its progress,) the terms of that government would have been materially different, yet this clear and decided establishment would have tended to prevent those odious imputations of falsehood, those exasperating charges of treacherous forgetfulness and convenient duplicity, which were at least insinuated, and which were calculated so directly to oppose that great work, which required at every step the spirit and language of extreme conciliation. In observation upon the French note, the substance of which has just been given, the discussion by notes is vindicated by lord Lauderdale, not only by the general assertion of their tendency to remove difficulty by clearing and fixing the ideas of the parties in debate, but by the pointed remark, that the existing negotiation had been brought by it almost instantly to an unequivocal issue, and which it must have attained some months before, had the practice been originally adopted. As to the stated advance towards maturity of the discussions under general Clarke and lord Yarmouth, the latter remarked, that, instead of being nearly completed, the negotiation had scarcely commenced, and that the conferences, so boasted of, consisted almost entirely of demands made by France which could not possibly be admitted by England, while the English agent kept within the line of that basis, which, when first proposed to his Britannic majesty, had been felt by

by him to be peculiarly applicable, and the decided renunciation of which was now so sincerely to be regretted. The delivery of the present note was stated to be only a prelude to a demand for passports, an application for which was accordingly made on the ninth of August, in a note which stated, that the pretensions of the French government, advanced in their last communication, being so incompatible with the basis formerly proposed by them, the English plenipotentiaries were left no other alternative than to return to their own country, for which purpose they requested the necessary passports.

These passports, however, the French ministers neglected to send, and, after a considerable interval of time, excuses were made which could by no means vindicate the procrastinated yielding to a demand, of which nothing can justify the delayed grant, but an impossibility of immediate compliance. Indeed, the conduct of the French government on the subject of passports is deserving of extreme reprehension, not merely in the instance just mentioned, but subsequently, when the application was renewed and repeated, and reiterated in terms of the most dignified remonstrance, but was received only with the most profound neglect. The circumstances and views of the English plenipotentiaries, who were desirous to complete their mission with the least possible irritation, and the fullest testimony of the sincerity with which it was undertaken, might, perhaps, justify them in not proceeding beyond the point of dispassionate but decided reference to the dignity of sovereigns and the laws of nations, while many would certainly have approved the most animated and indignant appeal. But all must unite in condemning that flagrant violation of established usages, respected even by savage nations, which it was not to be expected would occur in a country which boasted itself as the very focus of European civilization. The note above mentioned, demanding passports, and alluding to the grounds of the application, was at length noticed by a communication, in which it was observed, that, the English ministers having again brought forward the basis of the *uti possidetis*—as it was not to be supposed that England meant to exact every convenient restitution from France, and to keep all that she had herself acquired, the French plenipotentiary requested an explanation of what conquests England was desirous to keep; what she would restore to France and her allies; and what she wished to have ceded by France. This explanation would unfold a system of compensation which would give an idea of the principles and intentions of the British cabinet, and it would be possible to ascertain what engagements would be involved in the adoption of the desired basis. As a medium of exchange and compensation the emperor would not decline its adoption, because it was conformable to the two principles already laid down. In reply to this request for explanation, lord Lauderdale observed, that so far from wishing for every convenient restitution from France, the principle insisted on, as a basis, to be scrupulously observed, except with respect to the peculiar and admitted case of Hanover, included the retention by France of all her valuable accessions of power and influence. That the basis appeared too obvious in itself to require ex-

planation, and the verbal discussions between the plenipotentiaries had sufficiently proved how fully it had been understood by them all: it was only possible therefore for the English plenipotentiaries to insist on the recurrence to that principle, on which condition alone they were authorised to continue the negotiation, and on the adoption of which they would proceed to the instantaneous discussion of other points; congratulating both nations on the prospect that would thus be opened for effecting a peace calculated for their mutual honour, and to ensure the tranquillity of Europe.

One or two conferences after this took place, at the particular request of the French plenipotentiary, and from the urgent desire of lord Lauderdale to give effect even to a chance of the success of his mission. In these it was urged, that Hanover, the Cape, and Malta, would make a glorious peace for England: but that the fate of Hanover must irrevocably be determined in eight-and-forty hours. The determination, however, of the French emperor was stated so decidedly against surrendering the smallest particle of French territory, rather than do which, he would continue the war to the last day of his existence, as to leave his lordship no alternative but the resolution of immediate return.

About this period another important incident, or æra, occurred in the negotiation, which was the non-ratification of the Russian treaty with France.

When lord Lauderdale called on the French ministers definitively for those passports which had been so inexcusably withheld, they exhibited the most striking appearance of conciliation and cordiality. They expressed themselves on the subject of the French possessions in the East and West Indies, and on the Dutch colonies, in terms so perfectly different from the high tone which they had recently manifested on those subjects, that his lordship felt the most complete surprise, and was led to imagine their intention was at length to make the cessions required. This change was speedily explained by the event which had occurred at St. Petersburgh, and M. Talleyrand admitted, from the emperor, that, in consequence of the non-ratification of the Russian treaty, he was disposed to make peace with England on terms more favourable to her than he would otherwise have yielded to, and would give his plenipotentiaries new instructions accordingly. His lordship was thus raised to much higher ground than he had before occupied. He was soon instructed to declare, that the non-ratification of Russia had replaced the two courts in their former state of close and intimate alliance: yet, that, as before admitted, while their actual concert was most substantial and complete, they might treat separately in form; that the *uti possidetis* was considered absolutely indispensable, most peremptorily including Sicily, which only the suggestion and wishes of M. D'Oubril had, for a moment, induced the British ministry to think of abandoning for an equivalent: that not being officially empowered by Russia to treat for her, he could treat at all only provisionally: that any pacification between France and England, therefore, must be agreed not to have effect till peace took place also between France and Russia: that the existing most friendly intimacy between the two cabinets of London and Petersburgh had, however, enabled his court

court to give him full information of the intentions of that of Russia, and he was authorised to state the conditions of a peace with that power, and to reduce them into the form of a treaty. In a conversation on those subjects with M. Talleyrand, his lordship urged the invariableness of the terms resulting from the required basis, observing, that with regard to Russia he should be as decided as to any point more peculiarly British, and adding, that the irregularity of his proceedings, in relation to that court, was absolutely inevitable, as he had no power from the emperor; and his Britannic majesty's principles and feelings would not permit him to think of negotiating, but in such a manner as might insure to the Russian court an honourable peace, at the moment when peace was concluded between France and England. This rendered it necessary that the objects of Russia should be permitted to be stated in this unofficial, though at the same time clear and authentic, manner.

It may be proper here to digress for a moment, by remarking, that the relations of France and Prussia had, before this period, undergone a material alteration. It had been sufficiently understood by Prussia, that, in the deliberations at Paris on the subject of peace, Hanover had been insisted upon by England, and agreed to be yielded by France. The irritation occasioned by this circumstance may be presumed not to have been small. Hanover had long been the favourite object of Prussian ambition. This had been the successful lure offered by Bonaparte to prevent her union with the third coalition. This had been the price of her honour, the reward of her perfidy. Without that courage which gives a comparative respectability to some acts, even of baseness, she had only gradually developed her views upon this territory! She first occupied it for its preservation from the evils of war, and in trust for its rightful owner, and only 'till the conclusion of peace. Its civil and political administration was not for some time connected with her military possession. She was at length *compelled* to possess it in full and irrevocable sovereignty: but the very power which immediately authorised her sovereignty, and enjoined her open and explicit avowal of it, would now force her to abandon it. She was offered, indeed, some frivolous substitute, so minute, however, as to excite the overwhelming conviction that she had been treacherous for trifles, instead of solid acquisitions; and had gained scarcely any thing besides the ruin of her honour. The bait which she had swallowed with all the voracity of unprincipled ambition, was now to be plucked from her vitals, amidst the tortures of regret and mortification. The cabinet of France, which had tempted her degradation, seemed now to despise her baseness, to defy her power, and to laugh at her folly; and, having helped to accomplish her guilt, to exult in the exposure of her infamy. In addition to these impressive and poignant circumstances, the federation of the Rhine had given her considerable uneasiness and alarm. Agreeably to the suggestion of France herself, Prussia had been taking measures for forming a similar confederacy in the North, under her own immediate presidency. The electors of Hesse and Saxony were to have constituted the principal branches of this union; yet scarcely had these measures commenced, when

Bonaparte thought proper to interfere for the prevention of their success, under the allegation, that Prussia was employing compulsion on independent powers to effect this object of her policy. Attempts were also made to detach the elector of Hesse from that intimate alliance with the Prussian court, in which he was confirmed by family union, common interests, and private attachments, and to unite him with the Southern incorporation. Thus the very project which France had suggested, France was counteracting by the subtleties of intrigue, and the menaces of vengeance. The continuance of the French troops in Germany, where they were so stationed as to be in readiness for every call of circumstances, and where they remained to the impoverishment of those miserable districts which they occupied, was another circumstance agitating and exasperating to the feelings of Prussia. In short, a variety of causes concurred, tending to bring to an issue the uncertainty of that relation which had long subsisted, that irritable state, in which, under general professions of respect and attachment, one party had indicated fear, and the other contempt, and in which, repeated concession had led only to renewed and aggravated encroachment.

But as there is a point of degradation and insult at which even cowardice is stimulated into courage, the Prussian court appeared to be assuming that tone of decided hostility, which a long retrospect of French injury and contumely, even in such a court, might be expected to excite, especially when impelled, as it was, by the ardour of the military and the general feeling of the nation. This, then, was another circumstance which appeared to have improved the situation of the English plenipotentiary: for, however France might despise the servility and meanness of the Prussian cabinet, the Prussian army constituted a formidable power. It seemed worth while, therefore, to preclude by negotiation a fourth coalition, which, if absolutely necessary to be encountered, Bonaparte might, not unnaturally, believe, would meet the fate of all the preceding, but which, instead of being wantonly provoked, ought to have all reasonable means applied for its prevention.

Recurring then to the negotiation with England, in reply to the statement of lord Lauderdale, so explicit with respect to the Russian concert, and the principle of pacification so long insisted upon by the British government, M. Talleyrand observed, that he should waive all form, and would receive his proposals on the subject of Russia; with respect to which, he objected, not to his lordship's want of powers, but to the unusual circumstance of concluding a treaty, which, when signed, was to take place only in consequence of a particular ev... He exhibited every appearance of a disposition to complete accommodation, and of a conviction, that no serious impediment remained to its accomplishment. After a conversation tending fully to impress his lordship with the idea that peace was the main object of France, and that she was ready to make any reasonable sacrifice in order to procure it, he read to lord Lauderdale a paper, with respect to which, he previously observed, looking somewhat intently at his lordship, that there was a mixture in it of something which, probably, he would not like, but he must take the evil with the good.

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In this paper his imperial majesty regretted that the negotiation daily seemed to take a retrograde course, by bringing forward obsolete forms, and renewing questions which had been repeatedly settled: nevertheless, to give a fresh proof of his desire of peace, the emperor agreed, that the British plenipotentiary should be at liberty to introduce into the treaty whatever he conceived would tend to reconcile the existing difference between France and Russia, and procure for the latter a participation in the benefit of peace; it being well understood, that no proposals would be admitted but such as were honourable to both emperors, and not injurious to their allies: far different, of necessity, from those absurd propositions made by M. Novositlzoff, which were the result of blind confidence and infatuation. France would not consent to abandon the interest of the Ottoman Porte, nor to quit a position which would enable her to sustain that empire against the openly menaced aggressions of Russia. If England still wished for peace, she might have it without delay, and the emperor would, without hesitation, make some sacrifices to accelerate it. If the just and liberal views manifested in the first communications which took place with the illustrious minister, whose death both nations so much lamented, should no longer prevail, vague discussions, immoderate pretensions, and ambiguous proposals, instead of a tone of frankness and dignity, would only tend to irritation. France did not pretend to dictate either to Russia or England, nor would she be dictated to herself; and if an imperious and exaggerating spirit were evinced, and pre-eminence affected; if it were intended to dictate peace, the emperor of the French would follow the precedent set by an illustrious nation of antiquity, relying on its own strength, and reply, "You demand our arms,—come and take them."

Without any assistance from the comment which M. Talleyrand furnished on this note by his apologetical expressions, and the significant glance of his eye, it is impossible not to observe in it that minute interference of high authority, which had already manifested itself in the course of these discussions, and is ever most seriously to be deplored. When monarchs descend from their dignity to figure in the diplomatic arena, the chance of accommodation to hostile kingdoms, if not destroyed, must always be greatly impaired: concession is made with extreme difficulty, retractation is, perhaps, only not impossible; language assumes an imperative and censorial character, naturally flowing, indeed, from habits of uncontrolled dominion, but not the less calculated to excite repulsion and disgust, and remove to an unattainable distance the object of all deliberative intercourse between contending nations. Such, equally inconsistent with dignity and policy, is the criminative and overbearing style of this imperial note: in which, nevertheless, it seems sufficiently clear that Bonaparte felt the pressure of circumstances, and considered himself obliged to yield somewhat to political expediency. Little used, however, to concede, the asperity of his manner indicates the reluctance of his feelings. There is no grace in his compromise with circumstances, his concession is mingled with exasperation, and the means of conciliation are offered in the tone of defiance.

In reply to this note, lord Lauderdale observed, that, by avoiding the notice of whatever it contained foreign to the main question, he should be precluded from discussions, in which he might forget that tone of moderation which it was his duty to observe during the whole course of his mission, and, that in consequence of the admission of the French government with respect to the conclusion of peace, at the same moment between Great Britain, Russia, and France, he should make no difficulty of renewing the conferences. General Clarke being superseded now by M. Champagny, in an interview between the latter and lord Lauderdale his lordship was informed, that the emperor, having determined on great sacrifices for the sake of peace at this time, with a view to obtain it proposed the restoration of Hanover with its dependencies; the confirmation of Malta; his interference to procure from the Dutch their consent to the absolute cession of the Cape; the confirmation of Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Mahee, and the other Indian acquisitions; and, as it was originally settled by the English, the island of Tobago. That, in consideration however of this, Sicily was to be ceded by Great Britain, for which his Sicilian majesty should possess, as an equivalent, the Baleanic islands, and an annuity from the court of Spain; and that, in addition to what was granted to Russia by the treaty of D'Oubril, France would cede to that power the full sovereignty of the island of Corfu, beyond which he had no authority whatever to go. Lord Lauderdale replied, that this being the case, his mission was completely at an end.

Thus terminated a negotiation which had occupied the attention of the two governments for upwards of six months, and exercised the abilities of statesmen of great experience and transcendent talents, all whose efforts were, however, insufficient to stop the ravages of ambition, and terminate the effusion of blood. The length of time to which these discussions extended, has been regarded as an imputation on the vigour and resolution of the British government: yet, in the actual circumstances of England, with no ally in contact with the enemy, whose ardour would be impaired by continued negotiation, the object does not appear of considerable importance. Besides which, the sincerity of pacific desires is ill demonstrated by what carries the appearance of abruptness and precipitancy: to which may be added, the important consideration of the time essentially requisite for the full concert of remote cabinets, in a concern so complicated as to demand very frequent references, and in which the contingency of a moment may set aside dispositions which were thought to preclude almost the possibility of derangement. As before observed, there does certainly appear some deficiency with respect to the establishment of a basis of negotiation, and in relation to this point, had that provident caution been manifested, which, probably, was prevented only by those qualities which did honour to the heart of the British minister, it can scarcely be supposed, that those gross suspicions, or rather flagrant imputations, would have occurred on the subject with which it is now marked. So far as steadiness in these discussions is meritorious, and versatility a fault, the palm seems to belong to the British government, which modified its conduct indeed, in consequence of

of circumstances, but of circumstances which demanded these modifications from their importance, and not arising out of the caprice of the moment, or slight successes, or even important conquests; while that of the enemy was regulated by a barometer of more exquisite sensibility, and exhibited changes corresponding with very slight causes, and calculated to excite painful surprise, and disappoint reasonable hope. In frankness and undisguised communication the British plenipotentiaries appear to possess the advantage: less reserve, less speciousness, and (if the expression may be permitted) less of that finesse which too rarely can be separated from duplicity, seem to have marked their communications: but it may more decidedly be observed, that in the line of moderation which ought ever to characterize these intercourses, the English plenipotentiaries display marked pre-eminence. From the decorum becoming the unspeakable importance of the object of their mission, and the dignity of the personage whom they represented, yet in all cases distinguishable from austere formality, they appear, in no one instance, to have swerved. When summoned to vindication by imputations under which silence would have been supposed to imply guilt; or when commenting on those proceedings of the French government, which constituted a breach of the usages of civilized nations, and which, from those who possessed more irritability than wisdom, would have provoked the most impassioned terms of indignation, they never lost sight of that dignified character wherein they stood, in which they considered the strength of their government as their protection, and united all the firmness of representation with all the inaccessibility of passion. The terms of the peace proposed by France, immediately preceding the rupture, would not have been thought injurious to Great Britain. Considering the character of the chief of the French nation, and his repeated pledges with regard to conditions of a very different description, they might not unnaturally excite surprise in persons who have not reflected, that even arrogance must bend to expedience, and that many governments have indiscreetly bound themselves not to make peace, but upon terms which they were never able to obtain. With respect to Russia, however, so important was it to her that her demands should be yielded to, at least with respect to Albania, that her peremptory requisition upon these points cannot excite any astonishment; and in consideration of the extensive acquisitions and influence of France in the course of her hostilities with that power, without, at the same time, making any impression upon her empire, these demands ought to have been acceded to. In such circumstances to have deserted the Russian government would have been, to adopt the language of Bonaparte, more disastrous than the longest war, and inconsistent with that honour which has ever been the boast of the British nation, and without which, security and happiness are no more than empty names.

It cannot be thought, however, that notwithstanding the failure of the negotiation, with respect to its grand object, it was altogether useless: it disclosed the views and the tempers of the several governments, their wants, and their wishes; and the eventual accomplishment of peace must be supposed to be somewhat facilitated by

the attempt which, in this instance, unhappily proved abortive.

Before the earl of Lauderdale quitted Paris, the discussions between France and Prussia had advanced to a point which left no prospect, and only the slightest chance, of friendly arrangement. The tone of the Prussian court was that of firmness: the troops were animated with high enthusiasm, in the expectation of hostilities which they conceived the honour of the nation had long since required. The zeal of the people coincided with the sentiments of the army. Various towns and provinces proposed to raise and maintain regiments at their own expense; and the students of the university of Halle requested permission to constitute themselves into a regiment of Hussars. The disposition manifested by the court was equally approved by foreign powers as by Prussian subjects. The king of Sweden was eager to cherish the prospect which seemed thus to be afforded of checking the power and aggrandisement of France, and dispatched a letter, written by his own hand, to the king of Prussia, the object and effect of which was, to produce the oblivion of past altercations, and the restoration of that confidence and amity which had been suspended, although not by very active and bloody hostility. The Prussian vessels, also, in the ports of Great Britain, were speedily liberated; and to cherish the spirit of hostility against France, and give it a direction of the greatest possible effect against that government, by producing a system of combined operations, lord Morpeth was dispatched to the court of Berlin with proposals of a very comprehensive description. The object of his mission was indeed no less than the co-operation of a considerable English force with the Prussian army, which, with the vast forces of the Russian emperor, might be brought to bear with far greater probability of success than could attend any single-handed contest on the part of Prussia.

The preparations of Prussia were met with, at least, equal alertness on the part of the emperor of France, who was never yet behind his enemies in vigilance and activity, although policy has occasionally induced him to pretend a surprise. On the 24th of September, he quitted his capital to join the armies, infusing activity as he passed into the various parts of the service, and settling arrangements adapted to all the details of that complicated and formidable machine, whose operations he was about to direct with that promptitude and decision which had so uniformly promoted his success. In the mean time discussions were still continued, and even so late as the fifth of October, when both monarchs were at the head quarters of their respective troops, a dispatch was delivered from the Prussian outposts to those of the French army, which still afforded an opening for amicable adjustment. Within a very few days after, however, a declaration, stating the grounds of the war, was published by the Prussian cabinet: a document well worthy of perusal, but which our limits preclude us from giving, even in an abridged form.

From this interesting paper it will be immediately perceived, that Prussia felt herself how completely committed: her tone was decisive: her epithets were unqualified: and her indignation fluent and unrestrained. It displayed no reserve of fear, and afforded no shelter for versa-

versatility. One circumstance must strike even the most cursory observer, however, of this production, which the Prussian government, nevertheless, does not seem to have been aware of. The solicitude for full vindication in an appeal to arms, has indeed sufficiently accomplished that object, but has led to that fullness and strength of statement, which involved the government in the most serious imputations. It does not appear to have considered, that the same grounds which acquit of presumption and precipitation, may sometimes convict of cowardice: but sordid meanness is not to bear the palm of moderation; pusillanimity must not be confounded with dignified forbearance. If a government whose neutrality is purchased by the spoil of neutrals; whose abstinence from just and glorious hostility, is the result of bribes stolen from the innocent; whose concessions are made, not to error but to usurpation; which has constantly met encroachment with apology, and menace with submission; and which a perpetual series of aggressions has found inaccessible to self-respect; if such a government is permitted to boast of its dignity, its elevated morality, its moderated views and spirit of benevolence; there is an end at once to all those distinctions which have been hitherto thought to exist between the glory and the disgrace of nations. It surely ill-becomes a mighty kingdom to admit, and even to boast, "that it had been led on from humiliation to humiliation, till it approached the ultimate point of political degradation." No difficulty whatever can possibly be experienced in admitting the truth of the assertion; but miserable and abject must be the state of that government, whose defence consists in the acknowledgment of crimes, and whose vindication is stamped with greater infamy than could attend even the strongest evidence of the charge.

Both parties presumed themselves now ready for the conflict, and so confident was Prussia in her own strength, that on the 29th of September, just before the commencement of hostilities, she appears to have refrained from any attempts at re-inforcement from other powers.

The French army had advanced in three divisions: the right, consisting of the corps of marshals Ney and Soult, with a division of Bavarian troops, proceeded by the route of Amberg and Nuremberg to unite at Beyreuth, in their advance upon Hoff: the centre was composed of the reserve under the grand duke of Berg, with the corps of the prince de Ponte Corvo (Bernadotte), and marshal Davoust; and the imperial guards marched by Bamberg towards Cronach, and by way of Saalberg and Schleitz to Gera: the left, consisting of the troops of marshals Lannes and Augereau took their route for Schweinfurth towards Coburg and Saalfeld. The Prussian army, having its right under general Blucher, its centre under the duke of Brunswick, and its left commanded by prince Hohenloe, had taken a very strong position along the north of Frankfort on the Main. The campaign opened with the battle of Schleitz. Three Prussian regiments sustained, with great firmness, one of the most spirited charges of the enemy's cavalry: but the efforts of the French were finally successful, with a loss on the side of the Prussians of nearly 700 men, killed, wounded, and taken; and five hundred waggons, con-

containing articles of great utility for the prosecution of the campaign, fell into the hands of the victors in the contest.

On the tenth, the left wing of the French was equally successful under marshal Lannes against Grafenthall. After the continuance of a cannonade for about two hours, the Prussian cavalry was cut off by the French hussars, and their infantry, being unable to effect an orderly retreat, were obliged in part to take shelter in the adjoining woods, while others were involved inextricably in a marshy ground, where they were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. In this engagement prince Louis of Prussia, brother of the king, was killed by a marshal of the tenth regiment of French hussars, with whom he was engaged in individual combat. His merits were such as occasioned very general regret, and aggravated the other losses of this unfortunate battle, from which the French derived a thousand prisoners, and thirty pieces of cannon, while six hundred of the enemy were left dead upon the field. These inauspicious results of the new operations excited no slight sensations of doubt and apprehension at the head-quarters of the Prussian army, the main body of which found itself placed, on the twelfth, in a situation of considerable danger. The object of Bonaparte had been to repeat the operation of the preceding campaign, which had been adopted with a boldness equal to the promptitude and success with which it was executed, and to interpose himself between the forces of his enemy and their depôts and resources. The Prussian army occupied Eisenach, Gotha, Erfurt, and Weimar, and it was the intention of the Prussian commander to have commenced hostilities by bearing down with his right wing upon Frankfort, with his centre on Wurtzburg, and his left wing on Bamburg. The arrangements for this plan had been minutely prepared, and several columns had been pushed on to Cassel and other places, to act upon the offensive, and open the way to the invasion of Germany: but the French army had by this time unexpectedly turned the extremity of the Prussian left wing, and got possession of the eastern bank of the Saal, occupying within a very short period, Saalberg, Schleitz, and Gera. In consequence of this alarming circumstance, the arrangements of the Prussian army were somewhat changed: the detachments which had been precipitately urged forward were called in; the head-quarters were removed from Blackenburg, through Weimar, to Auerstadt, while general Ruchel occupied the position of Weimar. Such were the arrangements made by the Prussians previously to the 13th, for the ensuing decisive struggle; and the army was drawn up near Capelsdorff, in order of battle. On the day preceding the eventful contest, the grand duke of Berg, and marshal Davoust, were, with their corps, at Naumberg, to which place the prince of Ponte Corvo was in full march: marshal Lannes proceeded to Jena, where the emperor was also advancing, while his head-quarters were at Gera: marshal Ney was at Rotha, and marshal Soult was proceeding on the straight road from Naumberg to Jena, for the convenience of a more advantageous position. In the afternoon of the 13th, Bonaparte arrived at Jena, and on an elevated flat near that place, reconnoitred the position of the enemy. The importance of this elevation for the

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play of artillery was so great, that, notwithstanding the extreme difficulty, and, indeed, seeming impossibility of accomplishing it, it was instantly determined that the cannon should be brought there, and vast numbers of the troops were employed for a great part of the night in making a passage over the intervening ruts, in filling up hollows, and levelling projections, until at length, and after immense labour, the artillery was actually fixed upon it. Marshal Davoust was ordered to defend the passes near Naumberg and those also of Koosen, which it would be a grand object of the Prussians to gain in order to reach Apolda and attack him from behind; and if the Prussians bent strongly towards Naumberg or Jena, the prince of Ponte Corvo was instructed to fall upon their rear. General Victor, having the command of the whole corps of marshal Lannes, was placed upon the level height, over against the Prussians, who were thought, however, not to be fully aware of the extent of the force so situated, and which every attempt was undoubtedly employed to conceal. Between the wings into which the corps of Lannes was divided, were placed on the most commanding point the imperial guards, formed into a square battalion.

The night of the 13th was solemnly and sublimely interesting. Every sound on either side could be distinctly heard by the other. The sentinels were almost close to each other, and the lights of the two armies were within half a cannon shot distance, in one case illuminating the atmosphere through an extent of front of six hours march, in the other concentered within a comparatively small compass. On both sides all was watchfulness and motion. The divisions of Ney and Soult were occupied the whole night in marching, and at break of day all the French troops were under arms. Those which could not be admitted for want of space on the height, extended themselves beneath, through passes of extreme narrowness and difficulty, which had been discovered from the town and neighbouring villages. The morning was obscured by a fog which lasted for two hours, during which Bonaparte rode along the line, cautioning his officers to exhibit order and compactness against the Prussian cavalry, and reminding them of the similarity of the situation of the Prussian army to that of Austria in the preceding year, when its system of operations was completely baffled, and it was driven from its magazines and surrounded by its enemy: so that the great object of the Prussians now was not victory but retreat, which the French army could not permit them to effect, without for ever tarnishing their glory.

The light troops began the action by a very smart fire, which dislodged the Prussians from an apparently inaccessible position on the high way between Jena and Weimar, where they seemed to think themselves secure from annoyance. In consequence of this dislodgment the French were enabled to stretch out without restraint on the plain, where they now arranged in order of battle. An army of fifty thousand men had been detached by the Prussians from their left wing, to cover the defiles of Naumburg, and possess themselves of the passes of Koosen, in which they were anticipated by marshal Davoust. The two other armies, one

one amounting to eighty thousand, placed themselves before the French army, which now opened out from the level height of Jena. The mist which had hung over the combatants now dissipated, and both armies beheld each other within a distance of cannon shot. After the first action of the morning, by which the Prussians had been obliged to quit their position, the village of Hollstet became the point of attack, and the Prussians were in full motion to drive the French from it, when marshal Lannes was ordered for its support. Marshal Soult attacked a wood on the right. The right wing of the Prussians made a movement against the left of the French, which marshal Augereau was ordered to oppose; and in less than an hour the action became general. Every manœuvre on both sides was performed with precision, while 250 thousand men, and 700 pieces of cannon were scattering death on every side, and displayed one of the most affecting spetacles ever performed on the theatre of the world. After a struggle of nearly two hours, marshal Soult secured possession of the wood, from which he immediately moved forward, while at the same instant the division of the French cavalry in reserve, and the two divisions just arrived on the field of battle from the corps of general Ney, were ordered into action, and so strengthened the French line that the Prussians were thrown into great disorder. This disorder, however, they retrieved for about the space of an hour: and at this critical season of the battle "there was room (as admitted by the French) for a moment's doubt;" appearances were favourable to the Prussians, when the dragoons and cuirassiers under the duke of Berg were able to take part in the engagement, and bore down the Prussians in extreme confusion. The shock was irresistible both by their cavalry and infantry. They formed into a square, but in vain opposed themselves against the impetuosity of this most dreadful charge, by which they were completely overwhelmed. The loss of the Prussians in this battle was little less than forty thousand men, killed, wounded, and taken, including about twenty generals, among whom were generals Ruchel and the duke of Brunswick, both wounded. The French acknowledged the loss of four or five thousand men. The victory however was completely and incontestibly their own. They pursued their success with extreme vigour to the very gates of Weimar; and so great was the confusion of the unfortunate Prussian army, but a few hours before firm in strength, and elevated with hope, that, while its left wing, followed by marshal Davoust, who maintained his ground against the great body of the Prussians sent to possess the defiles of Koosen, and pursued them, for the space of three hours, was attempting its retreat to Weimar, its right and centre were quiting that very point in a retreat to Naumburg.

The duke of Berg, who in his operations has so frequently proved himself worthy of his great preceptor in the art of war, on the 15th of October invested Erforth, to which general Mollendorf had retreated, a fine citadel, containing a number of magazines, and all the means necessary for defence, which surrendered however on the following day with fourteen thousand men, eight thousand of whom were wounded. The block-

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ade of Magdeburg, which, as being supposed perfectly out of danger, had been made a depôt for the most valuable effects from Munster, Cassel, and East Friesland, amounting to a very great accumulation, was entered upon, under the orders of the duke, on the 20th, while he proceeded on towards Spandau, three miles only from Berlin, which by its position was of very considerable strength, it being surrounded by water. The garrison of this place, at the moment when the French cannon were about to open upon it, on the 24th, surrendered themselves prisoners of war: and on the 7th of November, although not supplied with ammunition and provisions for a very prolonged siege, yet far from being under the necessity of a very speedy surrender, after an inconsiderable bombardment, Magdeburg itself was yielded up; presenting a singular instance of the effect of that alarm which had been excited by the successes of the enemy, the influence of which pervaded the most numerous garrisons and the strongest fortifications. Another effect of this complete dismay was the capture by this active and successful commander of Stettin, a fortress well calculated for defence, and which contained a garrison of six thousand men with one hundred and sixty pieces of cannon; an achievement accomplished by one of the wings of his corps, while the other attacked a column of six thousand Prussians who immediately laid down their arms.

Stettin was the fortress to which, after the fatal day of Jena, the prince of Hohenloe directed his course with the principal wreck of the battle, having under him about sixteen thousand infantry, principally guards and grenadiers, six regiments of cavalry, and sixty-four pieces of harnessed artillery. In his attempt, however, to reach this place he was anticipated by the arrival at Templon of the duke of Berg, who, not doubting that the prince would, in consequence of this failure, bend his course to Prentzlow, without a moment's loss of time set off for that place, and by a well-concerted attack overthrew, in its suburbs, the cavalry, infantry, and artillery of the prince, and forced him, with great loss, to withdraw within the town, where he was immediately summoned. The gates being speedily burst open by the enemy, and no chance of effectual opposition to attack remaining, the prince engaged in a treaty of capitulation, and the same day defiled his whole army before the grand duke, his prisoners of war.

The retreat and resistance of the gallant general Blucher are deserving of particular mention. His intention, after the defeat of Jena, was to effect a junction with the army of prince Hohenloe, and to gain the Oder, and by affording employment to several divisions of the French troops, to allow time for the supply of some important fortresses, and for the junction of the Russian and Prussian troops. The reserve of the army, which under the prince of Wertemburg had suffered very materially at Halle, and had lost great part of its artillery and been exhausted by forced marches, was confided to him on the 24th of October, and appears afterwards to have met with the corps under the duke of Weimar and the hereditary duke of Brunswick. It consisted of ten thousand five hundred men. After various attempts to join prince Hohenloe, in which his little army had

had been obliged several times to separate, although they rejoined after a variety of difficulties, and to fight against very superior numbers, but often inflicting in these contests more injury than they experienced, he received the mortifying intelligence that the prince had capitulated. After a succession of harassing attacks and rapid marches, and several invitations to capitulate, he found himself compelled to take the direction to Hamburgh or Lubeck, or to fight the next day, as the duke of Berg was on his left flank, marshal Soult on his right, and Bernadotte on his front, each of whose divisions was more than double the number of his own. His march to Lubeck was resolved upon, and was accomplished. But here, to his unutterable regret and indignation, treachery combined against him with the troops of the French, who soon filled the town. Here a contest took place, which in fierceness and horror has rarely been exceeded. The squares, and streets, and even churches, were scenes of the most bloody conflict and carnage; war triumphed in this unfortunate place in its full ravage; and the Prussian troops were at length obliged to yield to the superior forces of the enemy, and withdraw from the town. In the extreme want of ammunition, with reduced strength, and reduced numbers, effectual resistance seemed in these circumstances absolutely impossible. After three weeks constant retreat, in which, from the incessant fatigue of marching five or six German miles a-day, with only the most miserable means of subsistence, fifty or sixty men were frequently obliged to be left behind, but in which, notwithstanding, the whole corps had displayed a fidelity and courage which could never be exceeded, he felt it his duty, at the moment the French were about to attack him, to yield to a capitulation. The conviction of having discharged his duty might well support him under disaster, and he may be considered as having derived more glory from his well-conducted retreat, than has attached in many cases to the most decided and important successes.

Marshal Davoust had on the 18th of October taken possession of Leipsic, where immediately notice was given to the merchants and bankers, that all English property would be seized in that grand entrepôt of British merchandise; and all persons were injoined within twenty-four hours to send in a declaration of all such property in their possession, of whatever description; the non-compliance with which would be punished by the summary process of military tribunals. Having ordered a bridge to be thrown over the Elbe at this place, he proceeded to Wittenburg and gained by surprise the bridges of that town, after which he moved onward to Berlin, which he entered on the 25th, followed on the succeeding day by the corps of marshal Augereau.

To follow the successes of the grand French army more minutely through its several divisions, or the corresponding disasters of the Prussians, would exceed the due limits of this narrative. Bonaparte arrived at Potsdam on the 24th of October. He visited the palace and the tomb of the great Frederick. The sword of that distinguished warrior, the ribbon of the order of the black eagle, the colours taken by him in the seven years war, and the scarf which he used during that critical period of his vicissitude

vicissitude and glory, excited particular attention and emotion, and were ordered to be presented from the emperor to the Hôtel of Invalids at Paris. Within three days after his arrival at Potsdam he made his public entry into Berlin, attended by his principal generals and his foot guards. Various ambassadors from the powers with which he was at peace were here presented to him at the palace; deputies from the Lutheran and reformed churches, to whom he promised the continued enjoyment of their rights of worship; and from the courts of justice, who received directions with respect to the judicial administration. Twelve hundred of the principal inhabitants were entrusted with the guardianship of the city; and to the management of eight, of the highest reputation and consequence, was committed the superintendence of the police. The presence of the French scarcely discomposed the ordinary routine of business; and by the vigilance of the burghers and the strict discipline of the army, the utmost tranquillity was ensured. Berlin, at the time of its occupation, notwithstanding previous removals, abounded with military stores of arms and ammunition, which the precipitate approach of the enemy, the rapidity of whose march, agreeably to their own expression, almost outstripped that of their renown, had prevented the possibility of withdrawing. The supreme provisional government of the conquered country of Prussia was committed to general Clark, and divided into four departments, Berlin, Custrin, Stettin, and Magdeburg: and, every arrangement being made that circumstances could require, Bonaparte proceeded from the capital of Prussia towards that of Poland, to which several divisions of his army were advancing before him.

During the time in which the emperor of the French was enjoying himself in comparative leisure and full tranquillity in the palace of Berlin, admiring the novelty of the scene and the relics of military greatness, reviewing his troops on the very spot on which the armies of Frederick had so often exhibited those precise and brilliant evolutions which rendered them the admiration of the age, but who did not exceed the present performers on that scene, the king of Prussia was experiencing all the regretful feelings of an exile, and the alarms natural on the loss of a kingdom, for the recovery of which he had reason to fear that he must be obliged more to the moderation of the conqueror, than to any remaining resources of his own. In the course of a few days his army had been completely scattered and ruined. The army of Westphalia, under general Blucher; the left division, under prince Hohenloe; the reserve, under the prince of Wertemburg; the army under his own immediate inspection, commanded by the duke of Weimar, had comprehended a mass of military power which he had represented to his imagination as almost irresistible: yet nearly all had now disappeared. Of 146 thousand men which these divisions comprised, a considerable number had been destroyed, wounded, or taken in the fatal contest at Jena. Of the rest, various corps, after wandering amidst inextricable difficulties, and exhibiting an enterprise and perseverance worthy of a better fate, had been obliged to surrender to the superior forces of the enemy, while some others, as if struck

struck with consternation or despair, and imagining themselves to be assailed by an enemy of more than mortal prowess, yielded up, one after another, positions of extreme consequence and susceptible of considerable defence. By these positions, at least, it might have been hoped that the progress of the victorious French might have been checked till time had been furnished for a recovery from the first impressions of dismay, and some judicious attempts might have been made to retrieve as much as possible the disasters of the grand defeat. Yet his fortresses made little or no resistance. They appeared as if incapable of affording annoyance to the enemy or security to their garrisons. The armies, the garrisons and the magazines of the unfortunate monarch, were lost to him with such rapidity of successive disaster, that he might doubt, at certain moments, the reality of facts and the testimony of his senses. After his retreat to Custrin, the approaches of the enemy speedily produced the necessity of his further removal, and Koningsburg became the place of his residence and the rallying point of the wreck of his forces. Here the last regiments of the monarchy collected around him, from New and Old East Prussia. According to some accounts they amounted to thirty-three battalions and forty-five squadrons, constituting, in the whole, a force of nearly fifty thousand men; although it may reasonably be doubted whether even this number could be brought together. But to whatever amount the force here stationed actually extended, it formed the only remains of the royal army, and awaited the accession of Prussian reinforcements, or the arrival of whatever assistance might at length be communicated by the emperor of Russia.

The elector of Saxony was excused by Bonaparte for joining the Prussian armies, as having been compelled into the service; and six thousand of his troops were dismissed on their parole immediately after the battle of Jena. The elector of Hesse, as having acted treacherously, was condemned to be deprived of his dominions; as was also the duke of Brunswick for encouraging a war, "which he ought to have used his influence to prevent;" a sentence which this unfortunate prince survived only a few days, dying of his wounds, aggravated by anxiety, at Altona, whither he had been carried after the battle, by his servants, in a litter, to be completely beyond the reach of the enemy. Mecklenburg was also taken possession of, and its government subverted; but its destiny was postponed, and to be regulated by the conduct of Russia.

Hanover was occupied by a detachment from the French general Mortier, together with a few troops of the king of Holland. The siege of Hameln was intrusted to general Savary, who found a conference on this occasion equally efficacious with a grand assault. The desperate situation of the Prussian monarchy afforded no prospect of advantage from the protraction of a siege on the part of the commandant, who therefore speedily signed a capitulation, by which this place, with a garrison of nine thousand men, abundance of all kinds of military stores, and provisions for six months, was delivered to the French general, whose troops amounted to no more than three regiments.

In

In Hanover the order and discipline of the French troops were strikingly observable. A few days were sufficient to make a victorious progress throughout the country. Fulda and Cassel were likewise occupied by the same corps; the native troops were disarmed without the slightest opposition, and a perfect communication was opened with the grand army. The next object to be accomplished, and which was scarcely sooner ordered than effected, was the taking complete possession of Hamburgh by Mortier in the name of Bonaparte. The transactions at this place were the consequence of a system explained by a decree of the French senate, published towards the close of November. This decree stated, that England had violated the laws of nations in considering every individual belonging to a hostile state as an actual enemy, whether found on board vessels of merchandize, or engaged otherwise in the tranquil occupation of commercial agents, or as members of commercial factories. She had moreover extended her right of blockade beyond all reasonable limits, to places before which she had not a single ship of war, and even to whole coasts and kingdoms, where, with all her naval superiority, it was impossible for her actually to maintain it. Her views had been directed by these means to ruin continental industry and commerce, for her peculiar aggrandizement. All those who dealt in English commodities, therefore, might justly be regarded as really, whether intentionally or not, seconding those views, and as in fact her accomplices. As it was requisite, and recognised by all the laws of nature and nations, to fight against an enemy as he attacked, in consequence of this system of England, it was now decreed, that till it should be changed the British islands should be placed in a state of blockade; all commerce and correspondence with them should be prohibited; all letters addressed to them should be detained; individuals belonging to them in the countries conquered by France should be regarded and treated as prisoners of war; every commodity, that could be seized, which was produced by England, as well as belonging to her, should be held good and lawful prize; and no ship coming directly from her ports should be allowed to enter any of their harbours. Half the proceeds arising from the consequent seizure and condemnation of property, should be applied towards the indemnification of French merchants for the losses sustained by them from the captures of the enemy.

In conformity to this decree the French minister at Hamburgh notified to the senate, that all English commodities in that city and its territories were immediately to be placed in a state of sequestration. Within 24 hours from the time of the notice, all bankers or merchants having English manufactures or funds arising from the sale of them in their possession, whether belonging to Englishmen or others, were to present to the commandant a correct statement of the amount, which was to be entered in a register opened for that purpose; and, to ascertain the truth or falsehood of these registers, domiciliary visits were to be instituted, and the consequences of detection in any fraud would be the immediate infliction of punishment agreeably to the process of martial law. Every Englishman, moreover, was to be made a prisoner of war. The ri-

dicule attached to the first idea of Bonaparte's blockading the British islands, which, in the strict meaning of the terms, it was impossible for him to accomplish and preposterous even to attempt, and the project of which seemed to imply a disturbed and phrenised imagination, was speedily removed by these illustrative facts. In all those countries which were under the direct power or influence of France, British property and persons were divested of all security, and recognised as fair subjects respectively of sequestration and imprisonment. The means of continental communication were extremely impaired. The grand entrepôt of English commodities was completely cut off. The strictest orders were circulated through Holland, Switzerland, and all the other tributary governments of the French empire, to enforce these regulations so as to effect, if possible, the utter exclusion of British intercourse with their dominions; and it was found, that, although the French were enclosed by the British squadrons in their own ports, which they could quit only by the aid of storms and darkness, the idea of blockading the British islands was not altogether frivolous and insignificant. They were detached from the main territory of Europe, favourably for their defence and independence, but it was perceived they might be insulated also, in a great degree, from its commerce. And beneficial as this commercial intercourse was mutually found to be established, indeed, on the very basis of reciprocal wants and advantages, they were contending now with an enemy, whose grand object was to impair their resources, to harass their credit, to produce that failure of revenue, which would operate most advantageously in support of his views of policy and vengeance, and in completing which, the inconvenience attaching to Europe, and even to France herself, from this system, would be most willingly incurred.

The apprehensions, therefore, arising from this measure were very considerable. The English merchants, indeed, at Hamburgh, who had been at first placed under guards of soldiers, and were daily expecting to be sent off to the grand depôt of English prisoners in France, were at length liberated from their confinement. With respect also to the property of the English at Hamburgh; the event under consideration had been thought not extremely improbable, and the utmost expedition had been employed by the English agents to dispose of their commodities and settle their accounts, and to consign back to their own country what was incapable of being disposed of. In consequence of this caution and activity, the property of the English which actually fell into the hands of the enemy, by the occupation of this place, was but small. The system of precaution extended also to Kiel on the Baltic, and likewise to Gluckstadt, and Cuxhaven, where all measures were employed by the agents of government or commerce to guard against contingent injury: yet with all this vigilance and mitigation, the event was attended with great embarrassment and injury. The suspension of the regular course of payments from abroad soon proved fatal to many mercantile houses of the first distinction, which, agreeably to the almost irresistible spirit of commercial enterprise, had traded to the very

very extremity of their means and credit, and which even a less heavy interception must have involved in ruin. Others of less consequence were included in their fall. Those who had disposed of their property and settled their accounts abroad, but whose warehouses at home were crowded to the very roof with merchandize, for which they could now obtain no market, were in a state little less to be deplored. The West India merchants, so large a part of whose importations had found their way through long established channels to the continent, from which they were now excluded, particularly suffered from this cause; and the bankrupt list was, for a considerable time, swelled with the names of those who had recently imagined themselves in a state of secure opulence, but fell under the weight of this unmarketable and depreciated property.

With respect to the political morality of the measures of the French government, from which these events proceeded, it may be observed, that any deviation from correct and liberal warfare on one side naturally produces still greater departures on the other. Thus is the irritation of hostility cherished, and that spirit of conciliation which is connected with ingenuous contest, almost completely precluded. It is undoubtedly essential to war, that the innocent should be involved, to a certain extent, in its inconveniences and misery. The flame will always scorch many who never kindled it. This evil resulting from the inevitable order of nature must of course be yielded to. Yet beyond this necessity it would surely be desirable not to proceed. To urge, that the more interests are involved in the conflict, the more rapidly it will be brought to its termination; that government is weakened by the losses of individuals; and that it is possible to strike at the guilty only from the dead bodies of the innocent, would be to vindicate a return to all those atrocities which characterized the practice of antiquity. There is no slight transgression of the boundaries of mutually authorized warfare, which may not be followed in long succession by greater excess and still more violent retaliation; till ingenuity is summoned with its fullest powers for the infliction of misery, and the effect of this perpetually increasing violence and rage is seen in relentless hatred and remorseless cruelty; antipathy being at length bound up with the heart and essence of the combatants, and peace pursued only through the medium of extermination. But if war be ever to cease, it must be by the gradual mitigation of its rigours, by the substitution of generosity for malice, by that union of humanity with valour, which would prevent the infliction of unnecessary evil, and suggest the inquiry to two brave but hostile nations, which had thus controlled its horrors, whether it would not be better to extinguish them for ever; whether those who had thus qualified the operation of the most boisterous and malignant passions, might not sooth them to complete repose. It is time that the progress of national contest should be regulated by other principles than those of miscalculated expediency, and that states should be ready to prove that their moderation sometimes arises from other principles than their weakness and their fears.

The advanced guard of the Russian army under general Beningsen,

ningsen, amounting to four thousand men, had at length crossed the Vistula, and arrived at Praga on the 13th of November, whence they pushed on to the river Drzura. Their reconnoitring parties, however, on advancing along the road towards Posen and Thorn, soon ascertained the great superiority and rapid march of the enemy. In these circumstances general Benningsen speedily retired from Praga, having experienced some loss in detached parties and outposts, and re-crossed the Vistula; after which he entirely destroyed the bridge.

About the close of November, the divisions of that French army which had arrived at Warsaw and its vicinity constituted a considerable force. To substitute a bridge for that which the Russians had destroyed was one of the first objects; which required considerable time, and was at length completed of boats. Every effort was made, in conformity to the orders of the French emperor, to place the works of Praga in a perfect state of defence, the superintendence of which was committed to the general of engineers, who erected eight redoubts with pallisades, and bastions, enclosing a space of 1500 toises, and constituting in the whole an intrenched camp of peculiar strength. From the eastern bank of the Vistula, a corps of marshal Davoust's division pushed on toward the Bug, where they covered themselves by a *tête du pont*, and completed a bridge over the river, and afterwards proceeded on to the village of Pomikow, which a body of Russian troops attacked, but which the French eventually occupied and maintained.

After the retreat of Benningsen over the Vistula, he still continued to recede; not only as his forces, even when joined with those of Buxhovden, would be considerably inferior to the forces of the enemy, but also on the general idea of the desirableness of drawing on the French as far as possible into Poland. The general in chief of the Russians, however, Kamenskoi, having at length arrived at the Russian camp, by no means approved of these delays and cautions, and seemed to consider the honour of the army as tarnished by its receding before the enemy, who would not fail, it was observed, to ascribe this to fear, and would derive considerable advantage from the high-spirited confidence which such an idea would excite in them. The king of Prussia, too, was somewhat indisposed to procrastination, and imagined, that the longer his capital remained in the power of the enemy, the less anxious it might be to receive again its former master. Soon after the arrival therefore of Kamenskoi, from St. Petersburg, which was celebrated by the troops with the strongest demonstrations of joy, and inspired unbounded hopes of success, the retrograde movements of the army were checked, and they began to advance, having their head quarters at Pultusk. They were ordered to prevent the French from passing the Narew, to retake Praga, and to fix their station on the banks of the Vistula. Amidst the joy at general Kamenskoi's arrival, however, the Narew was actually passed by a French detachment of 800 men at its junction with the Ukra; and Bonaparte, who had quitted Posen on the first indication of this disposition in the Russians for offensive operations, arranged the various divisions of his army accordingly. Marshal Ney had been for

for some time in possession of Thorn. He united the different corps at Gallup. Marshal Bessieres, with the second corps of reserve cavalry, proceeded from Thorn to Biezun. Bernadotte proceeded with his division to support them. Marshal Soult passed the Vistula opposite Plock, and marshal Augereau at Lackrocyn, where a bridge was erected by the greatest exertions, which also were employed to establish one over the Narew. The latter being completed, the reserve of cavalry passed by the Vistula at Praga, followed by the emperor, on their march to the Narew, where the whole force of marshal Davoust was collected. An engagement almost immediately took place. The event of the day was in favour of the French, in consequence of the injudicious arrangements of the Russian general, whose retreat was accomplished after the loss of 1600 prisoners, and 25 pieces of cannon.

Over a corps of Prussians, consisting of six thousand infantry and one thousand cavalry, considerable success was obtained by a corps of marshal Ney at Soldaw; while marshal Bessieres took several pieces of cannon and five hundred prisoners from another detachment of the same troops, breaking their line, and driving them into the morasses, near the village of Carmeden. These successes, however, were only preliminary to an affair of more importance, which closed the military operations of the year, and which occurred on the 26th of December in the vicinity of Pultusk. In the morning of that day marshal Lannes arrived opposite to Pultusk, where the whole corps of general Benningsen had assembled during the night. About ten the attack was commenced by the marshal, and was received by the Russians with great firmness. The contest lasted with considerable vicissitude for some time, and with great obstinacy, but at length terminated in the rout of the Russians. General Buxhovden, in the mean time, about noon, had assembled the different corps of his army at Golymin. Several divisions which had been beaten the evening before, had now reached the camp, particularly one from Nasielsk, pursued by marshal Davoust so closely that he charged them near Golymin, and afterwards took up his position in an adjoining wood. Augereau, arriving at the same time, took the enemy in flank, while another French general deprived the Russians of a point of support which they derived from a village, and at three o'clock the division of general Hendelet formed in line and advanced against the Russian army. The fire was extremely hot, and the contest lasted, notwithstanding several impetuous and successful charges of the duke of Berg's cavalry, till eleven o'clock; when a retreat was ordered by the Russian commander to Ostrolenka. Marshal Soult had in the mean while arrived so near the scene of action, that, if the slough following the rain and thaw had not extremely impeded his further progress, scarcely any portion of the Russian army could have escaped destruction. This circumstance checked the accomplishment of a plan which would have completed the fate of the Russian army on this side the Orege. The loss in both these actions, on the part of the French, was admitted to have been scarcely less than three thousand men: that of the Russians con-

sisted of about twelve thousand killed, wounded, and taken, eighty pieces of cannon, and about twelve hundred baggage waggons; and was followed, as the Russians themselves were obliged to allow, by the immediate retreat of their army. This retreat was the signal for the French troops to enter into winter quarters: and those of marshals Ney, Bernadotte and Bessieres, were almost immediately cantoned on the left bank of the river Orége, while marshal Soult with three brigades of light horse was stationed on the right bank for their protection.

The king of Prussia, to whom it seems necessary again to recur, while all these events were taking place, was experiencing a state of suspense and embarrassment, which, although arising from his own culpable policy, could not but excite sentiments of commiseration. He had proceeded from the grand scene of defeat to Custrin, and thence to Osterode and Konigsberg. His queen and family, with a long train of attendants and nobility, sought an asylum first at Dantzic, and afterwards at Memel, where the death of one of the young princes combined with all the other circumstances of family affliction. It ought however to have been noticed, before this, that it was not without several efforts to recover possession of Berlin that his Prussian majesty felt himself obliged to sustain this exile. After the disaster of Jena, the road to the very heart of his dominions had been opened to the conquerors; and it was obvious, that without very considerable sacrifices he could not obtain a peace. After the failure of one overture, he dispatched his minister Lucchesini, together with general Zastrow, to Berlin, with greater concessions; and the conditions now proposed became the basis of a preliminary treaty, which was signed by the representatives of the king and Bonaparte. But it was soon found by the monarch that the French, notwithstanding this preliminary treaty, proceeded to new acquisitions, to inundate the garrison places on the Oder with their troops, to excite insurrections in South Prussia by inflammatory proclamations, to plunder the royal property wherever it was found, and to swear the subjects of Prussia to allegiance to the emperor of France. The formally concluded basis of peace was after this set aside; an armistice was then proposed by the French, in which their increased possessions since the treaty led to enlarged demands, which, however, the plenipotentiaries of the king thought themselves bound to yield to, from the emergency of circumstances. This however the king refused to ratify, alleging that the advance of the French on the Vistula precluded him from complying with its conditions; that, the frontiers of Russia being now threatened by the French, he was unable to stop the march of her forces. The allegation, however, of the impossibility to comply with the armistice, must obviously be interpreted into a determination of his majesty to try still further the fortune of war under the banner of his ally. Every effort was made by him to give effect to this chance; and considering the facility with which even the slightest promises of favourable change are caught at by the unhappy, it could not appear surprising that the approach of the Russian armies, and the idea of a general rising among the brave Silesians,

Silesians, should have inspired a hope, which was in truth the cause of the non-ratification of the armistice; and it was to be deplored that, during the hostilities which followed this refusal, to the conclusion of the year, circumstances appeared so little likely to gratify it.

Within little more than two months from the commencement of the campaign, the successes of the French were almost unprecedented in the records of history. It cannot appear extremely surprising, that this success should have operated on a people peculiarly impressible by every thing calculated to excite exultation and gratify national vanity, so as to raise them to the highest pitch of triumph, and that they should be enraptured at having for their great nation so illustrious a head; nor that Bonaparte should himself, at the contemplation of that superiority which he obtained in his conflicts, adopt frequently a style of decided prophecy, and dictation, approaching at least to the most mortifying arrogance. The forces of an immense empire were under his uncontrolled direction, and he was able to avail himself of them to their fullest extent. There was no opposition to his projects, no collision with his interest. The decisions of his cabinet, or rather of his closet, instead of being oblized to await the forms of slow deliberation, the fluctuations of remote caprice, tending to dissipate the most valuable energies, sprang with all their bloom and freshness into immediate action. The adjustment of all his plans, the appointment of all his agents depended solely on himself. When to this circumstance, so calculated to simplify the working of the vast machine, to produce not counteraction but effective and complete co-operation, is added his profound knowledge of the machine itself, the success of this extraordinary man will appear less mysterious than many, who have thought it necessary to call in fortune or destiny to their assistance, have actually felt it. In the coalitions which he has had to encounter, this simplicity, in the midst of complication, has in a great measure, doubtless, necessarily been deficient. Instead of being brought to bear with accumulated force against the enemy, one party has arrived on the scene of conflict just after the destruction of another with which it ought to have co-operated; and thus, instead of putting a knife to the throat of the enemy, has only supplied a fresh repast for his inordinate ambition. In the case of Prussia, indeed, concert had not been formed till ruin was almost absolutely incurred; and her folly was only the more apparent from those miserable arrangements which had depended solely on herself. But, whether in solitary or concerted opposition, it has been the fortune of Bonaparte to find nearly as much delay and hesitation, as much temerity and improvidence, as he has himself shown skill, vigilance, and dispatch; and the contest has been, not a conflict upon equal terms of intellectual energy, in which physical prowess or unforeseen casualty determined the result, but one of those illustrations which the events of the world have perpetually presented, of the superiority which a strong mind must ever obtain over a weak one.

CHAPTER XII.

State of America—Its flourishing Finances—Its Dispute with Spain—Its Complaints against England—Commissioners appointed to adjust their Claims with England—Expedition of Miranda—State of the West India Islands—Conspiracy of the Negroes in Trinidad—St. Domingo—Violence and Cruelty of Dessalines—His Arrest and Death—Devolution of the Government on Christophe—Affairs of India—Death of Marquis Cornwallis—Peace with Scindia—with Holkar—Extent and Absoluteness of the British Sovereignty in Hindostan—Dreadful Catastrophe at Vellore—Charges against Marquis Wellesley by Mr. Paull—Dilapidation of the Company's Finances—Opinion of Mr. Francis in the House of Commons on the Separation of the Trade and Sovereignty of the Company—Situation of Turkey—Hostilities between Russia and Turkey—Misfortunes and Degradation of Spain—Alarm of Portugal—Switzerland, how affected by the Peace of Presburg—Bonaparte imprisons the Merchants of Basil, and professes his extreme Regard for Swiss Independence—Denmark—Its wise Neutrality—Its Policy an Object of Applause and Imitation.

WHILE the continent of Europe was involved in all the horrors of warfare, the American states were at liberty, with comparatively slight exceptions, to pursue their peaceful labours of agriculture; and their commerce, although by no means unmolested, was extended, in consequence of European embarrassments, to a degree which the most sanguine had scarcely ventured to anticipate. Their revenues were in a state of complete order, collected with small expense, without encroachment on the liberty of the subject, and administered with that œconomy which enabled them not only to meet the ordinary exigencies of the state, but to pay off considerable portions of the public debt. At the close of the present year it was stated, on the authority of the government, that nearly 23 millions of dollars of the funded debt of the country had been extinguished within the four years and half preceding. Some other important circumstances of annual authoritative statement are deserving of attention. Considerable purchases of land had been made from the Indian tribes, which tended to consolidate parts of the settled country and secure their interests. Between the Indians and the States there existed the most perfect relations of peace and amity. From France as well as the Indians, land had also been purchased: the territory of Louisiana, which Spain had previously ceded to Bonaparte, had been added to the dominion of the States, and a treaty was also in negotiation for the purchase of Florida. Every disposition seemed to be afforded by the American government for improving its resources, and particularly for extending its means of commerce and navigation. The best communication between the Missouri and the Pacific Ocean was this year an object of its research, and the expedition for this purpose was attended with all

all reasonable success. The Mississippi was also this year explored under the sanction of government, and important surveys, and a vast mass of valuable information (notwithstanding some unsuccessful attempts), were procured by the ingenuity and perseverance of the agents of government.

The surplus of revenue under the American government, which, unless some taxes were taken off, must have perpetually increased, was proposed to be applied to the internal prosperity of the country by improving its roads, canals, and rivers, which are the grand means of civilization and identity of interest; as also to provide for those national establishments of education, by which private efforts might be aided, and which, by the promotion of science, taste, individual honour, and patriotic feeling, are of the first consequence with all wise and liberal administrations.

Such however is the state of human affairs, that even America was not without its evils and complaints. Its trade had been annoyed by depredations from the states of Barbary; and with a view to check these ravages, a squadron had been sent into the Mediterranean, which, after long continuance on this station and considerable expense, it was still necessary to maintain. Nor was it only with these degraded and odious governments that America experienced the interruptions of pacific intercourse. With Spain, differences had existed for a considerable time. The commerce of the States in its passage along the river Mobile was obstructed by unauthorized searches and duties. The boundaries of Louisiana, since its cession by France, had not been settled, although propositions of an amicable nature had been made for this purpose by the American government; and the Spaniards had made inroads on the district of New Orleans, and the Mississippi, even in those parts which had been expressly and unequivocally ceded, in which the persons of American citizens had been seized and their property pillaged, not by an unauthorized banditti, but by regular and commissioned forces of Spain. Negotiations on these topics occupied the attention of the two governments for the remainder of the year, without arriving at a conclusion, and excited or kept alive that state of irritable feeling which is ever the effect of a long suspense with regard to interesting results.

The coast of America, as well as its inland territory, was not secure from insult. Many vessels were fitted out for the annoyance of her trade by private adventurers; and not only the vessels of countries with which America was at peace, but also those belonging to the United States, were captured by these uncommissioned depredators, and carried off under pretence of recurring for condemnation to regular maritime tribunals. Care however was taken to dismiss the crew in open boats to the nearest harbour; and the captured ships, after the cargoes had been transferred from them, were sunk, under the allegation of their being unable to proceed on their voyage, but solely with a view to secure that plunder which all regular courts would have disallowed. An armed force was fitted out to protect the commerce of the States on the coast, and bring to justice the perpetrators of these crimes, who were ordered to be tried and executed as pirates.

The disputes of America with the

the English government were of no unimportant character, and at one period assumed a consequence alarming, at least, to those individuals whose interests are more especially involved in the preservation of peace between the two countries. One of the grounds of this contention existed in the impressing of seamen in American vessels by British ships of war. The difficulty of distinguishing Englishmen in this situation from native Americans was considerable. Language, manners, and physiognomy, all contributed to render the discrimination a matter of peculiar nicety; and it may easily be supposed, that while the pleas of some pretenders were admitted, those of truth and justice were in some, and indeed many instances urged without effect. In the beginning of the present year the grievance attained a very considerable height, and a bill was brought in, declaring this compulsion of American citizens to serve on board British ships of war, a violation of the treaty between the two nations, and that any person engaged in impressing seamen from on board vessels bearing the American flag should be deemed guilty of piracy and felony; authorizing every seaman to resist such violence, encouraging this resistance by reward, and enjoining complete retaliation on the subjects of any foreign powers for the infliction of death, or any other punishment, on American subjects who had been compelled into their service.

The seizure of American vessels by the British was another subject of grievance and irritation, and a commission was this year appointed by the legislature of the Union, to consider the depredations committed on its commerce. In consequence of their report, resolutions were passed, that the condemnation by the British court of admiralty, of American vessels, under pretence of their being employed in a trade with the enemies of Great Britain, from which they were prohibited in time of peace, was an unprovoked aggression upon the property of the united citizens, and a violation of their neutral rights; and that the president should be requested immediately to demand the restoration of vessels thus captured and detained, and be authorized to enter into arrangements for amicable settlement: but, that it was expedient, in the mean time, to prohibit the importation into the United States of the wares and merchandize of Great Britain from a certain period, till an equitable adjustment was acceded to. A bill for this purpose was accordingly brought in, and passed the senate and the house of representatives, and received, at length, the sanction of the president.

While the public mind was thus agitated, a circumstance occurred which gave new impulse to the general feeling, and indeed wrought it into a paroxysm of resentment. In exercise of the privilege of searching neutral vessels, several British ships had been cruising off the American harbours, and captain Whitby in the Leander of 50 guns, with two other ships of war, was appointed for this purpose off Sandy Hook. Many vessels were brought-to by them and boarded, and some of the seamen were impressed or recovered into the service of England. It was sworn, however, by Joseph Pierce, master of the sloop Richard, that about a quarter of a mile from the beach off Sandy Hook, two miles south of

of the light-house, three shots were fired from a British ship of war, the last of which struck and killed a man at the helm of his sloop, the brother of the deponent, the Leander being at the time only a mile distant. The ferment occasioned by this circumstance was extreme. The body of the deceased was brought on shore and exposed to innumerable spectators, whose rage against the British commander, and government, found no language too strong for its expression. An indictment was found for wilful murder against the captain of the Leander. A reward was offered for his seizure, by a proclamation from the president. Private vessels were immediately dispatched to retake those which had been recently captured by the British, and were supposed on their way to Halifax. Provisions which had been purchased in the public market of New York, and paid for by the crew of the Leander, were detained by the people and paraded through the town, and afterwards sold for the benefit of the poor. Meetings were held of seamen and of fœderal republicans, and of various other descriptions of citizens, and resolutions in the highest degree reflecting on the American as well as the British government were passed. The fœderal party thought to avail themselves of this circumstance, to promote their success in the new elections which were at this period about to commence, and attributed to the executive power, in the strongest terms, the most culpable negligence and meanness. It was observed in their resolutions, that the money expended in purchasing the wild lands of Louisiana should have been employed in building ships of the line, to repel insult and aggression. Peace had been obtained by the executive government from foreign powers, not by the manly and formidable attitude of resistance, but by degrading and infamous purchase. An embargo should be laid on all provision ships destined for the West Indies. A total prohibition of all trade with Great Britain, if this measure proved ineffectual, should succeed it; and, if that should fail, the confiscation of all British property must inevitably terminate the arrogance and madness of the British government. It was their duty to seek a president who would abhor tribute and protect his country; who, instead of devoting his time to the stuffing of racoon skins, and the dissection of wild animals, would assert the rights, protect the flag and maintain the honour of his country.

In these circumstances, it was thought expedient for the adherents of the government to enter most fully from policy, if they could not from feeling, into the general impulse of resentment against Great Britain, and, if possible, in pointed remark and menaces of vengeance to exceed the fœderalists themselves. This policy may account sufficiently for the violence exhibited by them on this occasion, and which was found effectually to answer its purpose of counteraction. The elections passed over without any diminution of their influence. The popular ferment gradually was permitted to subside, and Messieurs Monro and Pinkney were nominated commissioners and plenipotentiaries to the British court, to settle "the differences relative to wrongs committed on the high seas and other waters;"

waters;" men of abilities and conciliating manners, who at length, after many communications with the English government, completed on the subject a treaty, which, about the close of the year, they carried over for the sanction of their government.

During the course of this year an enterprise was formed against the Spanish settlements of America, which attracted the attention of that continent in an extraordinary degree. General Miranda, a native of the Caraccas, who had distinguished himself in the revolutionary wars of Europe, a man of an ardent mind and great resources, conceived the project of liberating his countrymen from the yoke of Spain; and comprehended, probably, in his ultimate view, the emancipation of those immense districts of the southern continent attached to that country, but by no ties of affection, and wanting only an opportunity to shake off its severe and rapacious domination. He sailed from Trinidad on the 24th of July with nine ships of war, and arrived on the 2d of August off the city of Coro, where his troops were landed under cover of the vessels, and with very slight resistance. Coro was taken by assault, speedily after the landing, after which the general attacked with success the towns of Marycabo and Venezuella. The governor of the Caraccas immediately dispatched an account of these successes to the commandants of Cumana and Marguerita, stating the weakness of his means to resist this dangerous invader, who was disseminating his revolutionary principles with equal zeal and effect. These commandants were enjoined to send all the assistance in their power in so critical an emergency, and without a moment's loss of time; the fine province of Carthagena was open to the depredations of Miranda; and indeed, unless the most decisive succours were instantly furnished, the whole country would be for ever lost to Spain. These dispatches fell into the hands of the commander of the Osprey sloop of war, instead of arriving at their destination, and excited, on their communication to the inhabitants and British at Trinidad, all that satisfaction which might be expected, and a more general disposition than ever to assist in a project which had opened with such brilliant success. Of the further progress of this active, persevering and intrepid general, no further accounts were received during the remainder of the year. The success of his arms, however, continued to be an object of the earnest wish of the friends to civilization, science, and freedom.

The British West Indies during some part of this year were in considerable agitation from the apprehension of the enemy, and the British force upon the station was not, for some time, of that strength which gave it a decided superiority. Indeed, unless that superiority were extreme, it seemed impossible to prevent constant alarm and danger, from an adversary who was frequently dispatching his squadrons from his ports in Europe, not in the hope of their return with victory, but that, during the rapid and trembling career which must prove fatal to themselves, they would be able at least to give some annoyance to their opponents. By the victory of admiral Duckworth, those fears were considerably allayed; and the knowledge, that the remaining vessels of the French in

that

that quarter of the world were eagerly pursued by several detachments of the British navy, restored the islands to all that tranquillity which they are capable of enjoying in a period of war.

In the island of Trinidad, an attempt was made, or at least in agitation, to follow up the precedent of St. Domingo. Under various pretences, which had excited no suspicion in the white inhabitants of that island, the blacks had for some time employed themselves in organizing a military force, and even in arranging the municipal, judicial, and supreme authorities, which were intended, by one grand effort, to supersede the existing government. The means of accomplishing this overthrow were such as men indignant at their slavery, palpitating for revenge, and uncontrolled by habits of civilization, or by religious impressions, would be naturally led to adopt. The destruction of the innocent was to be involved in that of the guilty, and general devastation was to prepare the reign of plenty and independence. The horrid plan of massacre and conflagration, however, was fortunately discovered in due time to prevent its execution. The principals in the plot were apprehended with promptness and energy. Martial law was proclaimed throughout the island. The greatest consternation prevailed, not immediately ceasing after the danger was removed, but kept alive by the image of the overwhelming ruin which had been just escaped. The intended committee of public safety; the officers of the court, consular, royal or imperial, whichever it might be, that it was designed to adopt, speedily met with that fate the infliction of which might naturally be expected. But while the expediency of such punishment is admitted, it is impossible not to deplore the existence of such a state of society, as places its various members in a perpetual opposition of passion and interests, in which arrogant oppression stimulates to desperate vengeance; in which tyranny finds an apology for new inflictions in the necessity of self-preservation; and projects of extermination may be almost vindicated, not so much in retaliation for insulted and abused humanity, as from their being the only expedient for recovering those rights, without which human life is only a protraction of misery and humiliation.

The island of St. Domingo was totally detached from France, excepting in a very small portion still held by general Ferrand, who received some reinforcement from the squadron under Villaumez, which however was probably little more than sufficient to repair the waste of the climate. What had been practicable with his small force towards the recovery of this vast colony had been attempted, and some successes had been gained by the general which struck a panic through the negro armies, whose loss amounted to several thousands. With such means as he possessed, however, he was unable to proceed beyond very narrow limits. On penetrating into the interior he must have experienced an irreparable diminution of strength, while on the part of his enemies there existed an indefinite power of accumulation. All the territory of the French part of the island, excepting the minute portions of it held by Ferrand, was under the sceptre of Dessalines, whose ferocity was equal to his energy, and who appeared determined

mined to prevent the possibility of a recurrence to that slavery under the French which the blacks had so long endured. About the middle of May a great part of the whites remaining at Cape Francois were ordered, under some pretence, to a distance of thirty leagues from that town, where they were placed in confinement and almost immediately massacred. Those who were left behind, principally women and children, were ordered to be strangled. The thirst of vengeance and of plunder gave dispatch to the execution of this mandate. The bodies of the dead were surveyed with every expression of savage ecstasy; a free scope was given to all those malignant feelings which delight not only in destruction but in mutilation; and the repast of avarice succeeded to that of cruelty. The indifference manifested with regard to human life by the chief of St. Domingo was not confined, however, to the whites. Suspicions and jealousies constituted a sufficient inducement to him to deprive of it his own subjects and officers, without even the formality of a trial: and every attempt thus to terminate danger and suspicion, in the natural order of things, tending only to increase them, his conduct was at length distinguished by all the caprices and atrocities of tyranny. These crimes inevitably suggested projects for their counteraction. He was conspired against by his army, and arrested most unexpectedly at the head quarters, receiving, in his struggle to escape, a blow which terminated his tyranny and his life. He was succeeded in the supreme authority by general Christophe.

In 1805, when our empire in India was considered in a state of crisis, and the existing governor was involved in such extensive hostilities as must inevitably be followed by a great impairment of force, and in which a sudden reverse might have led to the subversion of the British authority on the continent of Asia, it was thought proper to depute to the chief administration of India, a person with extraordinary powers, who might be qualified to counteract the danger of the time, and give tranquillity and security to the British possessions. For this purpose the marquis Cornwallis was selected, whom long residence in India had thoroughly acquainted with its affairs, whose moderation was ensured by the advance of years in addition to his constitutional humanity, and whose conduct to the native princes of that immense territory had excited in them the most profound confidence and veneration. On the part of the government and of the directors there was but one opinion respecting his appropriateness to the service; and notwithstanding his advanced age, and the slight prospect which could be entertained of his return to his native country, he considered it as his duty to comply with the wish of his country, and embarked for India. His voyage was secure and rapid, and on his landing he proceeded without delay to take the command of the army in the field; but in his progress he was arrested by disease, which soon terminated in his death at Ghazeepore in the province of Benares. In India this event was contemplated with the most sincere regret. Every attestation of grief was given by the native powers and the British government in that quarter of the world, for the loss of a man who had spent in that country,

country, and with the happiest success, the most vigorous years of his life, and who had closed his course of honour by devoting his last efforts to its service. At Calcutta a general mourning took place on this interesting occasion, and a committee was appointed afterwards in England, to prosecute the most eligible scheme for perpetuating the memory of his services and virtues.

Soon after this occurrence, which took place on the 5th of October 1805, the operations of the British arms in India, which had been distinguished by a series of the most rapid and brilliant victories, were completed. Scindia was reduced to sue for peace; and all the differences existing between him and the English government were adjusted by a treaty concluded by lord Lake, under the instructions of sir George Barlow, who had provisionally succeeded the marquis Cornwallis in the chief government. By this treaty it was agreed, that the peace concluded by sir Arthur Wellesley should remain binding in every respect, excepting in what it might be expressly altered by the new engagement. The fort of Gualior, and certain parts of the territory of Gohud particularly described, were ceded to Scindia, who agreed, in consequence, to relinquish all claim to a pension of fifteen lacks of rupees which had been granted to several of the chief officers of the government of that territory; which pensions, however, were to be paid up to a certain period, with the balance due, at that time, upon certain specified revenues, but with particular deductions enumerated in the treaty. To prevent misunderstandings in regard to the respective possessions of the parties in Hindostan, Scindia agreed to yield up to the company all that territory north of the river Chumbul, which had been ceded to him by the treaty with sir A. Wellesley; while the company disclaimed all rights and possessions on the south bank of that river. On the banks of the Jumna certain specified districts were to remain with the company. The annual sum of four lacks of rupees was granted to Scindia, to be paid by quarterly instalments, in consideration of the friendship of the company, who stipulated also to make an annual allowance of two lacks to the wife of Scindia, and of one lack to his daughter; to be effectually secured. The company engaged also, not to interfere by any treaties in the settlement which Scindia might think proper to make with certain tributary chiefs in particular provinces. And, in contemplation of the speedy termination of the war with Holkar, in a final settlement with that chief, they agreed not to interfere with the wishes and interests of Scindia, with regard to certain districts which had been taken by the latter, who should be at full liberty to make his own arrangements with that chief respecting these or other claims of his family: the company at the same time determining to take no part in any war, which might result from any attempted arrangement between these parties on these subjects. Sarjee Row Ghautka, having acted in such a manner as to disturb the friendship of the two states, it was agreed by Scindia never to admit him to a share in his councils, or to hold any public employment under his government.

The anticipation of a speedy settlement with Holkar, who was now

now expelled from his dominions, and obliged to prostrate himself at the feet of the company, was speedily verified. Reduced to extreme distress, he, on the 23d of December sent vakeels to the camp of lord Lake, entreating him to grant such terms of peace as his justice and humanity might dictate. The severe privations which he had long endured, joined to the desertion of a very great part of his officers, and a considerable number of his troops, produced the necessity of this application; which was, without delay, acted upon by lord Lake, between whom and Holkar a treaty of peace and amity was agreed upon by their respective agents on the following day. In this treaty the company engage to have no concern with the present possessions of the family of Holkar, in Mewar, Malwa, and Harrowte, or with any of the rajahs south of the Chumbul: and to deliver over to him his antient possessions in the Dekhan, south of the river Tapti; with particular exceptions, which, at the expiration of eighteen months from the date of the treaty, if the conduct of Holkar should evince his amicable intentions to the British government and its allies, they agree also to restore to him at that time. The district of Koonch, in Bundlecund, was also reserved by the company; and at the end of two years, if Holkar in the interval should manifest the relations of peace and amity, it was to be given to his daughter in jaghire, to be held by her under the company's government. All claims of every description on the British government were renounced by Holkar, who pledged himself never to receive into his service any European, whether British subjects or others, without the consent of the British government, and not to admit into his councils or employment Sarjee Row Ghadalka, as he had been proclaimed an enemy to the English. On these conditions Holkar should be permitted to return to Hindostan, although by routes which left certain towns and countries of the company and of the rajah of Jypoor on the left, and in which his troops should make no plunder, and commit no hostility, without any molestation from the English government, which should not interfere in any manner in his concerns.

Such was the result of a confederacy of the native princes of India, against an ally of the British government; a result not unaptly compared to the effect of the coalitions of Europe against the power of Bonaparte. In both quarters of the world these combinations have failed, and shown to how great disadvantage allied princes, with passions and interests in frequent collision, with no supreme presiding principle of counsel and execution, act against a solitary power, with one object, one interest, one passion only to gratify; with no necessity for delay at the period of action, no suspicion of perfidy in professed co-operation, and with respect to which the plan and act proceed from the same point, and almost in instantaneous succession. The vast territory of Hindostan may be considered by these conquests as having fallen into the power of the company; as the native princes, however nominally independent, and free from pretensions of sovereignty on the part of the company, are reduced to that state of weakness which places them completely within its grasp, and in which by

arms or intrigue, by address or menace it may be presumed they will now be retained. The progress of the British influence in India, from the period when a few scattered factories were its only evidences, to incipient power, and finally to almost complete domination, is a subject of extreme curiosity and interest. How little could the original English participators of the commerce of India anticipate the dominion of its vast territory! The circumstance of a company of merchants possessing no particular influence, rank, or estimation in their own country, administering the affairs of so extensive and populous a portion of the globe, where they are regarded by the natives as the delegates of divine power, and contemplated with an awe attached to the most despotic sovereigns, must be regarded as anomalous in the history of the world. It cannot at the same time be doubted, that notwithstanding this absurdity, this complication of traffic and sovereignty, in the administration of India, the devolution of power from the native princes into European hands has been eminently advantageous to the inhabitants of this territory. Wars have not been more frequent or more sanguinary. The stability of laws has been substituted for the caprice of despotism. Arts and manufactures have flourished under the shade of British protection. Even gleams of science have animated the profound obscurity of mysticism and ignorance in which these vast regions were enveloped, and the most obstinate of all prejudices, those arising from mistaken notions respecting the influence of preterhuman agents in the affairs and destiny of man, and which lead to all the horrors of superstition and intolerance, have begun to yield to that wise indulgence, that gentle illumination, which have on these points characterized the English government. Undoubtedly exceptions must have occurred, and the interests of large districts and provinces have been sacrificed to the rapacity of powerful agents. The general system, however, must be supposed to have been infinitely preferable to that restless insecurity, and uninterrupted barbarism, in which India was involved under the native governments. The maxims which the late lamented marquis Cornwallis so successfully practised, and which rendered him the idol of the people, and even of the princes, in this immense portion of the world, would doubtless have been extended by him throughout the additions to the company's sovereignty, acquired by the late splendid successes, and will, it is hoped, under directions from this country, be equally patronized by his successor.

In the month of July this year, a most melancholy and sanguinary occurrence took place at Vellore, which was garrisoned by six companies of the first battalion of the first regiment, the first and second battalion of the 23d, and four companies of his majesty's 69th. About two o'clock on the morning of the 10th, the European barracks were surrounded, and from every avenue a heavy fire from musquetry (one six-pounder was also employed) was discharged on the soldiers within. The sick in the hospital, the sentinels, and the soldiers at the main guard, were put to death; after which the sepoys proceeded to the houses of the officers, destroying all whom they could find. The commander of one of the bat-

talions, colonel McKerras, was shot while he was haranguing his men on the parade; the commander of the fort, colonel Fancourt, was killed as he was proceeding to the main guard; lieutenant Ely, of the 69th, was stabbed, with his infant son in his arms, in the presence of his wife. About seven o'clock two officers and a serjeant, who were quartered near the barracks, were enabled to introduce themselves among the soldiers there, and took the command of the four companies which remained. After a few rapid arrangements they sallied out and secured the six-pounder. At the moment they reached the gateway, which they did with extreme difficulty, col. Gillespie, with a troop of the 19th, from Arcot, which he had left at six o'clock, also arrived. He was drawn up by a rope, and, having taken the command, was about to charge the insurgents with the bayonet, when the galloper guns of the 19th arrived; and the gates being blown open, the 19th were admitted, and very soon overwhelmed the sepoys, who were ineffectually exhorted by their officers to make a decisive stand. About six hundred were cut down; two hundred, who had taken shelter, were dragged from their lurking-places, and shot; five hundred escaped, it was imagined, through the sally port, but many of these were afterwards taken. The second battalion of the 23d had been raised to the southward, and consisted chiefly of Collories. It was imagined that their officers had received bribes from one of the princes for the delivery of the fort, (after the possession of which, it was stated, they were to have been joined by a vast force from Mysore within a few days,) and found in these troops a perfect disposition to co-operation in the project. Soon after the firing commenced, Tippoo's standard was hoisted on the palace, and under the first impulse of resentment, colonel Gillespie, was on the point of ordering the palace; to be given up to the plunder of the soldiery: but this was prevented by the intercession of lieutenant-colonel Marriot, who stated his perfect conviction of the innocence of the princes. It appeared that a code of regulations had been recently introduced into the army, which had excited considerable disgust: a new turban, in particular, had been ordered to be worn by the sepoys, similar to a drummer's cap: they were also commanded to shave their upper lip, and the peculiar marks of their cast fixed on their forehead were to be removed. A few weeks before this event, one corps had been removed to Madras, in consequence of a refusal to adopt the turban, which, with other circumstances of dress that had excited alienation, were speedily ordered by lord William Bentinck to be no longer enforced. Commissioners were immediately appointed to investigate the causes of this dreadful catastrophe, and to bring to punishment all those concerned in it, who had not fallen victims to their treachery. Besides those already mentioned were killed, major Armstrong, captain Milne, lieutenants Winchoppe, Jolly, O'Reilly, Fitchbenner, Popham, Smith paymaster, and Mann commissary of stores: besides the rank and file killed, eighty-eight were wounded. The report of the commissioners, when it appears, will probably be found a document of considerable interest, and, it is to be hoped, will effectually prevent those interferences with the religious prejudices of the natives,

tives, which, if we can admit them to have been exercised in the present instance, may easily account for this deplorable calamity, but ought to bring down heavy punishment on those in authority who could wantonly furnish such fuel for mutinous disaffection and fanatic zeal.

The laurels of victory which the marquis Wellesley had collected during his Indian administration were no security against his being charged with delinquency of a very serious and important nature, by Mr. Paull, who, on this subject, manifested a spirit and perseverance of no common character. He had to contend with obloquy in all its various forms, for discharging what he conceived a most solemn duty; and, without pretending to decide on the merits of the case he undertook, it is impossible not to admire the firmness which he manifested in it. At the same time it might be lamented that the importance of the undertaking did not lead him to see the expediency of procuring the cordial and assiduous co-operation of other members, instead of relying exclusively on his own strength. One charge laid on the table of the house against the noble marquis, imputed to him the wanton and profuse expenditure of the money of the company for his own individual luxury and vanity, and another related to his conduct to the nabob of Oude. Mr. Paull charged the noble marquis with exacting from this prince, without any provocation, in opposition to express orders from the company at home, and existing treaties with the nabob, the most exorbitant sums of money; with demanding from him the surrender of territories guaranteed by positive compact; with urging the disbanding of his armies; and with such treatment of disrespect and severity, such degradation in the eyes of his subjects, whom the marquis is stated perpetually to have inflamed to disaffection and rebellion, as were calculated and intended to produce his resignation: in addition to which was also made the solemn accusation of murder. Whether the charges were deemed by the majority of the house but ill supported; or whether the late governor's connection with some of the existing ministry gave him any advantage on this occasion, more natural than just, no resolution of impeachment was adopted by the house; which seemed to feel but little interest on the subject, and contented itself with the examination, at the bar, of a few witnesses. The testimony of these persons, who, it should be observed, possessed great respectability and information, went to prove, that the late governor had possessed the complete confidence of the marquis Cornwallis, and of lord Teignmouth, and, in every affair of consequence, of his own council, and had so conciliated the natives of Oude, that, after the beneficial treatment they had experienced from him, they could never hear of his being accused, on his return to England, of oppression, rapine, and murder, but with the most perfect surprise and indignation. The trial by impeachment, in cases of Indian peculation and oppression, was, on the subject of the marquis's case, arraigned by Mr. Fox, as incapable of answering the ends of justice, and what he should oppose decidedly, from the experience he had had of its dilatory and inefficient operation; notwithstanding which, he admitted that the power of impeachment was among the most di-

tinguished rights and privileges of the house, not, inferior, indeed, to its power of legislation, and the exercise of it, in many cases, a matter of extreme facility as well as effect. The mode suggested by Mr. Banks of a trial before a tribunal, the arrangements of which are expressly stated by an act of parliament, and exclusively applied to the cognisance of offences in India, a tribunal consisting of a certain number of peers and commons, with one judge from each of the courts of law, seemed rather to be inclined to by Mr. Fox, but was opposed by others, equally tedious and unsatisfactory with the proceedings by impeachment;—the only case in which this occasional court had been ever engaged, having occupied no less time than the case of Mr. Hastings. It must be acknowledged, that it would appear somewhat unfortunate, if offences against law were to escape punishment from the difficulty attending any particular mode of trial; and surely, if no effectual provision be yet established, by which the delinquencies of provincial administration may become the subject of legal discussion and decision, with all the speed consistent with the gravity and peculiar circumstances of their nature, one of the most urgent objects of parliamentary attention must be the supply of this deficiency. In any thing that has been stated on this subject, it is very far from being intended to anticipate any judicial result on the conduct of the noble marquis, whose military government has been splendid, whose civil administration has, in various instances, shown a combination of the noblest philosophy and humanity, and who, if clear of the offences so gravely imputed to him by a British senator, must wish for nothing more ardently than an opportunity to vindicate his innocence.

The circumstances of the East India company, it will be seen, by a reference to the debates of the year, have excited considerable attention, although by no means that profound and continued discussion, leading to decisive measures of reform, which they would naturally suggest. The situation of the company, for a succession of years, has been stated by ministers to be, in relation to its finances, in the highest degree flourishing: yet, amidst these prosperous and improving circumstances, its debt has been accumulated to the immense sum of thirty millions sterling; and only in one year, since its stipulation to pay 500 thousand pounds per annum, in consideration of its renewed charter, has that payment been actually made. It was therefore truly observed by Mr. Fox, that since the grant of that renewal the company's affairs must have been managed with the most gross and criminal neglect, or that parliament were deluded at the time of the grant, by an impudent and fallacious statement. The deterioration of the company's affairs was clearly admitted by lord Morpeth, in his speech on the East India budget, from the accounts within the three last years, to which a statement could be made up; and it is ascribed to those continued wars in which the company has been involved, and which, without question, must have contributed to the production of it. The necessity of these wars themselves, however, at least in part, is still a question open to discussion; and even admitting their urgency, the dilapidated

ted state of the company's financial affairs will be thought scarcely attributable to their operation alone. The state of the company in this respect, is considered by the best judges on the subject to call loudly for immediate and minute investigation; and one of the most competent of all persons to give an opinion on so important a topic, to which his attention has been devoted during a long and active life, the greater part of it spent in the company's service in India, has explicitly declared in parliament, that the best mode of relieving the difficulties of the proprietors, and of establishing the security of the empire, is to blend their debt with that of the nation, to detach the dominion from the trade, to limit the company to those mercantile concerns to which, and to which alone, it can be supposed effectually competent, while the administration of India should devolve wholly and completely on the sovereignty of the British empire. This plan of Mr. Francis, advanced by him in the present year in parliament, is by no means new. The obstacles to its execution, at first appearing to many insurmountable, would gradually and every day diminish. The time, it is hoped, may be considered as rapidly approaching, in which the sovereignty and the debt will both be transferred to the government of this country; after which that unnatural monopoly, by which Britons are permitted to exclude their fellow-subjects from a trade to which they admit the inhabitants of other countries without hesitation, cannot long survive, and English capital and enterprise will possess the fair chance which alone seems necessary to ensure them a superiority over every competitor.

Towards the close of December, war was proclaimed at Constantinople against Russia. The troops to be employed in this contest, which she had for some time expected, as well as provoked, were committed to the command of general Michelson, who soon surrounded Choczim and Bender. The division of the forces of Russia, occasioned by her being involved in this additional war to what she previously carried on with France and Prussia, was an evidence, if not of good policy, of good fortune, on the side of Bonaparte. Turkey, on the other hand, presenting the spectacle of a government cajoled by its pretended friends and invaded by its enemies, with hesitation in its councils and rebellion in its provinces, possessed no security for her existence but what flowed from the difficulty of dividing her as spoil, and increased the ardour of those hopes which have so long been cherished by the friends of humanity, of the speedy arrival of the period, when this abject and polluted despotism shall be swept from the surface of the European continent, and Greece shall again behold her sciences and arts, her patriots and sages, in the room of bashaws, bigots, and the Koran.

Spain exhibited another impressive, and indeed disgusting, instance of national degradation. Her navy had been sacrificed to the temerity of her impetuous and domineering ally; her foreign provinces were about to be rescued from her grasp by daring adventurers, or the regular forces of her enemies; and although she levied troops for their recovery or assistance, she was destitute of the means of transferring these troops to the scene of action. Her North American settlements were bestowed on France in gratitude for its protecting cares, and sold

sold by that power to fill its exchequer, by which it might extend its usurpation. The intimate relation of her sovereign was dethroned by her professing friend, with no decorous reserve, no palliated and remorseful hostility, but with circumstances of the most aggravating insult. The possessor, and the heir apparent of the Spanish throne were under the control of a minister, himself dependent for support, not on her own degraded nobility, but on a foreign power, to whose vast empire this once proud and independent nation was bending in tributary subjection. The commerce of Spain was approaching rapidly to annihilation; her revenues were failing; she flourished only in bigotry, poverty, and humiliation. Her reduced and miserable population, partly and principally, sought redress for their affairs in resorting to beads and processions, to priests and images; while the remaining few saw no resource but in that effectual reform of public establishments, which it seemed impossible to accomplish without incurring the horrors of the most sanguine revolution.

Portugal was not a little alarmed at the commencement of the year by the idea of a Spanish invasion, which has so frequently aided the completion of Bonaparte's requisitions on that country, and, through her, answered another important object of his policy—the embarrassment of the credit and commerce of Great Britain. In the course of the year a British squadron, under lord St. Vincent, entered the Tagus, accompanied with circumstances of mystery, which excited the attention and suspicion of the Portuguese, and which do not appear to have been completely explained. It was concluded, that, in the event of the menaced invasion, which Portugal could not have effectually resisted, if undertaken on a large scale, it was the wish of the court to remove to its South American possessions, and that the detachment of the British navy was appointed to be in readiness for the accommodation of this desire. Without attempting to explain the wishes and mysteries of cabinets, it may be pronounced, that such a project would not have disgraced the court of Portugal. The extensive territory of the Brasils, abounding in all the means of subsistence, luxury, and power, and situated in one of the finest climates of the globe, supplies the basis of an empire, which, under the legislation of wisdom, would rapidly attain all the characteristics of national greatness. Institutions scarcely susceptible of control in the old country, which had formed its manners and prejudices, and, notwithstanding their deleterious influence, were supported by what they had thus produced, might be easily prevented in the new; and the prosperity, as well as magnitude, of the South American kingdom would soon leave but little room to regret the transfer of the seat of power.

Switzerland was materially affected by the recent treaty of Presburg, which, by distributing the Tyrol between powers in intimate alliance with France, or rather in complete subjection to her, invested the Cantons with a chain of fortresses, which rendered their independence, if possible, less real than before. The exclusion of English goods from this territory, and particularly from Basil, the grand depôt, through which they had found their way, by the agents of France, into that country, was urged, by the mandate of Bona-

parte, with extreme severity, and eleven of the principal merchants of that place were ordered into confinement at one time, on the representation of the French envoy; while Bonaparte, in a letter to the landamman, in return for a compliment on the marriage of the viceroy of Italy, declared, not only that he was extremely affected by that expression of the good will of Switzerland, but that he would ever entertain the most anxious solicitude for its independence.

That neutrality which it had been the policy of Denmark to maintain while it was possible, during the whole revolutionary conflict, was this year observed with its former strictness. Instead of involving herself in the vortex of European politics, in which it would have been scarcely possible for her to have escaped ruin, she limited her exertions to those internal arrangements which constitute the true happiness of states, and conciliate popular attachment even to governments of despotism. An attempt was made on the part of the French government, to seduce or compel her to break through her neutral policy, by shutting the Sound against the English. After the occupation of Lubec and Hamburgh, her situation became somewhat alarming. The storm however soon dissipated. It may deserve to be remarked, that Denmark felt herself to be in a materially different situation from several other governments of Europe, which were so near ruin as not unreasonably to entertain apprehensions from reform; and undoubtedly, in periods of restless feeling and boundless speculation, the very extensiveness of abuses will be admitted by many as a plausible argument against commencing their extirpation, and will be often felt by the government itself as an argument more than specious. Such, however, was not the situation of Denmark. The erroneous opinions of former ages on theological subjects she saw, and was disposed to remove. The first separation from popery naturally involved much of its absurdity and superstition; and these indeed tainted, in some degree, all the protestant forms of service. Commissioners were appointed by Denmark for removing, or at least moderating, these absurdities. A new translation of the Bible was ordered to be prepared, and the liturgies of the state were to be rendered more conformable to its ascertained contents. The example afforded by this kingdom, of caution and liberality, of resistance to anarchy, and concession to the spirit of improvement, is eminently worthy of imitation, and presents a happy contrast to those states, in which the governments have concluded that there was no security but in the continuance of abuses, and the people no deliverance but in complete and absolute subversion.

CHAPTER XIII.

Illness of Mr. Fox—Fatigues and Embarrassments of Office add Strength to his Maladies—Death of Mr. Fox—The Public Affliction at this Intelligence—Procession at his Interment—His Private Character—Short View of his Political Life—The Financial and Military Arrangements of his Administration—His Motion for the Abolition of the Slave Trade—His Conduct with respect to Foreign Powers—His Efforts for Peace—Is succeeded by Lord Percy for Westminster—Dissolution of Parliament—Boisterousness and Rudeness attending the New Elections—Influence of the People in Southwark, Liverpool, and other Places—Conduct of Sir Francis Burdett, nominated for Middlesex—Trial of Lord Melville.

THE accession of Mr. Fox to power, whatever hopes it might excite in political party, or in the great body of the nation, was a circumstance pregnant to himself with inconvenience and danger. In a life of retirement, which, comparatively speaking at least, he might be said to enjoy, before his summons to power by the death of his political rival, the consequences of his youthful eccentricities, were capable of being palliated by cautious attention and remedial applications. But on his advance to office, the perplexities of intrigue, the collision of claims, the chagrin of submitting to arrangements which he most desired to preclude, but which it seemed requisite to adopt, the prolonged contests in parliament, the frequent summonses to council, and even the very convivialities with which it was thought expedient to celebrate and cement a new administration, were but ill calculated for the preservation of that health, which was now more than ever desirable, but seemed also more than ever in danger. In a few months symptoms appeared of an alarming nature, and it was strongly apprehended that Mr. Fox laboured under an incipient dropsy. The business of the house of commons he was consequently obliged to abandon: but with this deduction from his harassing employments the remainder pressed too heavily upon him; and whatever chance might have been afforded by a total abstinence from public business, and a recurrence to his rural retirement and regularity, this chance was not afforded. It was not long before the most decided indications of dropsy appeared, in consequence of which, all hope of continued life was founded upon a long succession of operations, which, in comparatively vigorous subjects, have sometimes preserved the springs of life for a series of years, but which a broken constitution has seldom, if ever, been capable of sustaining. The operation of tapping was several times performed on Mr. Fox, producing that temporary relief which it seldom fails to effect: but the disease was too formidable for effectual resistance, and, in a short time, even for mitigation. After a series of increasing languors, amidst which, the fondness of affection would seem to perceive foundations for hope, which medical skill could never really admit, this great man, in the 59th year of his age, closed his connection with all mortal scenes.

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The regret occasioned by this event was evinced by the general feeling at the reception of the intelligence, notwithstanding it had been so long expected, and by that procession which some time afterwards took place on the solemn interment. The funeral was performed at private expense, but attended nevertheless by the most distinguished nobility, vast numbers of the house of commons, many dignitaries of the church, members of the whig club, electors of Westminster, and gentlemen deputed from distant parts of the country, in testimony of their repect for the character of the deceased, and an immense assemblage of the general population of the metropolis. One general sentiment of grief appeared to overwhelm all the distinctions of party politics, and the day that consigned Mr. Fox to the grave was consecrated, from all profane and factious asperity, to deplore the loss of a man, whose genius, acquirements, and virtues did honour to the nation and to the age. The private character of this great man appears to have abounded in all those qualities which can conciliate affection and esteem. The independence of his mind was totally unmixed with any portion of that surly asperity with which it is too frequently connected; and while it excited respect, it did not impair attachment. The frankness of his manners, the generosity of his feelings, which, agreeably to the testimony of one who knew him well, were unalloyed by the smallest particle of gall; the elevation of his principles, and that self-oblivion which he displayed in circumstances, where personal interest, in common minds, appears to absorb every other sentiment, procured for him, in return, a degree of regard, which perhaps was scarcely ever exceeded to any human individual, as he appears to have been excelled by no one in the tenderness of his affections, the sublimity of his views, and the comprehension and sagacity of his intelligence.

That unanimity of approbation bestowed on his individual character, it would be absurd to expect in his political one. A circumstantial detail of his public life would be ill suited to our present object; yet to advert to a few events in the career of this distinguished man, may be thought a natural appendage to the announcement of his quitting this earthly stage. In the commencement of his parliamentary course, he displayed those principles which he had derived from his father; and which were designated by the term toryism. Some altercation, however, having arisen between him and lord North, he was abruptly dismissed from his office, as commissioner of the treasury, and, with all the irritation of resentment at the sarcastic and triumphant mode with which his ejection had been declared to him by the premier, threw himself into the arms of the opposition, consisting of men of the most splendid talents, and to whom he afterwards confessed himself obliged for any knowledge of the true principles of the constitution, and for that glowing attachment to general liberty which he possessed. During his career of opposition the most indignant and personal language was applied by him to the principal minister lord North, for whose crimes no epithet was too strong and no punishment could be unmerited. The ill success of the American war, at length, combined effectually with the representations made of its folly and iniquity, by Mr. Fox and his colleagues, to

bring it to a termination, and the party of opposition succeeded to the helm of government. The death of the marquis of Rockingham, who was the bond of union to this party, soon afterwards dissipated it; and lord Shelburne being appointed to the chief station in the government, Mr. Fox abandoned his situation and formed a political alliance with lord North, whose measures he had incessantly reprobated, and whose principles he had so frequently declared pregnant with all political and moral evil. This union, however, may be considered as reflecting more on the discretion of this great man than on his integrity. There appears no reason why men of the greatest abilities should not combine their talents in the service of their country, notwithstanding a long opposition on certain particular measures. The grand interests of the state are, in general, obvious and admitted, and good manners and good temper are alone necessary to give the most beneficial effect to these alliances: but it appears requisite to this effect, that all the virulence of invective, and foulness of abuse, should not have been previously applied by one of these parties to the other; and that, notwithstanding the most determined opposition to measures, the promoters of them should be regarded as contemplating in them, however mistakenly, the national benefit. Had Mr. Fox's opposition been conducted within these limits, the measure of the union might have gained the approval instead of the reprobation of the country, and really have contributed, in a material degree, to its advantage. But after all that had passed between the parties, the British public could not pardon the forgiveness of Mr. Fox; and the introduction of the bill for the government of India, which was his own avowed and favourite offspring, and which was calculated to give an influence to the ministry, if not beyond the control of the crown, at least alarming to its prerogatives, completed his expulsion from power. In the case of the regency, Mr. Fox, at that period on his travels through Italy, was recalled with all possible urgency, and returned with the greatest dispatch. Here again, however, his transcendent ability seems to have failed him; and instead of abiding by the expediency of appointing the heir apparent to the administration of sovereign power, he adopted the ground of absolute right in the prince—thus infringing on popular privilege, and furnishing his rival with an opportunity of standing forward on constitutional principles, and connecting the rights of the people and the measures of the ministry on this important topic: an opportunity on this occasion not lightly to be lost, and which was employed with equal exultation and effect. In the trial of Mr. Hastings, Mr. Fox displayed all the eloquence and the energy, perseverance and sagacity, which that momentous case required: and with respect to the Spanish and Russian armaments, his efforts were successful in preventing the desolation of war, for objects, the importance of which by no means appeared capable of justifying the solemn and final appeal to arms. The mission of Mr. Adair, however, to the court of Catherine the second, with a view to counteract the representations of an authorised diplomatic agent from the executive power of this country, was an unjustifiable interference with the rights of that power, and an assumption on the part

of an individual subject, deserving, at least, of strong reprehension.

At length was exhibited on the theatre of human affairs, that event which divided the opinions of the wisest and the friendships of the best of men, the French revolution. The glowing sentiments which animated Mr. Fox, at the dawn of liberty in France, did credit to his feelings, without detracting from the reputation of his wisdom. Within no long period, however, this event wore an aspect of alarm and danger. Attempts were made to sap the foundation of all legitimate authority. The understandings and the passions of men in France seemed to have for their object, to sweep away completely the institutions of ages; by which the greater part intended, probably, merely to clear a basis for the erection of some perfect system, which should preclude all public, if not personal, evil; while the designing few encouraged the general impulse, considering how they might build their own elevation on the ruins of preceding establishments. All those deviations of the human mind, which in all ages have tended to subvert the order of civil society; all the eccentricities of imagination on the important topics of property and marriage, on religion, politics, and morals, were circulated with extreme avidity; and he, whose suggestions were most in opposition to that experience, which, in all ages, is the only guide of life, was the most approved legislator of the day. These feelings were not confined within the limits of France, but were imported by the visitors from every neighbouring country; and every packet from France to England was said to be freighted with returning proselytes, who, in their turn, were zealous to become evangelists of the rights of man, and to lay the axe at the root of all hereditary institutions. In this period of alarm, the course taken by Mr. Fox met with a decided opposition. The danger to the constitution existed not from prerogative, but from democratic phrensy. The crisis of the times required the reins of government to be held with a firm hand. It was a time which, it was asserted, might even suspend liberty to preserve order; without which, liberty is, in truth, only the most abhorred species of despotism. Yet the tide of the moment seemed to derive fresh impulse from the energies of Mr. Fox. The measures of the government to keep aloof from this happy island the mania which was laying waste the continent, were opposed by him with the extremes of ardour and perseverance; and the "sovereignty of the people," so incapable of being denied, but so liable to be abused, was incessantly presented to their notice, as if with a view to stimulate to that resumption of power from the crown which Mr. Fox would have been the first to have resisted with his blood. The long secession of Mr. Fox from parliamentary duty, is a measure which can never be vindicated by those who think, that in no case the country should be despaired of; and such conduct must, perhaps, be ever considered rather as an evidence of personal mortification, or diseased sensibility, than as the result of just views of patriotism and human nature. During the protracted course of his opposition, however, the utility of his parliamentary vigilance must in many cases be admitted. The eloquence and zeal with which he advocated the cause of American rights and general toleration, can never be forgotten;

and should it be observed, that even these exertions were to be ascribed more to the leader of a political party than to the principles or feelings of the man, let the observation be also extended to other acts of his opposition, which are imputed to him with all the severity of crimination. This remark is, in truth, of no unimportant consequence. Men of talents, out of power and place, without something of a regular opposition, would be thought likely to sink into that insignificance which would not only be unfavourable to their own projects of ambition, but to the interests of the nation, by relaxing the attention of ministers to the performance of their duty. The measures of ministry therefore often, if not generally, influence by the rule of contraries the conduct of opposition; and light and reprehensible as some may consider this mode of proceeding, which, certainly, has often been carried to the most criminal excess, it, at least, can scarcely be doubted to be that which has been adopted to a certain extent by the best and wisest oppositions that ever existed in this country. As advocates before a judge, regarding the English public in that capacity, they have considered themselves advancing with ministers every argument that could be suggested on all subjects of consequence that could be brought forward, and in every point of view; thus furnishing the materials, which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to obtain by any other means, from which truth and impartiality are to decide, and promoting that discussion which must be supposed friendly to the nation's interest. Liberal minds, reprobating, at the same time, the excesses sometimes resulting from this system, will make considerable allowance from it for that conduct in an opposing party, which, without such reference, would draw down strong reprehension, and will be inclined to admit the probability that on an exchange of circumstances, the hostile party would often have actually adopted the measures which it in fact resisted. With respect to the real sentiments and measures of a statesman, it would thus appear, that they seem rather to be collected from his conduct in the cabinet than out of it. Even this criterion, however, can be regarded as by no means infallible; and with regard to the present instance, of Mr. Fox, the appointment of lord Ellenborough to a seat in the cabinet, and the bill to accommodate lord Grenville with the office of first lord of the treasury, which could not be considered as the most auspicious commencement of the new administration, will be presumed by many to have resulted rather from the necessity of his situation, or, to do justice to his patriotism, of his country's situation, than from his own individual and ardent wishes. But even admitting the perfection of the above test, Mr. Fox has unfortunately left but few materials of decision, his official life constituting only a very small part of his political existence.

The emergencies of the state requiring extraordinary means, it was creditable to Mr. Fox that he persisted in the plan of his predecessor in raising a great portion of the supplies within the year. The clamour attending the adoption of this plan he wisely disregarded. Those who expected that great difficulties should be surmounted without extraordinary efforts, and that ministers, as by some magic spell, could raise immense sums without aggra-

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vating the public pressure, were particularly indignant at that increase of taxation, which adds indeed to the burden of war, but quickens the approach of peace; and renders its arrival the more welcome in proportion as its relief is more effectual. The property tax is undoubtedly susceptible of modifications of considerable importance, but as a general resource its operation is of extraordinary consequence to the credit of the country; and, while it will prevent unnecessary wars by its pressure on those men of obvious and palpable property, who possess the constitutional check on prerogative, it will, in connection with the other war taxes, facilitate the termination of such as are justly incurred, by constituting a basis for the periodical liquidation of loans, and displaying an extent of resources, against which it will be found vain for an enemy to urge unjust and arrogant pretensions.

The arrangement of the military establishments of the country, under the auspices of Mr. Fox, appears the result of a liberal and judicious policy. The reduction of the volunteer force within that extent to which alone the term properly applied, restored to the country a considerable amount of allowances, which might purchase for it a far greater portion of military strength than the new regulations withdrew from its service. The act which provides for the training and arming a considerable part of the general population of the country, to be called out according to its presumed exigencies, is a measure, the propriety of which must appear obvious to all, who admit that defence is among the very first of national interests, and that it can be most effectually accomplished by forming a nation itself to the knowledge and use of arms. With respect to the regular and disposable force of the empire, the exchange of the term of service for a period of years instead of for life, accompanied with arrangements rendered expedient in relation to remote settlements, and seasons of actual hostility, is calculated to produce the happiest effect. So reluctant are men to bind themselves irrevocably to any obligation whatever; so willing to preserve at least some reversion of discretionary power, to be exercised according to contingencies, that the facility of procuring supplies to the army must be considered by the adoption of the above alteration as most materially increased. The possibility of withdrawing after a certain, and no long period, will be a most impressive recommendation to the service; to withdraw from which, it is probable, few will in fact avail themselves of this possibility, as men are the creatures of habit as much as they are the advocates of liberty; a circumstance which, in connection with the advance of pay, proportioned to the duration of service, will render secessions probably of rare occurrence. It is always of high importance to a state, that any large body of men in its employment should look on that employment as honourable and desirable, and be thus conciliated to their situation, which precludes the elements of mutinous feeling, and induces a cordial discharge of duty. Persons of greater respectability than formerly, may probably attach themselves, in consequence of these regulations, to the military profession, infusing into it a greater degree of civilized, moral, and honourable feeling, than, with all its allowed

allowed merit, it has hitherto possessed, and tending to diminish those apprehensions which our ancestors felt so strongly from a large establishment of regular troops, and which ought never to be completely subdued.

An object near to the heart of this benevolent and distinguished statesman, was the abolition of the slave trade; to prepare for which had required the discussions of nearly twenty years. In the month of June, Mr. Fox, after recapitulating in the house of commons the arguments for the resolution it was his object, to enforce, concluded with moving, that that house, conceiving the African slave trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, would with all practicable expedition take effectual measures for abolishing the said trade, at such a period as might be deemed most desirable; which was carried by 114 against 15 members. On this subject he appears to have been determined to redeem his pledge, and to have committed his strength; and it was a subject which well merited his utmost ardour and exertion. His success in this alone would be sufficient to render his remembrance for ever dear to humanity.

The conduct of Mr. Fox, in relation to foreign powers, was of the most frank and dignified description. The representations of America were met by him with every disposition to conciliation, and every arrangement which could give it speedy effect. The aggression of Prussia was resisted with all that firmness which could leave the aggressor no hope of accommodation, without relinquishing the fruits of his insidious hostility, and with all that moderation becoming a great power, conscious of its means of vengeance, and from which dispassionate remonstrance would proceed with more dignity and more impression than the usual irritation of invective. In the debate, however, on the subject of Prussian policy, his instinctive disgust at every thing mean and perfidious in the intercourse of nations, as well as of individuals, advanced far beyond those limits which were observed in his official statements. He did not, indeed, hesitate to stigmatize it, as combining all that was mean in servility with all that was odious in rapacity; adding, that of all the degradations which were capable of being incurred, none could be greater than that of becoming the despised tool of another's injustice. His conduct on this occasion, both in and out of parliament; procured him the political attachment of many who had entertained some apprehension lest his ardent love of peace might lead him to acquiesce in an invasion of his country's honour, which they were now convinced no man was better qualified or disposed to defend.

The renewal of the war with France, under the administration of Mr. Addington, had never been approved by Mr. Fox: but, whatever his sentiments on this point had been, and whether correct or not, in the existing circumstances of the country, on his attaining power, he would have been justified in his efforts for the restoration of tranquillity. To give peace, indeed, to impoverished and bleeding Europe, was the most interesting object to his feelings; and whether he made, or only met, the first attempt for its attainment, it is undoubted that in the true spirit of peace he exerted his efforts to procure it. The urgency of his desires,

sires, however, in this instance permitted him not to make any concessions which ought to have been withheld; and with all the disposition to pacification, he manifested all the tenaciousness of honour. His successors, it cannot be doubted, were well informed of his views, and fully adopted them; yet personal influence, in such cases, is a circumstance of mighty operation, and, whatever advantage might justly be expected to flow from such a principle in any case, might be expected in the present, from the personal influence of Mr. Fox. His good opinion seems to have been an object even with the chief of the French government himself, and to him probably sacrifices might have been permitted to be made, upon that principle, which upon every other might have been refused. But he was "snatched by death from the midst of his work," deplored by contending nations, after too short a career of official service, but which enabled him, however, to prove himself in power what he had ever professed himself to be when banished from it, the friend of peace, freedom, and humanity.

The representation of Westminster being vacated by the death of Mr. Fox, the attention of all men was directed to the question, who would be the proper person for his successor. Mr. Sheridan, notwithstanding the unhappy deviations of his private character, was generally considered as the person on whom this pre-eminent honour would devolve. Arrangements, however, were privately made which precluded this result; and the lord Percy, the eldest son of the duke of Northumberland, was brought forward, as the substitute of the late illustrious representative, with the whole weight of ministerial influence, besides that which was derived from the residence of the family in the city of Westminster, and its general merit from correct and benevolent conduct. Ambitious as Mr. Sheridan was, bred in the same political school as Mr. Fox, the colleague of his power, the partaker of his exclusion, the steady admirer of his talents, and sharer of his fortunes, and deriving from him in return the regard of established friendship, to succeed in the representation of Westminster to his distinguished friend, it was imperative upon his feelings or necessities to yield to the pretensions of a young man, but just of age, and of whom scarcely any thing was known, but that he was the son of a peer, of immense and overwhelming opulence. A great proportion of the electors were chagrined at this absurd and preposterous substitution, and requests were made, after the positive refusal of Mr. Sheridan to become a candidate, on the principle of preventing dissension among the late colleagues of Mr. Fox, to sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Curran, which the two latter declined on the same ground with Mr. Sheridan, while the former, with singular and premature despair, considered the state of the country such as to render the exertions of the friends of freedom in parliament of no beneficial effect, without an absolute and radical change.

In the course of October, in consequence of what was deemed by ministers a favourable state of affairs for this purpose, it was determined to appeal to the feelings and opinions of the people. A compromise was nearly effected with Prussia; a rupture had occurred to the negotiation, which was received in town,

town, and throughout the country, in a manner highly flattering to administration, implying that full credit was given to the sincerity of their efforts and the moderation of their demands; and the flames of war were kindling in the north of Europe. A new portion of energy was, at this period, thought capable of being procured to the public councils and measures, by resorting to the elective power of the people, and parliament was accordingly dissolved. On this occasion, from some unexplained motive, lord Percy declined standing for Westminster, for which, however, three candidates soon appeared, sir Samuel Hood, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Paull. The fortitude and perseverance which had been exhibited by Mr. Paull, in the house of commons, in his attempt to bring the marquis Wellesley before the tribunal of his country, in which he was frequently impeded by the most indecorous and reprehensible opposition of many members, had procured him an extraordinary portion of popular favour. All that intrigue, ridicule, or scurrility could accomplish, was unfortunately deemed requisite by the advocates of Mr. Sheridan, to stem this tide of popularity; and by the most vulgar abuse, the influence of authority, and the junction of interests between sir S. Hood and Mr. Sheridan, their election was finally carried.

Sir Francis Burdett permitted himself to be nominated for Middlesex, but, consistently with his principles, and displaying an example more worthy of imitation than likely to attract it, refused to be at the least expense, even with respect to the conveyance of voters, a circumstance which alone it may naturally be supposed would have proved fatal to his success. But it must, at the same time, be acknowledged that the sweeping style which this excellent man had on many occasions adopted, with respect to public abuses and remedies, had excited some apprehension of his wanting that discretion, without which zeal against abuses became itself the abuse most of all to be dreaded and deprecated.

Mr. Tierney by merely popular influence was unsuccessful in Southwark. Mr. Roscoe, distinguished as an author for his elegant literature, and as a man for his knowledge of business and respectability of character, came in for Liverpool, notwithstanding his direct avowal against the slave-trade; or rather, indeed, in consequence of that avowal, "No Slavery" being the inscription on his banners: a triumph over the advocates of that abhorred and loathsome traffic, most gratifying to the feelings of humanity, as it occurred in the very centre and citadel of its power. From these and other cases, occurring during this renewal of an important branch of the constitution, it appeared that the representation of the people is at least something more than an empty name. The personal abuse, the boisterous manners, the aristocratical expressions of contempt and contumely, applied to those who could display no pretensions beyond their own individual merits and exertions, which are circumstances, it must be admitted, that have aided in consoling other nations for their want of this popular participation of power, were exhibited in no sparing manner on this occasion, and will be deplored by all the lovers of order and decorum. But good seems unattainable without some mixture of evil, and these inconveniences

will be regarded as nearly absorbed in the impressive and invaluable fact, that, in those recurrences to the people, the people do in reality exercise an extensive and substantial influence, visible amidst all the alleged decay of spirit and prostitution of principle; and which, capable and deserving as it is of being increased, has in no regular and tranquil period of English history ever been exceeded.

We shall conclude our review of the events of the year with a subject which occupied a very considerable proportion of public attention towards the middle of it, and which, from its importance, requires to be very distinctly noticed, the trial of lord viscount Melville. As the result of a minute inquiry into the expenditure of the public money, the house of commons had deliberately resolved to engage in the most solemn and important part of its functions, the exercise of its power of impeachment, against this nobleman. Managers were accordingly appointed by the house. Westminster hall was fitted up in a style worthy of the solemnity, and the house of peers made various arrangements which tended to facilitate the progress of the trial, and rescue the proceedings by impeachment from that censure and disgrace which they had incurred from the case of Mr. Hastings. On the sixth of May, Westminster hall presented a concentration of all that was distinguished by elevated rank or authority, by transcendent genius, high honour, or brilliant services. As a fashionable assemblage, the meeting displayed all that considerate ease and elegant advertence which result from the discipline of polished society; while the forms and features of beauty in its most exquisite attractions both of art and nature, diffused an influence over the scene, precluding dullness without interfering with decorum. As a tribunal of justice it contained one of the sublimest of all possible spectacles, the representatives of a free and mighty people charging with delinquency one of the most eminent servants of the crown, before judges abounding in all the means of human estimation, with no restraint imposed on the freedom of accusation or defence, but what was due at once to order and justice.

The court was opened with the usual forms and solemnities, after which a master in chancery read aloud the charges against his lordship, of which the following is the substance. The first article charges him with receiving, previously to the 10th of January 1786, 10,000*l.* of the public money, and converting the same to his own use, or some other corrupt and illegal purpose, and declaring that he never would reveal the application of that sum, being bound to conceal it, not only by motives of public duty but of private honour and convenience. By the second he was charged with permitting Mr. Alexander Trotter to draw money from the bank for other purposes than those of the navy service, and to place it in the hands of private bankers, under his own name and control. The third article charged, that after the act for regulating the office of treasurer of the navy, large sums of money were at various times paid into the bank, and placed to his lordship's account, and that, during all the time he was in office from 1786, he permitted Mr. Trotter to draw money from the bank and place it at Mr. Coutts's, in his own name, and that, with the privity of his lordship, Mr. Trotter

applied these sums to his own emolument: that Mr. Trotter mixed the public money, so placed in the hands of private bankers, with his own proper money, whereby the public money was used for private emolument, exposed to great risk, and withdrawn from the control of the treasurer of the navy. By the fourth it is charged, that after the tenth of January, 1786, similar connivance was manifested by his lordship, in respect to public money, placed by Mr. Trotter in the hands of Mark Sprott, and others, for the purpose of private emolument. The fifth article charges the same as in the first, only laying the act subsequent to January, 1786. The sixth article charges him with receiving public money from Alexander Trotter, and employing it to his own use, and in participating with Mr. Trotter in the profits made of the public money; and that with a view to conceal the advances made to lord Melville, and the considerations upon which they were made, it was agreed between the parties in 1803, to destroy all vouchers and memorandums which had passed between them. By the seventh article his lordship is charged with having received from Mr. Trotter 22,000*l.* or some other large sum without interest, part of which was advanced from public money, and part from the fund made up of the public money, mixed with that of Mr. Trotter, at Coutts's. By the eighth he is charged with having received 22,000*l.* or some other large sum, for which his lordship had alleged that he was to pay interest, and that, with a view to conceal this advance, the books of accounts were destroyed. The ninth charges, that while Mr. Trotter transacted the business of his lordship, as his agent, he was from time to time, in advance to him in that respect, from ten pounds to 2,000*l.* which sums were taken from the money placed in Mr. Coutts's hands; that his lordship thus derived benefit from the illegalities of Mr. Trotter, and that Mr. Trotter acted gratuitously for his lordship, in consideration of his lordship's connivance at the application of the public money to Mr. Trotter's emolument, without which connivance Mr. Trotter would not have been able to make these advances. To these charges his lordship pleaded, that he was in no wise guilty, reserving to himself, in the prosecution of his defence, all his privileges as a peer, and all right of exception on points of law: after which a tenth charge was given in, stating that after his appointment to the treasurership, in 1782, between certain specified periods, he had received divers sums of public money, amounting to nearly 27,000*l.* and converted the same to his own use, or some other corrupt purpose, different from that of the naval service, and continued this application after the act for the better regulation of his office; to which lord Melville disclaimed all obligation, from the law and custom of parliament, and the laws of the realm, to give any answer, although, confiding in the goodness of his cause, and the justice of the house, he did not hesitate to answer the same, with all the above reservations and privileges, by stating, that he was not justly so charged.

The charges and answers having been concluded, Mr. Whitbread rose, and addressed the court: "In the prosecution of the duty which had devolved upon him, he lamented that the task had not fallen into

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abler hands. In tracing the series of facts by which the charges were to be established, their lordships would unavoidably be detained for a considerable time. The noble lord who was the object of these charges, possessed great talents and experience. From the long possession of great political influence, he had been enabled to establish powerful connections which would cling to him, and support him in the difficulties with which he now had to contend; and the liberal disposition of his lordship, so remote from every idea of sordid avarice, his habits of generosity and hospitality must have strengthened those attachments which originated from his patronage, and preserved the regards of friendship after motives of interest had ceased to operate. These circumstances were favourable to the noble defendant, for whom he consequently could not feel that commiseration which would operate for a defenceless, weak, and forlorn criminal. Even among those who were to decide on his case, there was every reason to think that many were most strongly disposed in his favour, and, in addition to the resource of his own extraordinary talents, he had the assistance of professional gentlemen, eminently distinguished for legal science, and persuasive eloquence. In these circumstances, even a bold man might, without much room for imputation, be deterred from the prosecution of the charges. So far, however, from influencing *him* in the way of intimidation, they rather tended to rouse every particle of native vigour, and kindle every spark of manly energy. Could anything restrain him in the exertions which he thought due to the importance of the cause, the rank of the accused, and the splendour of the august tribunal before which he was pleading, it was the presence of one, (lord Melville's son) whose conduct and feelings through the whole of the case had excited the most merited admiration: but it was necessary to resist, not only the access of intimidation, but of all those impressions of tenderness which might impede the exercise of momentous public duty.

The attention of his lordship had been directed in early life to political subjects. He was one of the most able and most ardent defenders of lord North in the American war. In 1783, when that brilliant luminary whose recent extinction every one lamented was placed at the head of affairs, Mr. Dundas had a high office assigned him, and from that period till his removal from the councils of his majesty, in consequence of a resolution of the house of commons, laid at the foot of the throne, with the exception of a very short interval, he possessed a high and uninterrupted share of the confidence of his sovereign, united with some of the most elevated offices of the state. In adverting to the close connection between Mr. Pitt and lord Melville, the recollection of their lordships would be inevitably drawn, not so much to the brilliant and fascinating eloquence of that great man, nor to his firmness amidst the dangers of modern alarm and convulsion, nor to other qualities which rendered his loss so particularly to be deplored at this eventful crisis, as to a trait in his character superior to all these, as its mention also was more appropriate to the present occasion, that unsullied purity in the management of the public money, which even malice could never presume to asperse.

Here was a model of unblemished and unsuspected probity, the natural influence of which it must be supposed to have required the strongest tendency to corruption in his colleague to resist; and to have violated the public trust in the very face of this distinguished example of incorruptibility, was a high aggravation of the offence which had been committed.

It appeared from the history of the office of treasurer of the navy from its first establishment, that the salary annexed to it had been as liberal as its duties were light; circumstances particularly impressing the obligation to fidelity in its discharge. That distinguished patriot and orator Mr. Burke, had recommended, and successfully enforced, measures, tending to correct the flagrant abuses prevailing in the public offices, and the salary of the treasurer of the navy was soon afterwards raised to four thousand a year, on the express condition, that he should not employ the public money committed to his care to any purpose of private emolument. The practice had, before this period, been, not legal, but certainly connived at, and, to compensate for its total and complete termination by this bill, the increase of salary was granted. That lord Melville was aware of Mr. Trotter's so employing the public money, which, contrary to an express act of parliament, introduced at the very suggestion of his lordship himself, had been drawn from the bank of England, and placed in the hands of a private banker, was evident, by his lordship's frequently borrowing large sums, sometimes so large as 10,000*l.* from Mr. Trotter, and often without any payment of interest. Whence could such sums be supplied by Mr. Trotter, lately but a clerk in the navy office, with 200*l.* a year, and as paymaster, possessing only a salary of 500*l.*? Whence then, but from the public money, could these loans be derived? And even if the possibility be admitted of his possessing these sums as his own, why should they be expected to be lent without interest? His lordship had indeed denied having any knowledge that the money thus advanced was the money of the public, and even that he knew of Mr. Trotter's application of that money to his own convenience and advantage: but solemnly as the denial was stated, in a letter to the commissioners of naval inquiry, it was contradicted by facts; and what must be thought of a peer of the realm, a member of that assembly, whom the constitution supposed to possess a veracity so pure, that they were permitted to pass judgment, in cases of life and death, upon their honour, averring as a fact what he must inevitably have known not to be such! Their lordships would consider this point most material to their dignity, and the offence contained in the articles of charge, would be considered by this circumstance, as most seriously aggravated.

With respect to the 10,000*l.* applied, from its regular and only legal destination, to purposes which his lordship had declared he would never reveal, if the public money were thus to be diverted to purposes, important perhaps only to the caprice of its employer, at least, the public should have the satisfaction of being informed of its actual direction: instead of giving this satisfaction, to maintain a positive and contumacious silence, was, in a public accountant, an offence of the greatest magnitude, as his primary duty was to clear up the application of

every farthing of the public money committed to his charge. If the defendant's counsel, as had been asserted, were very recently in possession of the receipt for this money, let it be produced before the court, and, if its application were justifiable or excusable by the emergency of circumstances, let his lordship acquire all the benefit to which that fact might entitle him: while the public would ascertain the use which had been made of its property, and meet, not with insolent and determined concealment, but with open disclosure. If the receipt had been since destroyed, the cause of such destruction would be of no equivocal character, and this fact would decidedly illustrate the nature of the transaction.

Attention to the discharge of his duty in the prosecution of this impeachment, had procured the discovery of some of the identical bank notes which had been used in these transactions, which had been traced to the hands of lord Melville's private banker, to whom they had been paid in for his lordship's private account. On the proof of this circumstance, clear and full as it would be, it would undoubtedly be still a matter of some astonishment and hesitation to their lordships, that a man of such high understanding, rank, and station, uninfected with the love of money for its own sake, could be guilty of such culpable dereliction of his public duty, such gross violation of public trust, for his private advantage. The incongruity of the act with the station and character, must be instantly admitted; but unhappily, in the history of mankind, instances still more extraordinary and deplorable, existed; instances of the total oblivion of every thing honourable and distinguished, for the sake of sordid interest and base corruption. And English history exhibited the case of a man, whose intelligent and highly cultivated mind might rank him with any of the sages of ancient or modern times, whose writings abounded with every thing pure and sublime in morality, who, enjoying the highest consideration and occupying the highest office in the kingdom, incurred one of the most extraordinary, the most afflicting, and the most humiliating conviction of bribery and corruption, at their lordships' bar. Instances more recent, and more familiar, had occurred, in which, against every principle of pride, honour, dignity, and rectitude, the highest characters and most elevated stations had been forfeited for mean advantages, which brought with them unmitigated contempt and irrecoverable degradation. The extensive and complicated branches of the public administration of the empire, had given too great temptation to these deviations from fidelity and honour, and the prevalence of the evil had been long observed. Under the auspices of lord St. Vincent, investigations had been instituted into several departments of the state, with a view to the necessary reform. The commission of naval inquiry was the result of his recommendation; and the integrity, the assiduity, the firmness, the penetration, and the wisdom with which those commissioners had discharged their duty, amidst extreme embarrassments, were deserving of every eulogium. By their exertions the crimes now charged on the defendant at their lordships' bar had been discovered. On their report he had felt it his duty to found certain resolutions, which the house of commons had thought

proper to adopt, the result of which was his lordship's impeachment, at the head of the committee for managing which, the person addressing their lordships had had the honour of being appointed. Incompetent as he was to a situation so eminent and arduous, he had at least brought to the discharge of his duty all the zeal and assiduity of which he was master, and all possible devotion to the public good. He was influenced by no motive of hostility to his lordship. He would acknowledge, with great willingness his many instances of meritorious conduct in the public service: and even in that department in which he was now charged with gross violation of duty, he had established regulations to promote the security and happiness of British seamen, which entitled him to the gratitude of his country. But abuses would not be permitted by their lordships to be screened by meritorious services, and while they would be ever ready to acknowledge the service, they would also be ever disposed to punish and prevent the abuse.

The first piece of evidence delivered in was the report of the commissioners in 1782, for new modelling the office of treasurer of the navy, and fixing the salary at 4000*l.* a year, in lieu of all emoluments and perquisites, which was followed by proof of the appointment of lord Melville to the office in August 1782, of his resignation the ensuing April, and his re-appointment in January 1784, after which were read extracts from the journals of the house of commons, which formed the groundwork of the bill for regulating the treasurer's office, of which lord Melville suggested the necessity, and which he presented himself at the bar of the house of lords. From certain books of accounts, left by Mr. Douglass, the first paymaster to lord Melville, two entries were read in evidence, of moneys issued by the exchequer to Mr. Douglass, on account of lord Melville, for naval purposes; 43,000*l.* issued on the 6th of November, 1782, and 50,000*l.* on the 22d of the same month and year. Of the first of these issues, part was advanced in five bank notes of 1,000*l.* each, the numbers and dates of which were specified in evidence by a clerk, who on being shewed a bank note, stated his conviction, that that was one of the number so issued. Turning afterwards to the entry of the 50,000*l.* he proved also that part of that issue was paid in three bank notes of 1,000*l.* each, particularizing their numbers and dates, from his books. A clerk of Messrs. Drummond proved, that one of the notes of the first entry was paid into their house on the 29th of November, 1782, on lord Melville's private account, in discharge of a sum which he owed, and that 400*l.* was given in change.

An admission of a debt due from lord Melville to the lord advocate of Scotland of 1,000*l.* dated 16th of November, 1782, in his lordship's own hand, was then produced, after which it was proved that in the same month and year one of the three bank notes of 1,000*l.* each, which constituted part of the second issue of the public money, above mentioned, was paid to the lord advocate at Messrs. Moffatt and Kensington's in discharge of that debt.

It appeared in evidence, that on the 20th of August 1782, the sum of 10,000*l.* was paid by Mr. Douglas, the paymaster, into a private banking

banking house on lord Melville's account; that between the August of that year, and the April following, Mr. Douglass had drawn 16,000*l.* from the exchequer for the iron chest of the navy office, but that no more than 3,000*l.* had actually been employed, in this interval, according to the returns of the proper clerks, so that there was a deficiency of 13,000*l.*, which, when his lordship left office, on the 10th of April in that year, was acknowledged by him. That four days after he drew out 10,000*l.* additional which he lent to Mr. Atkinson. In consequence of urgency for money in the office, a few weeks after this, his lordship reduced his debt by repeated instalments, to 7,600*l.*, which on the January following, when he had again become treasurer, he increased to 11,600*l.*, and on the death of Mr. Douglass that year, his lordship acknowledged to the executors of that gentleman, that he was indebted to the public 10,800*l.* The act of parliament for the regulation of the office of treasurer was allowed to be read, and enjoined that officer to command the exchequer to pay into the bank the money required for his office, which was to be taken therefrom by drafts of the treasurer, or his deputy, specifying the service and the exact amount; but it appeared by the bank books, and the books of Messrs. Coutts, that the money had been transferred from the bank to the house of Messrs. Coutts, and that the monthly amount of the sums thus transferred, varied considerably, at different periods, till from 20,000*l.* it ascended gradually to half a million.

The refusal of his lordship to answer various questions of the commissioners of naval inquiry was proved, as was also the answer he gave to their question, whether he knew that Mr. Trotter thus violated a positive act, and which was, that he had never given his direct authority to the paymaster so to employ the money, but that at the same time he believed and understood that he did it, and never prohibited him from so doing.

The declaration of lord Melville in the house of commons, that he felt himself bound in honour not to reveal, and that nothing should induce him to reveal, the application of 10,000*l.* of the public money, was proved by Mr. Whitbread, who admitted, however, that the tendency of his lordship's speech was to convince his hearers that the money was not applied to his own private purpose; and his lordship's acknowledgement of the application of a second sum of 10,000*l.* in Scotland, to purposes not naval, was likewise proved by the manager, who also stated his lordship's denial of its application to his own emolument.

The mutual release between lord Melville and Mr. Trotter was then produced, which in February, 1803, bound the parties to cancel all writings, vouchers, and documents, which had existed between them, exonerating each other from all further demands; after which Mr. Trotter was called into the witnesses box, and underwent a very long examination, the substance of which was as follows.

In 1776 he became a clerk in the navy pay-office, with a salary of 50*l.* a year, and afterwards became paymaster to lord Melville, with a salary of 500*l.* On entering on that office he received all the balances from the preceding paymaster; excepting 10,000*l.* which

lord Melville said he should account for, and for which his lordship was accordingly made debtor by him. He had applied to his lordship for permission to transfer a portion of money from the bank to a private banker's, intimating that it would be for the benefit of the public service, and prevent the risque attending the continual bringing of large sums through the streets, and be more convenient for satisfying claims, mentioning, however, nothing about any personal profit from the money so withdrawn; which money, the witness, nevertheless, acknowledged that he had frequently employed in the purchase of government securities, in exchequer and other bills, and also in discounting bills for private individuals of undoubted credit. The amount of this profit was considerable, but the public never incurred from it loss or inconvenience. He had acted as agent for lord Melville, with respect to his salary as treasurer of the navy, and his rents from Scotland, and kept an account current between his lordship and himself, but charged no interest for advances. Another account he kept for his lordship, which he called the chest account, which he regarded as his lordship's account with the public. In this last, the first article was the 10,000*l.* which lord Melville owed the public when Mr. Trotter came into office; and the second, the 10,000*l.* advanced for the instalments on lord Melville's subscription to the loyalty loan. His lordship had never told him in which account to debit the advances which the witness from time to time made him, and he inferred, merely from circumstances, in which account any advance should be inserted. When a request was made by his lordship for any advance, with an intimation that he expected shortly to receive money, the witness concluded it to be wanted for his own private concerns, and entered it in the account current, whereas the peremptory demand for any advance was concluded to be for the public service, and was accordingly inserted in the chest account.

In 1786 he advanced to his lordship a sum for which he took a bond without interest, of 4,000*l.*, derived from a mixed fund, kept at Coutts's, composed partly of the public money, and partly of his own. In 1792 he purchased 2,000*l.* India stock for his lordship from the same fund. In 1797, his lordship having subscribed 10,000*l.* to the loyalty loan, the instalments on this subscription were advanced by the witness, as they became due, from the public money, although his lordship was never informed of this circumstance. 7,000*l.* in the 3 per cents reduced, were also purchased by him for lord Melville, and this, and all similar advances, were entered in the account current, between himself and his lordship, who was charged no interest upon them.

Lord Melville on one occasion expressed his confidence that India stock would rise considerably, on which the witness intimated that considerable balances were on hand of the public money, with which his lordship might purchase to a proportional amount, which lord Melville declined in so decided a manner as to excite some apprehension of his being seriously offended. The witness, being very desirous that the stock should be purchased for lord Melville, observed that he had a friend who could advance the money, on his lordship's security; but finding some

some difficulty in procuring this loan, he advanced to Mr. Lind, 23,000*l.* from the public money, for which his lordship was charged interest, and with which the stock was bought, which eventually yielded a profit of 8,000*l.*

Lord Melville was stated by the witness to be a careful investigator of the public accounts, but the most negligent man living about his own, never looking at any private account that was tendered him. His lordship never made any inquiry about the person who advanced him the loan for the India stock, nor did he ever know it was advanced from the public money till their final settlement took place. Lord Melville never inquired whether the witness was trenching upon the public balances in the advances that were made to him, and the witness had never stated to his lordship that the advances he supplied him with were taken from the public stock, but he could not say what lord Melville's ideas were upon that point; although the only time a draft from the public money had been mentioned to him for his private use, he had rejected it with indignation.

Mr. Trotter admitted, that he was worth 65,000*l.*, and became a lender of money immediately upon being put in possession of the public property. His lordship's balances on quitting office were paid by the sale of 20,000*l.* of his lordship's stock, and of 30,000*l.* India stock, and by 13,000*l.* which he obtained from Messrs. Coutts. With regard to the release, it was an affair of the witness's own suggestion, in which the interest of lord Melville was not at all within his contemplation.

A clerk of the bank produced 35 cancelled bank notes, 32 of which were for 1,000*l.* each, and had been originally issued to lord Melville for the public service, which were proved to have been subsequently paid to Coutts, in satisfaction of two drafts made by lord Melville upon Mr. Trotter, one for 13,000*l.* and the other for 19,000*l.*

The evidence of a solicitor proved that the profits and interests arising from the stock purchased at different periods for lord Melville, by order of Mr. Trotter, amounted to 22,000*l.*

Mr. Mark Sprott stated that among all the speculations in which he had been engaged for Mr. Trotter, he had never heard mentioned the name of lord Melville, and that he never knew Mr. Trotter was, in these cases, making use of the public money, although, from the magnitude of the sums, if he had thought on the subject, he might naturally have supposed this to be the case; and many admissions of Mr. Trotter were corroborated by the testimony of other witnesses, which it is unnecessary to adduce.

The evidence being concluded, it was summed up by sir Samuel Romilly, in a speech of considerable ingenuity and eloquence, but not perfectly equal to the expectation excited by his well-known and extraordinary accomplishments; after which the lord chancellor called on the counsel for the defendant to proceed to his defence, on which Mr. Plomer rose and addressed the court to the following purpose.

He stood in need of all the candour and indulgence which could be shown to his management of a cause, which required, in order to do justice to the noble defendant, to the court, and to the public,

energies far superior to what he possessed. The liberal and enlightened character of their lordship released him from much painful apprehension, as they were totally unsusceptible of those impressions through which the cause he had to advocate, had, by various speeches and publications, been unhappily prejudiced. The report of the naval commissioners had gone abroad and possessed the public mind before the noble lord could be aware of the injury his reputation was sustaining from the publication of the abuses prevailing in his department; and before it could be known whether his lordship had encouraged or employed them for his own benefit, he was dismissed from the presence and confidence of his sovereign, and stripped of all his offices and influence. Inquiries against him were afterwards engaged in with extreme zeal, if not with virulence, and private papers and dealings sought out with careful assiduity, for evidence of criminality; besides which, libels had been circulated against him throughout the kingdom with an industry unprecedented; not merely scattered about to inflame the minds of the people, but carried even to the foot of the throne, and registered in the records of his lordship's accusers, who had even proceeded so far as to introduce an act expressly to facilitate the means of bringing evidence against him. The opening manager had admitted that the sordid principle of avarice was incapable of influencing his lordship's mind; and surely, placed as he was in a situation so calculated to elevate the feelings, filling some of the most important offices of the state, it could not be supposed that for an object which it was impossible he could ever want, he should reduce himself to the degradation which these charges implied. With regard to the first sum alleged to be irregularly applied by his lordship, it arose at a period when there was no written or common law to prevent it; and not only was there no law but no implied, any more than expressed, obligation against it. Indeed, so far from this being the law, it might be asserted that the reverse was so, and so declared by the ancestors and relatives of many of their lordships, and of one of the honourable managers themselves, and that, too, in what was called the sanctuary of liberty. Besides numerous other instances, in which public accountants had acknowledged they had applied the public money to their own advantage, and maintained they had a right to do it, with no loss to the public, lord Holland, when called to account for 450,000*l.* of the public money, maintained, that he could produce this balance when required for the public service, but that, in the mean time, he had a right to employ it for his private emolument. This doctrine was assented to by the earl of Chatham, who perhaps in this particular opinion alone, coincided with his lordship. Even Mr. Grenville, when called upon for the balances of public money in his hands, required two months to pay them in, thus acknowledging their application to other purposes than those for which they were intended. He would contend that the act for the regulation of the office, produced no alteration on this subject, although he admitted, that such application of the public money was a violation of the treasurer's warrant, and that, for any loss to the public, he would have been liable to a civil suit.

suit. But no such loss had ever occurred, and yet lord Melville was summoned to answer criminally for making use of money intrusted to his discretion by the state.

With respect to the 10,000*l.* the application of which lord Melville had declared that he could not reveal, was silence criminal by the humane principles of British justice? Rather than violate the obligations of public duty or private honour, his lordship was content to incur the odium of this concealment, which, however, it would be both absurd and criminal to establish as a basis of guilt. The application of the money was alleged to have been corrupt, but all the evidence of that corruption consisted in the impression made on the mind of the managers, in opposition to which impression it must be stated that the charge had been positively disproved. And if the managers, with all their extraordinary ingenuity and talents, and all their minute researches into the letters, official documents, memorials sent to the defendant, his private accounts and his confidential relations, were unable to trace out a single shilling of the public property, applied to his own use, his innocence of these charges was complete and unassailable.

The transfer of money from one place to another, could never constitute corruption and profligacy, and, with the exception of two small sums, all the money had been sufficiently and satisfactorily accounted for: and even should he be unable to give a clear explanation of these notes, in the immense transactions of four-and-twenty years, nothing could be more illiberal than to infer, from such a trifling failure, the establishment of guilt. The injustice, indeed, of the imputation on his lordship, might be corroborated by the circumstance, that, when informed he had overdrawn his banker, although then, and for ten months after he had public balances in his hands to the amount of 56,000*l.*, he declined to provide for the deficiency, from this source, and remitted for that purpose from his private means in Scotland.

With regard to the note received by a draft from the bank, and which had been paid on discharge of a bill at the bankers in the city, surely this circumstance was not that matter for profound and minute investigation, which in some cases, such for instance as forgery, it might well merit to be considered. And whether he sent this note, or any other he might happen to have in his pocket, at the time, as the amount was not deficient in the passing of the accounts, was not of the smallest signification. The act for keeping the money at the bank the noble lord had carried into execution, in every point of justice and convenience; and as to the construction by implication given to it, that the bank was positively, in all cases, to be the only place of deposit, so that even a demand of three shillings (for such demands actually occurred at the office) should be referred to the bank of England, it was in the highest degree unnatural and absurd.

With respect to the imputation of lord Melville having appointed Mr. Trotter his paymaster, with a view to a system of corruption, which had in fact continued for fourteen years, in which time the purchases of stock formed the principal basis for the imputation, let the criterion be taken from the evidence of Mr. Trotter himself, for

for whose indemnity an express act had been passed, on the condition of his giving a full, fair, and satisfactory evidence; the interpretation of which condition, on the part of the prosecutors, could not be regarded as equivocal. Under these circumstances, however, induced by such interests, and compelled by such terrors, his testimony completely exonerated lord Melville. The whole system and the whole profits were distinctly avowed by Mr. Trotter to be exclusively his own; and his own evidence confirmed the denial of lord Melville, not only declaring his lordship to be wholly innocent, but that himself was the sole offender.

For the various offices to which he was appointed, his lordship received no pay but as treasurer of the navy, voluntarily relinquishing, in the salaries of those places he had gratuitously filled, a total sum of upwards of 34,000*l.*: and the total profits he could by all possibility have derived from the use of the public money, could not have exceeded 28,000*l.* But was it comprehensible that for the consideration of this comparatively trifling benefit, the risque of disgrace should be incurred on a discovery, which was almost inevitable, by a person who, at the same time, declined the most substantial emoluments, which he might have enjoyed without blame? So extraordinary an union of generosity and avarice as this would imply, had never been exhibited in the history of human nature.

With respect to the evidence of Mr. Trotter, it must totally be admitted or rejected. No partial distinction could be made on this subject, and if he was to be fully believed, lord Melville's innocence, on the main points charged against him, was completely established: if he was to be disbelieved, the main pillar of the accusation was removed, and the superstructure must necessarily fall. Mr. Trotter having acted under the general power of the office, was lord Melville to be blamed for his abuse of it? Lord Melville never conceived the money drawn from the bank to Coutts's was for a greater amount than the assignments made out. He conceived no profit was made of it, unless, possibly, a small per centage, such as some houses were known to allow; and as to availing himself of the public money, when the suggestion for doing so, with respect to India stock, was made by Mr. Trotter, he declined it with the strongest indication of displeasure.

The argument against his lordship from the destruction of the vouchers might be entitled to some weight, had these vouchers been of a public nature. But was it to be argued that because two individuals held offices of public responsibility they were never to close their private accounts, and adopt the consequent measures of security and acquittance, usual, if not universal, on these settlements? Besides which, the release had been proved to have been prepared without the knowledge of lord Melville, and without the slightest view to his interest.

It had been stated, that during the administration of lord Melville his private affairs had prospered in proportion as those of the public had declined, yet the opening manager, at least, had acknowledged that the regulations of his lordship, even in the very department of the treasury of the navy, had entitled him

him to great and eternal gratitude.

On the whole of the evidence for the prosecution it was unquestionable that their lordships could see no proof of criminal or corrupt intention in the noble lord; and any negligence, which might be imputed to him, would appear to have been abundantly punished without any addition, if indeed, on this account, it was competent for their lordships to inflict any.

Their lordships were charged with a duty of the most momentous nature, and were about to decide on the character of a person of exalted rank, at the close of a long life spent in the service of his country. He relied with confidence on the honour of their lordships, who stood in the situation of the highest tribunal which the world contained; the highest of which the human mind could form an idea; excepting, indeed, that tribunal infinitely more high and awful, where they would themselves be judged for the judgment which on the present occasion they delivered.

Mr. Adam followed the same line of argument with Mr. Plomer, and contended particularly, that by the act of 1786, it was required, merely, that the money, when imprested from the exchequer, should be deposited at the bank, in the first instance, afterwards to be drawn, at the discretion of the treasurer, as the public service required.

Several witnesses were called to prove the fact, that lord Melville retained from receiving the salaries and profits of his office of third secretary of state, until the time of his resignation, amounting in all to 26,000*l.*

The attorney-general then remarked, particularly, on the legal doctrines advanced by Mr. Plomer, which, he observed, were full of error and of danger, and he insisted upon it to be impossible for the most expert casuist and subtle reasoner, to prove that lord Melville had not violated the act of 1786.

The case being thus closed, on both sides, their lordships adjourned to the chamber of parliament, and much time was occupied in discussions relating to the trial, during which the doors were closed to all who were not members of their house. The assistance of the judges, on certain points of law, was resorted to, and, after a variety of animated and protracted debates, on the sixteenth day of the trial their lordships proceeded to deliver their verdict. The lord chancellor interrogated every peer by name, beginning with the junior baron, and ending with the duke of York, (the prince of Wales on this day not being present) with reference to every particular charge, whether Henry lord viscount Melville was guilty of the high crimes and misdemeanors with which he was charged in it, or not guilty; to which the answer, of guilty or not guilty "upon my honour," was given by each member, placing at the same time his right hand upon his breast.

The number of votes on each side was as follows:

charge.	guilty.	not guilty.	majority.
1	16	119	103
2	57	79	23
3	52	83	31
4	none	all	
5	4	131	127
6	48	87	39

charge.

charge.	guilty.	not guilty.	majority.
7	50	85	35
8	14	121	107
9	16	119	103
10	12	123	111

After the casting up of which, the lord chancellor acquainted lord Melville, that he was acquitted of the articles of impeachment exhibited against him by the commons, for high crimes and misdemeanours, and of all things contained therein; upon which their lordships immediately adjourned.

PRICES of STOCKS for 1806.—N. B. The highest and lowest Prices of each STOCK in the course of any Month are set down in that Month.

1806.	Bank Stock.	3 p. ct. red.	3 p. ct. cons.	4 p. ct. cons.	5 p. ct Navy.	5 p. ct. 1797	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Exch. Bills.	Omn.	Irish 5 p. ct	Imp. 3 p. ct	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	198⅛	61½	61	79	92¾	100	17½	2	191	3 pr.	63⅝	59¼	59¼	5 pr.	9⅜	87½	60	19 19
	191⅜	58½	59¼	75¾	89¾	99⅛	16⅝		185	2 dis.				2 dis.	4½ pr.		57⅜	19 17
Feb.	207	62	61⅛	80¼	93	100⅜	17⅛	2	186¼	4	65½	61⅜	60⅛	5	10	91¾	60½	19 19
	196	60½	60½	79¼	91	100⅛			184½	2 pr.		61		1 pr.	9½ pr.	89½		10 10
March	208	61¼	60½	80	92⅞		17½		184½	3 pr.	65		59⅞	5 pr.		90¾	60⅜	19 18
	204½	61⅛	59¾		91¼				179¼	2 dis.	59¼			2 dis.			58⅝	7 0
April	213½	59⅛	60¼		94⅛				183	2 pr.	64¾		59⅞	3 pr.	3¼	88⅞	61¼	20 5
	207½	58¼	59½		92½				179⅜	2 dis.				3 dis.	2½ pr.			19 19
May	213	59½	60¼	77½	93⅜	98⅜	17⅝	1½	183¾	2 pr.	65¼	59¼		2 pr.	2¼ pr.	89	58½	21
	208½		59⅞		92⅞			1⅜	179¾	3 dis.	64½			5 dis.		88½		20 5
June	212	62¼	63⅞	80½		98⅝	17¾	1⅜	193½	par.	68¼	60	61¼	1 pr.	6	91	60⅜	21 15
	208¾	59¼	61¼	77⅜			17⅝		182½	3 dis.	64½	59½		3 dis.	2¼ pr.	89⅜	58¼	20 15
July	213	64¼	65	81⅜	95¼		18	1½	193¾	1	67½	63	61⅞	3 pr.	7¼	92⅜	62¼	
	211	62½	62⅜	79⅞	94½		17⅝	1⅜	186	2 dis.		62		3 dis.	5½ pr.		61⅜	
Aug.	216	66¼	65¼	85¼	99⅜		19	1½	193¼	1	68¼	63⅞	63⅜	3 pr.	12¾	96¼	64¾	19 15
	211½	62¼	61⅝	80½	94½		17¾		184	2 dis.	67¾			2 dis.	4¾ pr.	92	61⅝	
Sept.	222½	63¼	63⅜	81⅝	95½		18⅛	1½	189	par.		63⅜	63⅛	1 pr.	9		63¼	19 16
	218		62½						185	2 dis.			62½	2 dis.	6 pr.		62	
Oct.	223	60⅞	63⅜	78⅝	95⅛				186½	3 pr.	66	60⅜		5 pr.	7⅛			19 17
	222¼	60⅜	60⅞		93½				183½	2 dis.				2 dis.	4 pr.			
Nov.	214¾	61	61⅞	79¾	96¼		17⅝	1⅛	183¾	5	67⅛		61⅞	5 pr.	4¾	91¼	60	22 15
	212	60⅜	60⅞	78¼	94½		17¼		182	1 pr.	66¼			1 dis.	3 pr.		59⅞	19 14
Dec.	212	60¼	60⅜	78⅛	95⅜		17⅝	1⅛	182½	3 pr.	66¼	60¼		3 pr.	3	90½	59¼	19 16
	209	58⅞	58⅞	76½	94½		16½		178½	2 dis.		58⅞		2 dis.	½ pr	88¼	57⅜	

PRINCIPAL

OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1806.

PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1806.

JANUARY.

Admiralty-office, Jan. 1.

Copy of a letter from lieut. Phillips Cosby Handfield, of his majesty's ship the Egyptienne, to William Marsden, esq. dated in Cawsand Bay, Dec. 29.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, a copy of my letter to admiral Cornwallis, respecting the capture of the French frigate La Libre, by his majesty's ships La Loire, capt. F. L. Maitland, and Egyptienne, at present under my command, on the 24th inst. off Rochefort.

I have the honour to be, &c.

P. C. HANDFIELD, lieut.

His majesty's ship Egyptienne, off Ushant, Dec. 28, 1805.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you with the capture of the French frigate La Libre, on the afternoon of the 24th inst. off Rochefort, by his majesty's ships La Loire, capt. F. L. Maitland, and Egyptienne, at present under my command, both coming up at the same time, and joining in the attack.

La Libre, commanded by Monsieur Descorches, capitaine de fregate, mounts 24 eighteen-pounder guns on the main deck, 6 thirty-six-pounder carronades, and 10 nine-pounder guns on the quarter deck and forecastle, with a complement of 280 men. She submitted, after an obstinate defence of half an hour, having 20 men killed and wounded, and received so much damage that all her masts went overboard soon after we took possession. She sailed from Flushing on the 14th of November, in company with a French frigate of 48 guns, from whom she parted in a gale of wind, on the 9th inst., on the coast of Scotland.

I have much pleasure in communicating to you the good conduct of the officers and men of the Egyptienne in this affair, and have only to regret that the inferior force of the enemy did not give room for the full extent of their services. Inclosed is a list of the wounded, and I am sorry to add that one is since dead.

Captain Maitland, of La Loire, has taken charge of the prize, from

whom I parted on the 25th, when he had her in tow.

I have the honour to be, &c.

P. C. HANDFIELD, lieut.

The hon. William Cornwallis, admiral of the red, and commander in chief, &c. &c. &c.

A list of the killed and wounded on board his majesty's ship the Egyptienne, in the action with La Libre French frigate, 24th of Dec. 1805.

None killed.

Wounded—Mr. Thomas Robinson, boatswain, slightly; William Thinn, seaman, dangerously, since dead; John Williams, seaman, badly; John Davis, seaman, slightly; Thomas Lucas, seaman, slightly; JohnStrutton,quarter-master,slightly; James M'Guire, royal marine, badly; and James Evans, royal marine, slightly.

(Signed) P. C. HANDFIELD, lieut.

6. The launch of the Hibernia, of 110 guns, which had been sent ashore for stores, returning to the ship in Cawsand Bay in the evening, it then blowing a violent gale of wind, notwithstanding every exertion was made by the crew, was obliged to bear away; it is supposed to put back to Plymouth, or to endeavour to weather the Menstone, and get into Winbury river. She upset near the land, and all hands, upwards of 36, were swamped. The lieutenant and several men reached the shore, and were saved; but the midshipman and 18 poor fellows were drowned, and their remains washed ashore near Winbury.

CEREMONIAL OF THE PUBLIC FUNERAL OF THE LATE VICE-ADMIRAL HORATIO VISCOUNT NELSON, K. B. &c. &c. &c.

On Wednesday the 8th of Jan. the first part of this grand funeral ceremony, and national tribute of respect to the remains of the immortal NELSON, was carried into execution. At half past 7 A. M. the heralds and the naval officers who were to assist at the procession by water, assembled at the Admiralty, and thence proceeded, about 8, to Greenwich. At 10, they assembled at the governor's house within Greenwich Hospital; where they were met, in the council chamber, by the lord mayor, aldermen, and the committee especially appointed on this occasion by the corporation of London; and proceeded to their several barges.

The hero's body was then carried from the saloon, where it had lain in state, through the Great Hall, out at the eastern portal, round the Royal Charlotte ward, to the north gate, and placed onboard the state barge. The coffin was covered with a velvet pall, adorned with escutcheons. During the procession from the Great Hall to the barge (which was by far the most affecting part of this day's ceremony) a very noble band of music played the dead march in Saul; minute guns were fired; and the bells tolled in unison. The sun, at that particular period, shone delightfully; and the hill in Greenwich Park reverberated the solemn sound between the lofty domes of the royal Hospital.

The procession moved, in the following order, about 12 o'clock:

Captain Wood, harbour master.

Captain Ludlam, harbour master.

Water bailiff.

Rulers of the company of watermen, &c.

Chaplain and staff of the river fencibles.

Boat with drums muffled.

Officer

Officer commanding gun-boats.
Ten gun-boats, two and two.
River fencibles flanking.
Row-boat with officer. Row-boat with officer.

First state barge. Drums—Two trumpets, with their banners, in the steerage—The standard, at the head, borne by capt. sir Francis Laforey, bart. supported by lieuts. W. C. Barker and G. Antram—The guidon, at the door-place, borne by capt. H. W. Bayntun (in the absence of capt. Durham), supported by two lieutenants of the royal navy; all in their full uniform coats, with black waistcoats, breeches, and stockings, and crape round their arms and hats.—Rouge croix and blue mantle pursuivants of arms, in close mourning, with their tabards over their cloaks; and hat-bands and scarves.

Second barge. Four trumpets in the steerage—Heralds of arms, bearing the surcoat, target and sword, helm and crest, and the gauntlet and spurs of the deceased.

The banner of the deceased as a knight of the bath, at the head, borne by capt. Edward Rotheram.

The great banner, with the augmentations, at the door-place, borne by capt. Robert Moorsom, supported by lieuts. D. Keys and N. Tucker.

Third barge, covered with black velvet (the other barges being covered with black cloth), the top adorned with plumes of black feathers; and in the centre, upon four shields of the arms of the deceased, joining in point, a viscount's coronet. Three bannerolls of the family lineage of the deceased, on each side, affixed to the external parts of the barge—Six trumpets, with their banners as before, in the steerage—Six officers of the royal navy, habited as those in the other barges; one to each banneroll; viz. lieut. (now capt.) John Pasco, lieut. (now capt.) John Yule, Thomas Atkinson, master of the Victory, lieut. (now capt.) —— Williams, lieut. George Browne, lieut. James Uzuld Purches.

THE BODY,

covered with a large sheet, and a pall of velvet, adorned with six escutcheons—

Norroy king of arms (in the absence of Clarenceux), bearing, at the head of the body, a viscount's coronet upon a black velvet cushion.

At the head of the barge, the union flag of the united kingdom.

Attendants on the body while at Greenwich, in mourning.

Fourth barge, covered with black cloth. The chief mourner, sir Peter Parker, bart. admiral of the fleet, with his two supporters, admiral Samuel viscount Hood, and admiral William lord Radstock; six assistant mourners; admiral B. Caldwell, sir R. Curtis, knt. and bart. R. R. Bligh, sir C. M. Pole, bart. and vice-admirals C. E. Nugent and C. P. Hamilton; four supporters of the pall; vice-admirals J. H. Whitshed and Thomas Taylor, admiral sir John Orde, bart. (in the absence, by indisposition, of vice-admiral H. Savage, who had been nominated to this station) and rear-admiral E. Harvey; six supporters of the canopy, rear-admirals Thomas Drury, sir W. H. Douglas, bart. T. Wells, sir I. Coffin, bart. J. Aylmer, and W. Domett; and the train-bearer of the chief mourner, the hon. Henry Blackwood, of the Euryalus; all in mourning cloaks, over their respective full uniform coats, black waistcoats, breeches, and stockings, crape round their arms, and crape hat-bands.

Windsor herald (acting for Norroy

roy king of arms), habited as the other officers of arms.

The banner of emblems, at the door-place, borne by capt. T. M. Hardy, of the Victory, supported by lieuts. A. King and G. M. Bligh, of the royal navy, habited as those in the other barges.

Eight row-boats of the harbour marine corps flanking the state barges.

5. His majesty's barge.

6. Barge with the lords commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral.

7. Barge of the right hon. the lord mayor.

8. Barge with the committee especially appointed by the corporation of London. The only ornaments of this barge were the actual colours of the Victory, borne by seven select seamen from that interesting ship, by the express permission of their captain and with the sanction of the admiralty. These flags and their brave supporters formed a truly interesting part of the procession.

9. Barge with the committee of the corporation for improving the navigation of the river Thames.

Eighteen row-boats of river fencibles, flanking the procession.

10—17. Barges of the companies of drapers, fishmongers, goldsmiths, skinners, merchant taylors, ironmongers, stationers, and apothecaries.

Eight row-boats with harbour marines, flanking the companies' barges.

Captain Wake, harbour master.

Captain Mabb, harbour master.

The funeral barge was rowed by 16 seamen belonging to the Victory; the other barges by picked men from the Greenwich pensioners. They had all their flags hoisted half staff high; and, as the procession passed the Tower, minute guns were there fired. Not a vessel was suffered to disturb the procession. The decks, yards, rigging, and masts of the numerous ships on the river were all crowded with spectators; and the number of ladies was immense.

The beautiful and singularly-constructed city navigation barge, which is usually stationed at Kew for excursions up the river, and which, though as long as a 74 gun ship, draws but two feet of water, was on this occasion for the first time brought through Westminster Bridge, and moored opposite the Temple, for the accommodation of such members of the corporation (in deep mourning, and violet gowns) as were not actually engaged in the procession.

At a quarter before 3, the procession approached Whitehall stairs; the king's, admiralty, lord mayor's, and city barges, immediately drew up in two lines, through which the barge with the body passed. All the oars were advanced, and the trumpets, and other bands, played the dead march in Saul, with other dirgeful strains, with the most impressive effect, the gun-boats firing minute guns all the time. Exactly at 3, the funeral barge began to disembark its charge. At this moment the sunshine disappeared; dark and heavy clouds came on; and instantly succeeded a tremendous hailstorm, which fell till the body was landed, when the hemisphere again cleared.

A procession then commenced from Whitehall stairs to the Admiralty, on foot.

1. Drums and trumpets. 2. Rouge croix pursuivant of arms. 3. Standard. 4 Trum-

4. Trumpet. 5. Blue mantle pursuivant of arms.
6. The guidon. 7. Two trumpets. 8. Rouge dragon pursuivant of arms.
9. Banner of the deceased, as a knight of the bath.
10. Two trumpets. 11. Richmond herald. 12. The great banner.
13. Gauntlet and spurs, borne by York herald.
14. Helm and crest, borne by Somerset herald.
15. Sword and target, borne by Lancaster herald.
16. Surcoat borne by Chester herald. 17. Six trumpets.
18. Norroy king of arms (in the absence of Clarenceux), bearing the coronet on a black velvet cushion.

3 Bannerolls, borne by 3 officers in the R. N. — 2 Supporters, being admirals. — 19. THE BODY. covered with a black velvet pall, adorned with escutcheons, under a canopy supported by six admirals. — 4 Supporters, being admirals. — 3 Bannerolls, borne by 3 officers in the R. N.

20. Garter principal king of arms (absent by indisposition).

Supporter admiral lord Radstock. — 21. The chief mourner, sir Peter Parker, bart. admiral of the fleet. — Supporter admiral viscount Hood.

22. Train bearer, capt. the hon. Henry Blackwood.
23. The six admirals before mentioned.
24. Windsor herald, acting for Norroy king of arms.
25. The banner of emblems, borne and supported as in the barge.

Every necessary preparation had been made at the Admiralty for receiving the body. The captain's room, in which it was placed, was hung with superfine black cloth for this solemn occasion The room was lighted with tapers, placed in sconces on the sides.

The body remained in the room, guarded by the officers of the house and the undertakers, till the ceremony of its removal to St. Paul's commenced.

On Thursday, the 9th, an hour before day-light, the drums of the different volunteer corps in every part of the metropolis beat to arms. The summons was quickly obeyed; and soon after these troops lined the streets, in two ranks, from St. Paul's Church-yard to the Admiralty. The life guards too were mounted at their post in Hyde Park by day-break, where the carriages of the nobility, &c. with the mourning coaches appointed to form part of the procession, began to be assembled at 8 o'clock, in a line from Hyde Park corner to Cumberland Gate. By 10, about 106 carriages were assembled, of which number near 60 were mourning coaches, principally filled with naval officers; all of which, under the direction of the proper officers, were marshalled in their due order of precedence, and drove into St. James's Park, to be in readiness to fall into the procession on the proper signal. In St. James's Park were drawn up all the regiments of cavalry and infantry quartered within 100 miles of London, who had served in the glorious campaigns in Egypt, after the ever-memorable victory at the Nile; and a detachment of flying artillery, with 12 field-pieces, and their ammunition tumbrils. At half past 10, the procession commenced from the Admiralty, with the march of the several regiments, led by his royal highness the duke of York, attended by his aides-de-camp and staff, in the following order:

A detachment of the 10th light dragoons.

Four companies of light infantry.

The band of the old buffs, playing Rule Britannia, drums muffled.

The 92d and 79th regiments, in sections, commanded by the hon. major-general Charles Hope; their colours honourably shattered in the campaign of Egypt, which word was inscribed upon them, borne in the centre, and hung with crape.

The remaining companies of the 92d, preceded by their national pipes, playing the dead march in Saul.

The 31st and 21st regiments, commanded by the hon. brigadier-general Robert Meade, with their bands playing as before.

The 14th, the 10th, and the 2d, two squadrons of each, commanded by major-general William St. Leger. The trumpets at intervals sounded a solemn dirge, and performed the dead march.

The royal artillery, with 11 field-pieces.

Four companies of grenadiers.

The whole of the military were under the command of general sir David Dundas, K. B. and lieut.-gen. Henry Burrard.

The procession thus moved:

Six marshalmen, on foot, to clear the way.

Messenger of the college of arms, in a mourning cloak, with a badge of the college on his shoulder, his staff tipped with silver, and furled with sarsnet.

Six conductors in mourning cloaks, with black staves headed with viscount coronets.

Forty-eight pensioners from Greenwich Hospital, two and two, in mourning cloaks, with badges of the crests of the deceased on their shoulders, and black staves in their hands.

Forty-eight seamen and marines of his majesty's ship the Victory, two and two, in their ordinary dress, with black neck handkerchiefs and stockings, and crape in their hats.

Watermen of the deceased, in black coats, with their badges.

Drums and fifes. Drum major.

Trumpets. Serjeant trumpeter.

Rouge croix pursuivant of arms (alone in a mourning coach), in close mourning, with his tabard over his cloak, black silk scarf, hatband, and gloves.

The standard, borne in front of a mourning coach, in which were capt. sir F. Laforey, bart. and his two supporters, lieuts. W. C. Barker and G. Antram, of the royal navy, in their full uniform coats, with black cloth waistcoats, breeches, and black stockings, and crape round their arms and hats.

Trumpets.

Blue mantle pursuivant of arms (alone in a mourning coach), habited as rouge croix.

The guidon, borne in front of a mourning coach, in which were capt. E. Rotheram, of the Royal Sovereign, supported by lieuts. J. Bradshaw and T. Errington, of the royal navy, dressed as those who bore and supported the standard.

Servants of the deceased, in mourning, in a mourning coach.

Officers of his majesty's wardrobe, in mourning coaches.

Gentlemen. Esquires.

Deputations from the great commercial companies of London.

Physicians of the deceased in a mourning coach.

Divines in clerical habits.

Chaplains of the deceased, in clerical

rical habits, and secretary of the deceased, in a mourning coach.

Trumpets.

Rouge dragon and portcullis pursuivants of arms (in a mourning coach), habited as before.

The banner of the deceased as a knight of the bath, borne in front of a mourning coach, in which were capt. P. C. Durham, of the Defiance, supported by lieuts. J. U. Purches and J. Poate, of the royal navy, dressed as those who bore and supported the guidon.

Attendants on the body while it lay in state at Greenwich; viz. rev. A. J. Scott, Joseph Whidbey and John Tyson, esqrs. in a mourning coach.

Knights bachelors. Serjeants at law.

Deputy to the knight marshal, on horseback.

Knights of the bath; viz.

Sir Samuel Hood, and sir Thomas Trigge, baronets.

A gentleman usher (in a mourning coach), carrying a carpet and black velvet cushion, whereon the trophies were to be deposited in the church.

William Haslewood, Alexander Davison, and William Marsh, esqrs. as comptroller, treasurer, and steward of the household of the deceased (in a mourning coach), in mourning cloaks, bearing white staves.

Next followed the carriages of the different degrees of nobility and great law officers, who attended to show their respect to the memory of the deceased, beginning with the younger sons of barons, and ending with the following distinguished personages:

Earls of Clancarty, Fife, Darnley, Leicester, Portsmouth, Bristol, Winchelsea, K. G. Moira, Besborough, Westmeath, Buckinghamshire, earl Cowper, earls of Scarborough and Suffolk; earl of Dartmouth, K. G. lord chamberlain of his majesty's household.

Eldest sons of dukes.

Marquises of Douglas, Blandford, and Hartington.

Duke of Montrose, K. T.

Duke of Devonshire, K. G.

Duke of St. Alban's.

Duke of Norfolk, earl marshal.

Earl Camden, K. G. lord president of the council.

Archbishop of Canterbury.

His royal highness the duke of Cambridge.

His R. H. the duke of Sussex.

His R. H. the duke of Cumberland.

His R. H. the duke of Kent.

His R. H. the duke of Clarence.

His royal highness the duke of York, commander in chief.

His royal highness the prince of Wales.

The prince of Wales, and dukes of Clarence, Cambridge, and Sussex, were in coaches and six.

The duke of York and his staff, with the dukes of Kent and Cambridge, and the colonels of volunteers, followed the funeral car on horseback.

Richmond herald (alone in a mourning coach), habited as the other officers of arms.

The great banner, borne in front of a mourning coach, in which were capt. R. Moorsom, and his supporters, lieuts. D. Keys and N. Tucker.

Gauntlet and spurs. Helm and crest. Target and sword. Surcoat. } In front of four mourning coaches, in which were York, Somerset, Lancaster, and Chester heralds, habited as before.

A mourning coach in which the coronet of the deceased, on a black velvet cushion, was borne by

by Norroy king of arms (in the absence of Clarenceux), habited as before, and attended by two gentlemen ushers.

The six lieutenants of the Victory, habited as before, who were to bear the bannerolls, in two mourning coaches.

The six admirals, in like habits, who were to bear the canopy, in two mourning coaches.

The four admirals, in like habits, to support the pall, in a mourning coach.

THE BODY,

placed on a funeral car, or open hearse, decorated with a carved imitation of the head and stern of his majesty's ship the Victory, surrounded with escutcheons of the arms of the deceased, and adorned with appropriate mottos and emblematical devices; under an elevated canopy, in the form of the upper part of an antient sarcophagus, with six sable plumes, and the coronet of a viscount in the centre, supported by four columns, representing palm trees, with wreaths of natural laurel and cypress entwining the shafts; the whole upon a four-wheeled carriage, drawn by six led horses, the caparisons adorned with armorial escutcheons.

The head of the car, towards the horses, was ornamented with a figure of Fame. The stern, carved and painted in the naval style, with the word "Victory," in yellow raised letters on the lanthorn over the poop. Between the escutcheons were inscribed the words "Trinidad" and "Bucentaur." The coffin, placed on the quarter-deck, with its head towards the stern, with an English jack pendant over the poop, and lowered half staff. The corners and sides of the canopy were decorated with black ostrich feathers, and festooned with black velvet, richly fringed, immediately above which, in the front, was inscribed in gold the word "Nile," at one end. On one side the following motto—"Hoste devicto, requievit;" behind, the word "Trafalgar;" and on the other side the motto—"Palmam qui meruit ferat." The black velvet pall, adorned with six escutcheons of the arms of the deceased, and the six bannerolls of the family lineage, were removed from the hearse, in order to afford an unobstructed view of the coffin containing the remains of the gallant admiral.

Garter principal king of arms, in his official habit, with his sceptre (in his carriage, his servants being in full mourning), attended by two gentlemen ushers.

The chief mourner, in a mourning coach, with his two supporters, and his train-bearer; all in mourning cloaks.

Six assistant mourners (in two mourning coaches), in mourning cloaks as before.

Windsor herald, acting for Norroy king of arms (in a mourning coach), habited as the other officers of arms, and attended by two gentlemen ushers.

The banner of emblems, in front of a mourning coach, in which were capts. T. M. Hardy and H. W. Bayntun, supported by lieuts. A. King and G. M. Bligh, of the royal navy.

Relations of the deceased in mourning coaches.

Officers of the navy and army, according to their respective ranks; the seniors nearest the body:

The whole in 50 mourning coaches.

The private chariot of the deceased lord, empty—the blinds drawn up

up—the coachman and footman in deep mourning, with bouquets of cypress.

The whole moved on, in solemn pace, through the Strand to Temple Bar gate, where the lord mayor of London waited to receive the procession, accompanied by the aldermen, recorder, sheriffs, and the gentlemen selected from the committee appointed by the corporation for arranging their attendance at the funeral.

On the arrival of the procession at St. Paul's, the cavalry marched off to their barracks; the Scotch regiments drew up in the area fronting the church, and marched in at the western gate.

The 48 Greenwich pensioners, with the 48 seamen and marines from the Victory, entering the western gate, ascended the steps, and divided in a line on each side under the great western portico.

On the arrival of the body and the funeral car at the great entrance, it was drawn up without the western gate. The body was taken from the car, covered with the pall, and borne by 12 men; and was received within the gate by the supporters and pall-bearers, who had previously alighted for its reception.

The remainder of the procession entered the church, and divided on either side according to their ranks; those who had proceeded first remaining nearest the door.

Immediately after the great banner, near the entrance of the church, the dean and chapter fell into the procession, attended by the minor canons and vicars choral, &c. of St. Paul's cathedral, assisted by the priests and gentlemen of his majesty's chapels royal, and the minor canons and vicars choral of the collegiate church of St. Peter Westminster, and others, who sang the first part of the burial service, set to music by Dr. Croft:

"I am the resurrection and the life, saith the Lord: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live. And whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall never die.—I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth. And though after my skin, worms destroy this body; yet in my flesh shall I see God: whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another.—We brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out. The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord."

The body was borne into the church and choir, preceded by Richmond herald; the great banner borne by capt. Moorsom; and the gauntlet and spurs, helm and crest, target and sword, and surcoat, by four heralds as before.

The coronet by Norroy king of arms.

THE BODY,

with the supporters of the pall and canopy.

Garter king of arms.

Chief mourner, and assistant mourners.

Windsor herald.

The banner of emblems.

Relations of the deceased; viz.

Horatio Nelson, esq. commonly called viscount Merton, nephew; G. Matcham, esq. nephew; G. Matcham, esq. brother-in-law; William earl Nelson, sole brother and heir; T. Bolton, esq. nephew; T. Bolton, esq. brother-in-law.

Rev. R. Rolfe, T. T. Berney, esq., hon. H. Walpole, hon. G. Walpole, cousins.

The remainder of the procession followed in the order as before marshalled. The

The officers of arms, and the bearers of the banners, with their supporters, entered the choir, and stood within, near the door; and all above and including the rank of knights bachelors, as well as the staff officers, and the naval officers who attended the procession, had seats assigned to them in the choir.

The chief mourner, his two supporters, and train bearer, were seated on chairs near the body, on the side next the altar; and the six assistant mourners, four supporters of the pall, and six supporters of the canopy, on stools on each side.

The relations also near them in the choir; and Garter was seated near the chief mourner.

The prince of Wales and his six royal brothers were at the east end of the prebendal stalls, on the south side of the choir.

The duchess of York was also seated in the choir; her royal highness was conducted by the bishop of Lincoln to her seat.

The officers of the navy, and the staff officers commanding the troops, were seated near the altar.

The lord mayor, aldermen, recorder, and sheriffs, were in their accustomed seats (the prebendal stalls), at the east end of the north side of the choir; their ladies in the closets over them; and the deputation of the common council in the seats immediately under the aldermen.

The body, when placed in the choir, was not covered with the pall, nor the canopy borne over it; the rule in that respect being dispensed with, for the reason before mentioned. The bannerolls were borne on each side the body.

The carpet and cushion (on which the trophies were afterwards to be deposited) were laid, by the gentleman usher who carried them, on a table placed near the grave, which was under the centre of the dome, and behind the place which was to be there occupied by the chief mourner.

The coronet and cushion, borne by Norroy king of arms (in the absence of Clarenceux), was laid on the body.

The gentlemen of the three choirs ascended into a gallery on the east side of the organ, from which the evening service was performed, Psalms xxxix. and xc. The first lesson, Job xiv. to the end of the 15th verse, read by the bishop of Chester. *Magnificat* (set to music by Mr. Atwood). Second lesson, 1 Cor. xv. 20. read by the rev. Dr. Moss. *Nunc dimittis;* and in the proper place, &c. the following anthem, Psalm xxxix. (set to music by Dr. Greene):

Chorus.—"Lord, let me know my end, and the number of my days; that I may be certified how long I have to live. Thou hast made my days as it were a span long; and mine age is nothing in respect to Thee, and verily every man living is altogether vanity."

Duett, Trebles.—"For man walketh in a vain shadow, and disquieteth himself in vain; he heapeth up riches, and cannot tell who shall gather them."

Chorus.—"And now, Lord, what is my hope? truly my hope is even in Thee.—Hear my prayer, O Lord, and with thine ear consider my calling; hold not thy peace at my tears.—O spare me a little, that I may recover my strength; before I go hence, and be no more seen."

At the conclusion of the service in the choir, a procession was made thence to the grave, with the banners and bannerolls as before;

during which was performed on the organ a grand solemn dirge, composed and played by Mr. Attwood; the officers of arms preceded with the trophies; the gentlemen of the choir of St. Paul's accompanying the body; the gentlemen of the chapels Royal and Westminster stationing themselves in a gallery on the west side of the organ; the body borne and attended as before.

The chief mourner, with his supporters, and near them Garter, had seats at the east end of the grave; the train bearer stood behind the chief mourner, and near him the relations of the deceased. At the opposite end sat the right reverend the lord bishop of Lincoln, dean of the cathedral, attended by the three canons residentiaries. A supporter of the pall stood at each angle; the assistant mourners, supporters of the canopy, and bearers of the bannerolls, on either side. On the right of the dean were the chaplains; on the left the officers of the household of the deceased. The great banner was borne on the north, the banner of the deceased, as a knight of the bath, on the south of the grave; the standard and guidon behind the dean; the banner of emblems behind the chief mourner; the trophies in the angles.

The royal dukes, foreign ambassadors, and naval officers, had seats reserved for them in the front of the south side of the dome.

The lord mayor, aldermen, and the whole of the common council, were seated in the front of the north side of the dome.

At the grave was sung.

"Man that is born of a woman," &c.

The remainder of the burial service was then read by the dean; and after the first collect an anthem was sung, selected from Handel's grand funeral anthem:

Verse.—"His body is buried in peace."

Chorus.—"But his name liveth evermore."

Upon a signal given from St. Paul's that the body was deposited, the troops being drawn up in Moorfields, the artillery fired their guns, and the infantry gave volleys, by corps, three times repeated.

The service of the interment being over, Garter proclaimed the style; and the comptroller, treasurer, and steward of the deceased, breaking their staves, gave the pieces to Garter, who threw them into the grave.

The interment thus ended, the standard, banners, bannerolls, and trophies, were deposited on the table behind the chief mourner; and the procession, arranged by the officers of arms, returned.

During the whole of this solemn ceremony, the greatest order prevailed throughout the metropolis; and, as the remains of the much-lamented hero proceeded along, every possible testimony of sorrow and of respect was manifested by an immense concourse of spectators of all ranks. From the Admiralty to the cathedral, the streets were lined with the several volunteer corps of London and Westminster, the militia, and many other military bodies, both cavalry and infantry.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

January 14.

Admiralty-office, Jan. 14.

Copies of letters and inclosures from vice-admiral Dacres, commander in chief at Jamaica, to Wm. Marsden, esq.

His

His majesty's sloop Port Mahon, Sept. 30, Trinidad de Cuba N. E. by N. distant 26 leagues.

Sir,

His majesty's sloop Port Mahon, under my command, this morning crossed upon a schooner, laying-to; but, on our near approach, made sail from us. I have the honour of informing you she was captured, after a chase of two hours, and proves to be his catholic majesty's packet El Galgo, commanded by lieut. Ignacio Guosquez, with 30 men, pierced for 14 guns, but only four brass swivels mounted. She is a very fine vessel, coppered and copper-fastened, well found, and sails fast; left Cadiz on the 9th of August, had delivered dispatches at Camana, and was bound, with others, to Trinidad de Cuba and Vera Cruz, which were thrown overboard.

I have, &c.

(Signed) SAM. CHAMBERS.

James R. Dacres, esq. commander in chief, &c.

Port-royal, Oct. 31.

Sir,

I am to request you to acquaint the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that I have received a letter from capt. Macdonnell, of the Franchise, informing me of the boats of that ship having captured the General Ferrand, felucca privateer, of one six-pounder, two four-pounder swivels, musquetry, &c. belonging to Santo Domingo. She had sailed from St. Jago four days, and had taken nothing.

I am, &c.

J. R. DACRES.

Shark, Port-royal, Oct. 31, 1805.

Sir,

Herewith you will receive, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, the copy of a letter I have received from capt. Wright, of the Swift, inclosing a letter from lieut. Smith, of that sloop, acquainting him with the success of an enterprise conducted with great bravery, and which reflects great credit on the party engaged in it, particularly on Mr. Bowler, who has not been two years at sea. I am, &c.

(Signed) J. R. DACRES.

H. M. sloop Swift, Port-royal, Oct. 27.

Sir,

In consequence of information I received while on my station at Honduras, that a schooner guarda costa had taken several vessels trading to that settlement, and, if not captured, was likely to do much more mischief, I was determined to detach Mr. James Smith, second-lieutenant of the ship I command, with a party of men, to see what could be effected; and I take the honour to refer you to a perusal of his letter to me, for an account of his success, which, for execution and bravery, has been acknowledged to bid fair for protection and countenance. La Caridad Perfecta is a very fine new vessel, and, in my opinion, every way fit for his majesty's service.

I remain, sir, &c.

(Signed) J. WRIGHT.

To rear-admiral Dacres, &c.

Port-royal.

Marianne schooner, Balize, Sept. 4, 1805.

Sir,

I beg leave to acquaint you, that, in pursuance of your orders, I proceeded, with the schooner you placed under my command, to the southward; and, while cruizing on that station, and off the island of Bonacca,

Bonanca, received information from the Caribbean fishermen, that the guarda costa was at anchor under the batteries of Truxillo, and that she had lately captured and carried into that port the schooner Admiral Duckworth, of Jamaica, with another vessel, name unknown, from Honduras. I therefore maturely considered the incalculable injury such a vessel might cause to the settlement, and conceiving it a duty incumbent on myself to prevent, if possible, further depredations, summoned the people aft, and, on my stating the case to them, they very readily volunteered to make an attempt to cut her out. Accordingly, on the evening of the 13th ultimo, I stood over, under cover of the night, for the harbour of Truxillo, and got well into the bay without being discovered, when I manned two small boats, with six men in each, under charge of Mr. Walker, boatswain, in the one, and Mr. Bowler, midshipman, in the other, with directions to pull in close along shore, and examine if our information was correct, standing in at the same time, with the schooner, to cover the boats if occasion required. Shortly after we got in sight of the vessel we were in pursuit of, which was immediately boarded with great bravery by the boat's crew under charge of Mr. Bowler (the other from pulling heavy, not being able to get up); and, after some resistance from the people on deck, they very gallantly got possession of her, the capt. and others jumping overboard. The noise this contest occasioned alarmed the forts, which opened on us a very heavy fire. The cables were then cut, and sail made, the forts keeping a continual fire on us till out of gun-shot, which was returned from both vessels. She proves to be La Caridad Perfecta, schooner-rigged, copper-bottomed, and pierced for sixteen guns, but mounted only with twelve, and had on board but fifteen men, the remainder of her complement being on shore at the time. I am happy to add, that in performing this service no person has been hurt.

(Signed) JAMES SMITH.

To John Wright, esq. commanding his majesty's ship Swift, Honduras.

His majesty's ship Wolf, at sea, Oct. 20.

Sir,

I have to acquaint you, that yesterday evening, in consequence of information I received from the shore, I gave chase to two sail in the offing, and soon came up with a ship, which proved to be an American, captured a few minutes before by a Spanish privateer then standing in shore: I dropt a boat to take possession of her, and stood after the privateer, but it falling calm shortly after, I dispatched two boats in chase: they came up with, and boarded her at the very moment she struck on a reef near the shore, and about ten miles to the leeward off Falmouth; every effort proved ineffectual to get her off, and she went to pieces soon after. She proved to be La Preciosa, a new cutter, out six days from St. Jago de Cuba, commanded by Garlana Garsa, carrying three small guns and 23 men, five of whom made their escape in a canoe previous to her being boarded: had made no other captures.

(Signed) G. C. M'KENZIE.

To rear-admiral Dacres, Jamaica.

FEBRUARY.

FEBRUARY.

Admiralty-office, Feb. 1.

Copy of a letter from the right hon. lord Keith, K. B. admiral of the white, &c. to W. Marsden, esq. dated on board the Edgar, off Ramsgate, Jan. 30.

Sir,

I transmit, for their lordships' information, a copy of a letter from lieut. Smithies, commanding the Bruiser gun-vessel, to vice-admiral Holloway, reporting the capture of the French lugger privateer, L'Impromptu, one of the enemy's cruisers, by which the trade in the narrow part of the channel has of late been much annoyed.

I have, &c.

KEITH.

His majesty's brig Bruiser, Downs, Jan. 30.

Sir,

I have honour to acquaint you, for the information of the commander in chief, that outstanding close in with the high land, near Folkstone, yesterday morning about two o'clock (being hazy) a lugger was observed hovering about with an intent (as I have been since informed) to board; but on finding her mistake, and his majesty's brig bearing up, made all sail; she was captured after a chase of seven hours, during which they hove most of their gun-carriages, stores, and provisions overboard. She proves to be L'Impromptu French privateer, of Boulogne, last from Calais, commanded by Jaques Sauvage, with a complement of fifty men and fifteen guns, two only of which were mounted when captured; and she is a remarkably fine vessel, and being, I am informed, the best sailer from that port, might have been a great annoyance to the trade. Last week she captured two brigs, the Mary of Pool, laden with coals, and the Caroline of Yarmouth, laden with barley.

I am, &c.

T. SMITHIES, lieut.

P. S. On coming up with the chase, the Combatant, capt. Kerr, joined company, and took out part of the prisoners.

John Holloway, esq. rear-admiral of the red, &c.

Copy of a letter from vice-admiral lord Collingwood, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean, to William Marsden, esq. dated on board his majesty's ship Queen, off Cadiz, the 8th January, 1806.

Sir,

I inclose for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, a return of vessels captured and detained by his majesty's ships and vessels under my command, to the 31st ult.

I am, &c.

COLLINGWOOD.

A report of vessels captured and detained by the ships and vessels on the Mediterranean station, under the command of the right hon. Cuthbert lord Collingwood, vice-admiral of the blue, and commander in chief, between the 19th day of November, 1805, and the 31st day of December following:—

Spanish settee St. Christo del Trao, of 14 men, and 40 tons, from La Guyra, bound to Cadiz, laden with indigo, cocoa, &c. captured by the Donegal, &c. November 19, 1805.

Ragusan ship Nemesis, of 4 guns, 18 men, and 350 tons, from the Isle of France, bound to Leghorn, laden with spice, indigo, &c.; detained

tained by the Thunderer, &c. November, 25, 1805.

Spanish settee L'Avion, of 1 gun, 18 men, and 54 tons, from Cadiz, bound to La Guyra, laden with Spanish wine, &c.; captured by the Martin and Bittern, December 4, 1805.

Spanish brig El Baptista, 2 guns, 19 men, from Cadiz, bound to La Guyra, laden with Spanish wine, &c.; captured by the Neptune, &c. December 5, 1805.

American ship Wells, of 11 men, and 205 tons, from Salem, bound to Marseilles, laden with sugar and coffee; detained by the Naiad, September 10, 1805.

COLLINGWOOD.

Admiralty-office, Feb. 11.

Copy of a letter from capt. P. V. B. Broke to admiral the right hon. lord Gardner.

Druid, at sea, Feb. 2.

I have the pleasure to inform you, that his majesty's ship under my command captured this morning, after a chase of 90 miles, the Prince Murat French ship privateer, of 18 guns, six pounders, and 127 men, commanded by Monsieur Rine Murin, out five days from L'Orient, and had made no captures: she is a coppered ship, and a fast sailer. I have sent her to Plymouth.

P. V. C. BROKE.

Right hon. adm. lord Gardner, adm. of the white, &c.

February 14.

NEW ADMINISTRATION.

DEPARTMENTS.	NEW ADMINISTRATION.	OLD ADMINISTRATION.
Treasury - - - - -	Lord Grenville,	Mr. Pitt.
	Lord H. Petty,	Lord Louvaine.
	Lord Althorpe,	Lord Fitzharris.
	Mr. Wickham,	Mr. Long.
	Mr. Courtney,	Marq. Blandford.
Secretaries - - - -	Mr. Vansittart,	Mr. Huskisson.
	Mr. King,	Mr. Bourne.
President of the council,	Earl Fitzwilliam,	Earl Camden.
Lord privy seal,	Viscount Sidmouth,	Earl Westmoreland.
Sec. of state for foreign department,	Mr. Fox,	Lord Mulgrave.
Sec. of state for home department,	Earl Spencer,	Lord Hawkesbury.
Sec. of state for colonial department,	Mr. Windham,	Lord Castlereagh.
Lord chancellor, - - -	Lord Erskine,	Lord Eldon.
Chancellor of the exchequer,	Lord H. Petty,	Mr. Pitt.
Admiralty - - - -	Mr. Grey,	Lord Barham.
	Sir Philip Stephens,	Admiral Gambier.
	Admiral Markham,	Sir Philip Stephens.
	Sir C. Pole,	Admiral Patten.
	Sir H. B. Neale,	Sir E. Nepean.
	Lord W. Russell,	Mr. Dickenson, jun.
	Lord Kensington,	Lord Garlies.

Master general of ordnance,	Earl of Moira,	Earl of Chatham.
Secretary at war, - - -	Gen. Fitzpatrick,	Mr. W. Dundas.
Treasurer of the navy, -	Mr. Sheridan,	Mr. Canning.
Lord lieut. of Ireland -	Duke of Bedford,	Earl of Hardwicke.
Secretary, - - - - -	Mr. Elliot,	Mr. Long.
Board of control, - - -	Lord Minto,	Lord Castlereagh,
	Lord Spencer,	Lord Hawkesbury.
	Mr. Windham,	Lord Mulgrave.
	Mr. Fox,	Mr. Pitt.
	Lord Grenville,	Lord Glenbervie.
	Lord H. Petty,	Mr. Wallace.
	Lord Morpeth,	Lord Dunlo.
	Mr. H. Addington,	
	Mr. Sullivan,	
Joint postmasters,	Earl of Buckinghamshire,	Duke of Montrose.
	Earl of Carysfort,	Lord C. Spencer.
President of board of trade,	Lord Auckland,	Duke of Montrose.
Vice-president ditto, - -	Earl Temple,	Mr. Rose.
Joint paymasters, - -	Earl Temple,	Mr. Rose.
	Lord J. Townshend,	Lord C. Somerset.
Master of the horse, - -	Earl of Carnarvon,	Marq. Hertford.
Master of the mint, - -	Lord C. Spencer,	Earl Bathurst.
Master of the stag-hounds,	Earl of Albemarle,	Earl Sandwich.
Treasurer of the household,	Lord Ossulston,	Visc. Stopford.
Chancellor of the D. of Lancaster,	Earl of Derby,	Lord Harrowby.
Capt. of band of gent. pensioners,	Lord St. John,	Visc. Falmouth.
Surveyor of crown lands,	Lord Rt. Spencer,	Lord Glenbervie.
Judge advocate, - - -	Mr. Bond,	Sir C. Morgan.
Attorney general, - - -	Mr. Pigott,	Mr. Percival.
Solicitor general, - - -	Mr. Romilly,	Sir V. Gibbs.
Chancellor of the D. of Cornwall,	Mr. Adam,	Lord Erskine.
Attorney general to his R. H. the P. of Wales,	Mr. Garrow,	Mr. Adam.

Lord Ellenborough has a seat in the Cabinet.

Admiralty-office, Feb. 18.

Copies of Letters transmitted by vice-admiral Dacres, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at Jamaica, to Wm. Marsden, esq.

His majesty's ship Bacchante, at sea, 18th of November, 1805.

Sir,

I have the honour of informing you, that in cruising off the North-east end, to protect the ships bound to this side of the island, we discovered a schooner under the land. Knowing our misfortune of not sailing well, I stood off, and was chased by her until she found her mistake, on which I tacked and made all sail; and, after a chase of seven hours, we ran alongside and

and boarded the Spanish privateer schooner Les Dos Azares, capt. Ealletam Garcia, of 36 men, out four days from Cuba, and had taken nothing, armed with two three-pounders, and in all respects perfectly prepared for boarding. Three of the privateer's crew are badly wounded.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) RANDALL MACDONNELL.

To James Richard Dacres, esq. rear-admiral of the red, commander in chief.

His majesty's sloop [illegible]rd, Port-royal harbour, Nov. 22, 1805.

Sir,

I have the pleasure to acquaint you with the capture of the French privateer schooner Bellona, on the 11th ult. by this ship, after a long chase and some firing, at the North side of St. Domingo. She has four carriage guns and 50 men; was seven days from Barracona, had taken one American brig. She is only four months old, and is considered the fastest sailer out of Cuba.

I have the honour to be, &c,

JEREMIAH COGHLAN.

To J. R. Dacres, esq. rear-admiral of the red, &c.

PUBLIC FUNERAL OF THE LATE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT,

Saturday, Feb. 22.

This morning, at 10, the nobility and gentry, in mourning, without weepers, and with mourning swords; the knights of the several orders wearing their respective collars; and the naval and military officers in their full uniforms, with crape round their arms and hats, assembled in the rooms prepared for their reception near the painted chamber; and about one, the procession, being marshalled, proceeded as follows:

High constable of Westminster; messenger of the college of arms; six conductors; forty-seven poor men, two and two, in black serge cloaks, with badges of the crests of the deceased on the shoulder, black caps on their heads, and long black staves in their hands; drums and fifes; drum major; trumpets; serjeant trumpeter; rouge croix and blue mantle pursuivants of arms, in close mourning, with their tabards over their cloaks.

The standard, borne by lieut.-gen. Lennox, supported by right hon. T. Steele and right hon. C. Long.—Trumpets.—Rouge dragon and portcullis pursuivants of arms.

The guidon, borne by maj.-gen. Hope, supported by hon. R. Ryder and hon. R. Dundas.—Servants of the relations of the deceased.—Officers of the wardrobe.

Gentlemen.—Esquires.—146 members of the house of commons.—Physicians.—Physician of the deceased, Sir W. Farquhar.—Divines in clerical habits.—Secretary of the deceased, W. Marshall, esq.

Trumpets.—Richmond herald.—The banner of the crest of Pitt, borne by right hon. T. Cholmondeley, supported by W. Wilberforce and W. M. Pitt, esqrs.—Officers who attended the body while it lay in state.—Knights bachelors.—4 Aldermen of London.—4 Knights of the bath.—13 Baronets.—A gentleman usher (with two assistants) carrying a silk carpet and a black velvet cushion, whereon the trophies were deposited in the church.

Comptroller of the household of the deceased, J. Smith, esq.; treasurer,

surer, W. D. Adams, esq.; and steward, W. Johnson, esq.

Younger sons of barons.—Sir T. M. Sutton, one of the barons of the exchequer.—Lord mayor of London.—7 Younger sons of earls.—Speaker of the House of Commons.—21 Barons.—9 Bishops.—3 Elder sons of earls.—6 Viscounts.—2 Younger sons of dukes.—27 Earls.—Earl of Aylesford, lord steward.—Earl of Dartmouth, lord chamberlain.—Marquises of Worcester, Thomond, and Bath.—Duke of Portland (absent from indisposition).—Viscount Sidmouth, lord privy seal.—Dukes of Cambridge, Cumberland, and York.—York herald.

Great banner, borne by hon. H. Lascelles, supported by R. W. Cartwright and E. Bootle, esqrs.

Helm and crest; sword and targe; surcoat; borne by Somerset, Lancaster, and Chester heralds.

Clarenceux king of arms, supported by two gentlemen ushers.

THE BODY,

covered with a black velvet pall, adorned with eight escutcheons of the arms of the deceased.

Four supporters of the pall, the archbishop of Canterbury, and dukes of Beaufort, Rutland, and Montrose.

The four bannerolls of the family lineage, carried by the master of the rolls, Sir W. Scott, right hon. W. Dundas, and right hon. Sir E. Nepean.

Garter principal king of arms, supported by two gentlemen ushers.

Chief mourner, earl of Chatham, with his train-bearer, Sir W. Bellingham, bart. supported by the earl of Westmoreland and earl Camden.

Six assistant mourners, marquises of Abercorn and Wellesley, earl of Euston, earl Bathurst, viscount Lowther, and lord Grenville.

Norroy king of arms, supported by two gentlemen ushers.

Banner of emblems, borne by hon. Spencer Percival, supported by right hon. George Canning and right hon. George Rose.

Relations and near connexions of the deceased.

TRIAL OF GOVERNOR PICTON.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH,

Monday, Feb. 24.

A few minutes after nine o'clock this morning, Mr. Harrison opened the pleadings in this case, by stating that it was a criminal prosecution against the defendant, charging him with having, in the month of December 1801, inflicted the torture upon Louisa Calderon, one of his majesty's subjects, in the island of Trinidad.

Mr. Garrow rose to address the jury, and said, that the duty had devolved to him, by the removal of a learned person from this court to an exalted station, which deprived them of the advantage of his greater abilities, to lay before them a statement of the singular and horrid transaction which was the subject of this prosecution; and, although he should acquit himself zealously of the obligation imposed upon him, to bring to light and condign punishment an offence so flagrant as that charged upon the defendant, yet much more happy would he be, to find that there was no ground upon which the charge could be supported, and that the British character was not stained by the adoption of so cruel a measure as that which was alleged in the prosecution. The defendant was the representative of our sovereign, and the governor of Trinidad,

nidad, one of the Spanish dependencies which had surrendered to the British arms under the brave sir Ralph Abercrombie. The benignant code of laws which had prevailed in the island, were, unhappily, cruelly innovated under his administration. However strange to Englishmen it might appear, in some of the West India colonies young women frequently became mothers at the age of twelve years; and Louisa Calderon, of whom mention had been made, was living with a person of the name of Pedro Ruiz, as his mistress, in the year 1801, being at that time only ten or eleven years of age, when, in the casual absence of this person, another man, named Carlos Gonsales, with whom she intrigued, robbed the house of Ruiz of a quantity of dollars. For this offence both he and she were apprehended, and underwent examination before the officers to whom the dispensation of justice in the island was confided. Not being able to procure from the girl evidence of the delinquency of Gonsales, application was made to governor Picton on the subject, and an order was written and signed by him, to "inflict the torture upon Louisa Calderon." Pursuant to this dreadful decree, the unfortunate object against whom it was levelled was turned over to a gaoler, and fixed upon an instrument, which was prepared for the purpose, suspended by the left wrist, from the ceiling of a room, and resting with her right foot upon a sharp wooden stake. In this position, suffering the most excruciating pain, she was continued fifty-three or fifty-four minutes, as calculated by the watch of a magistrate of the island, who attended the dreadful punishment, to see that it was not continued more than an hour, foolishly alleging, that the English law did not permit a subject to be longer tortured. This punishment not having proved sufficient to extort from the sufferer the confession which was desired, twenty-four hours afterwards it was renewed for a space of twenty-two minutes, twice during which time the poor girl fainted; and having at last confessed that she knew Gonsales had committed the robbery, she was taken from the torture, immediately put into irons, and confined in a gaol, where she could not stand upright, for eight months, until a short time before the arrival of col. Fullarton in the island, by whom she was afterwards brought to England.—This shocking abuse of his station was the charge which was brought against general Picton.

Mr. Garrow said, that he understood the justification which was to be alleged was, that the infliction of the torture was consistent with the laws of Spain, which had long been observed there. He should call witnesses to prove that no such cruelty had ever been before practised in the colony. But would it have amounted to a justification, had that even been the case? No. At the moment that any island was taken under the protection of the British government, it had long been determined that torture ceased, as being incompatible with British jurisprudence. It had been determined, ever since the reign of Henry VI., when the duke of Exeter, one of the ministers of that reign, prepared an instrument for the purpose of torturing to confession the assassin of a distinguished nobleman, but which the judges of that day, to their immortal honour, declared nothing could justify the application of; and the instrument

was to this day preserved in the Tower, under the appellation of "the duke of Exeter's daughter." So far, however, from such a practice having been warranted by any precedent, evidence would be adduced to the jury, that governor Picton was the first man who ever cursed the island of Trinidad by ordering the erection of an engine for torture. One had been formed, by his direction, some time before the unfortunate person, whose sufferings had occasioned this prosecution, was subjected to its horrid operation, and had been used upon two or three negroes of the island, upon a charge of sorcery and witchcraft. In consequence of the mandamus issued by this court, much evidence had been brought from Trinidad, which had been thought necessary to the defence of the governor. It now became necessary for him (Mr. Garrow) to call witnesses to prove the case he had stated; and, amongst others, he would call Louisa Calderon herself, who would show to the jury some of the marks of the torture she had undergone.

Witness for the prosecution.

Louisa Calderon, attended by a Spanish interpreter, was then sworn, and examined by Mr. Adam.

Q. Were you at Trinidad in 1798?—A. Yes.

Q. Were you acquainted with Pedro Ruiz?—A. Yes.

Q. Did you live in his house?—A. Yes,

Q. Were you there when the defendant was governor of the island?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember a robbery committed in the house of Pedro Ruiz?—A. I do.

Q. Were you suspected of committing that robbery?—A. I was; and also Carlos, (Gonsales).

Q. Do you remember his being apprehended?—A. Yes.

Q. Were you and your mother also taken up?—A. Yes, the same night.

Q. Before whom were you carried?—A. Before governor Picton.

Q. Did he order you to be committed to prison?—A. Yes.

Q. Under what guard were you conveyed thither?—A. By three soldiers.

Q. To what apartment of the prison were you consigned?—A. To the women's side.

Q. Before you were sent there, what did the defendant tell you?—A. That if I did not confess, the hangman was to put his hand upon me.

Q. Do you know a person of the name of Beggerrat?—A. Yes.

Q. Is he an alcaide (magistrate)?—A. Yes; he came to me in prison, and examined me frequently as to the robbery.

Q. Was there an escribano (notary), of the name of Francisco de Castro, who also attended?—A. Yes.

Q. After some examinations, were you carried to a room where there was a picket erected in the gaol?—A. Yes.

[The witness was here desired to give a description of this instrument of torture, and of the manner in which it was applied to her person, which she did nearly in the way in which it was explained in the opening of the learned counsel. When the drawing before-mentioned was handed to her, representing in a striking manner her situation surrounded by her judges and executioners, she gave a shudder, expressive of horror; on which Mr. Garrow expressed his concern, that his lordship was not in a position to witness this accidental,

tal, but conclusive evidence of the fact.]

Lord Ellenborough objected to the exhibition of this drawing to the jury, until Mr. Dallas, on the part of his client, permitted it to be shown to them. The examination then proceeded.

Q. How long did you remain tied up in this situation?—A. Three quarters of an hour.

Q. Were you upon the spike all that time?—A. Yes.

Q. Were you at any time drawn up by the rope connected with the pulley?—A. Yes.

Q. Had you seen any persons in the same unhappy condition before?—A. Yes, two others.

Q. What was the effect of this torture?—A. I was in great agony, and after it, my wrist and foot were very much swelled.

Q. Were you asked to make confession of the robbery before you were tied up?—A. Yes; Beggerrat inquired if I would declare who took the money.

Q. Were you sworn before the torture was applied?—A. No; but the holy cross was held up before me.

Q. Did you confess?—A. Yes; after I was suspended, I said Carlos took the money.

[Several questions were then proposed as to the time the punishment was inflicted, which appeared to be about Christmas; and by subsequent interrogatories, it appeared she was taken into the gaoler's room, where she saw Carlos, to learn if she had herself taken the money.]

Q. Where did you go after you left the gaoler's room?—A. To the same apartment where I had been suspended. I was kept there all night.

Q. Were you put in irons?—A. Yes, in grillos (fetters on the legs).

Q. Describe what these grillos are?—A. They are formed of an iron bar fastened to the ground, to which are attached two rings to receive the legs.

[A drawing of this instrument was then produced, which the witness said was an exact representation of the grillos.]

Q. Were you put on the picket next day?—A. Yes, upon the same instrument, and in the same manner; it was in the morning.

Q. How long were you kept upon it?—A. Twenty-two minutes. There was a watch to show the time; Alvarez Beggerrat, Francisco de Castro, and Rafael, an alguazil (constable) were present.

Q. With which arm were you tied up by the second day?—A. With each, one after the other; and I was so suspended, that I could just touch the spike by extending my toe.—(My feet were without shoes or stockings, she said, in reply to a question by lord Ellenborough.)—She then described that she was seized with a fainting fit, and that she knew nothing of the time or circumstances of her recovery.

Q. Were you again put in irons?—A. Yes, in the grillos, the same evening.

Q. How long were you in this state?—A. All the time I was in prison, during eight months.

Q. Are there any marks of the injury you received, now apparent on your person?—A. On my wrists there are, but none on my feet.

[The witness now exposed the seam or callus, formed on her wrists in consequence of the torture.]

To some questions, on the cross-examination by Mr. Dallas, she

said that she did not know how long she had been released before she was brought over; that she came with colonel Fullarton, and that she had been maintained by Mr. White, of the Treasury.

Don Rafael Shando, also assisted by the interpreter, said, that he was at Alguazil, in the island of Trinidad, in the year 1801; that he returned from the interior of the country on the 22d of December, and saw Louisa Calderon in gaol; that they were then giving her a glass of water, after bringing her down from the torture. She was supporting herself on a table; it was about seven o'clock in the evening. Beggerrat desired witness to bring Carlos up, and told her, that she must repeat to Carlos what she had said to him. After this interview, at which nothing transpired, she was instantly put in the grillos, and in the same room in which she had suffered the torture. The apartment was like a garret, with sloping sides, and the grillos were so placed, that, by the lowness of the room, she could by no means raise herself up during the eight months of her confinement. On the 23d of December she was again put to the torture, between eleven and twelve in the morning, and she remained in this situation 22 minutes by the watch.

[The witness here examined the drawing, and described the position much in the way it had been before represented, and then added:]

She fainted twice in his arms. Beggerrat sent vinegar to the executioner to administer to her in this situation. There was no advocate appointed to attend on her behalf, and no surgeon to assist her. No one but a Negro belonging to Bullo the gaoler, to pull the rope. As soon as she was taken down, she was put into the grillos. The witness had seen her sister bring her victuals, but never noticed the admission of her sister or her friend into the gaol. The witness had been four or five years in the post of alguazil. He never knew the torture inflicted in the island until the arrival of the defendant. There had been before no instrument for the purpose. The first he saw was in the barracks among the soldiers. Before Louisa Calderon, the instrument had been introduced into the gaol about six months. The first person he saw tortured in Trinidad was by direction of the defendant, who said to the gaoler—"Go and fetch the black man of the piquet-guard, and put him to the torture." After the eight months' confinement, both Carlos and Louisa were discharged.

Don Juan Montes said, he was acquainted with the hand-writing of the defendant, and proved the document containing the order for the torture expressed in these terms,

"Aplicase la question a Louisa Calderon."

(Signed) THOMAS PICTON.

[After some observations from Mr. Dallas, which were answered by Mr. Garrow, the Lord Chief Justice ruled, that the application of the alcaide Beggerrat, which led to the issue of this order, should be read.]

Mr. Lowten then read the representation of this officer, advising that slight torture should be applied, stating that his own authority was incompetent to do it without the order of the governor, and giving the result of the proceedings in the course of the examinations Louisa Calderon had undergone. The instrument was countersigned by Francisco de Castro.

Mr.

Mr. Garrow—"Then follow, my lord, the service of the order, and the acts of torment."

Lord Ellenborough—"Does it appear, that the defendant was acquainted with the subsequent proceeding?"

Mr. Garrow.—'I do not want it.'

Mr. Harrison now proceeded with the testimony of Don Juan Montes, who said, he had known the island of Trinidad since 1793. That the torture was never introduced until after the conquest of the island, and was then practised by order of the defendant. It was first used with the military in 1799, and 2 years afterwards in the gaol.

Mr. Garrow said, that he had more witnesses to produce, if necessary, of the first respectability; but, from regard to the time of the Court, he should here close the case on the part of the crown, unless it should be required by the counsel for the defendant, that it should be proved, that general Picton was governor of the island.

Mr. Dallas addressed the jury at great length on the part of the defendant. He recapitulated the circumstances of the case, and requested of the jury to view it in its true colours. The punishment here complained of was one sanctioned and acknowledged even by the mild laws of this country, against those brave men who risked their lives, who often spilt the best blood in their bodies for our defence. The crime, too, of which Gonsales was guilty, and to which there was little or no doubt that Louisa Calderon was an accomplice, was one of a capital nature by the law of this country. It was a robbery committed in the dwelling-house, and that, too, by, or through the connivance of, a domestic; a case which judges in this country always felt most peculiarly distressing to encounter, as they could not recommend it as one attended with alleviating circumstances, but which was almost uniformly expiated by an ignominious death. The case was not one in which colonel Picton had improperly or maliciously interfered. It was a complaint made to him at the government-house, which he sent to be considered by the judge, or alcaide, before whom he allows the law to take its course. This it was particularly necessary to attend to, when it was considered that the defendant was charged with maliciously oppressing Louisa Calderon. He never took a step in it till it came before him on the suggestion of the judge; and whether he erred or not in entering into that suggestion, it could never be alleged that he did so maliciously and with a view to oppress. If he was misguided as to the law of Spain, according to which this island was to be governed, still that could only be an error in judgment on his part, but from which malice could not be implied. He should be able, however, to show that torture was authorised by the law of Spain, according to which colonel Picton had sworn to govern the island of Trinidad; if so, the jury would be bound to acquit him of every part of the charge. In viewing these points, the first thing to be considered was the place, which was Trinidad. Where an offence was charged to be committed in this country, it was sufficient to state the case and prove the fact, by which the judge would be at once enabled to say, whether it was a crime against the law of the land. But if an offence was committed in another country, with the law of which his lordship was unacquainted,

unacquainted, that made a material difference. In every case where an offence was committed in a foreign country, the law of that country, by which the offence was constituted, must be proved. No two systems of jurisprudence could be more materially different than those of this country and of our colonies. He should only adduce one instance of it. Suppose a person with his nose slit, his arm cut off, and otherwise disfigured, were to apply to this country for redress against a governor, or other person, who, in the island of St. Vincents, for example, had ordered him to be disfigured in this manner, simply for resisting a constable in inflicting some punishment on a Negro? Nay, that it had been proved that by order of such governor, magistrate, or justice of the peace, the person resisting had been put to death—Who but would say, "The man who has done this shall surely die?" But when we learn that it is the law of these islands, that a black person resisting a constable is liable to have his nose slit, his arm cut off, and, if he has materially injured the white man, even to suffer death, we are forced to change our opinion, and to confess that the person by whom such sentence, however harsh it may seem, has been inflicted, has not acted illegally, far less that he has acted with a malicious motive, or with a wish to oppress. And would any man pretend to say, that in point of enormity, or of the feelings of natural justice, there was any comparison between the case here represented, and that which now offered itself, arising out of the laws of Spain? The situation in which the defendant was placed, was the next circumstance which naturally required to be noticed. Trinidad was a colony which for many years had been subject to Spain; though, pursuing different systems of policy, she at one time had ordered it to be cultivated, at another the cultivation to be suspended. Within the last few years of her possessing it, she had departed from that policy which had almost throughout marked her conduct—namely, exclusion of strangers. And from not being at a greater distance from the Spanish main, Trinidad had become the receptacle for every disaffected runaway, and for every convict or vagabond who could contrive to escape from the other islands. From these circumstances it was in a most extraordinary state at the time it was captured by the late gallant sir Ralph Abercrombie, and when the defendant, as the person in whom he had most confidence, was appointed by him to the government of it. The defendant was no civilian. He had been educated in a camp, and if, trusting to the alcade, or judges of the country, he had on their suggestion done what he might not of himself been inclined to do, it was simply an error in judgment, and could not be assigned to malice. The instructions he had from sir Ralph Abercrombie were to govern according to the existing laws. Previous to that time an appeal lay from the alcaide to the royal audience of Carraccas, and from that to Madrid; but this being done away when the island came into our hands, nothing remained for him but to follow what was pointed out to him as the law of Spain, by which the island had hitherto been governed. The learned counsel was then proceeding to draw a distinction between express and implied malice, when he was interrupted by

Lord

Lord Ellenborough, who said it was impossible to go into that sort of argument. It might in that way be contended that a man might murder by mistake. Such could not go to an acquittal, though it might to mitigation. The question really was—Was the punishment unlawful? in which case the law inferred malice; or Was it one authorised by the law of Spain? It would be very fit, if the authorities from the Spanish law warranted it, that the case should be turned into a special verdict.

Mr. Dallas than put in the instructions from sir R. Abercrombie to the defendant, and instructions to him from his majesty; both of them specifying the existing law of the island, as being that by which he was to regulate his conduct.

The learned counsel also produced several Spanish law books, and commentaries on the laws of Spain, in which the doctrine of torture as congenial to the spirit of the law of that country was recognised.

Those books, particularly Bobadellia and Curia Philippica, were declared by Mr. Groster, the attorney general of Trinidad, to be founded on as standard authorities to the law of Spain, and to have been sustained as such before the council at Trinidad, though he professed that he did not know much either of the law or language of Spain.

Michael Gournille, who had been in the island since the year 1774; and Emanuel Falgays, who one year acted as the alcaide, corroborated the statement of the defendant's counsel, as to the nature of the appeal from the judges of the island to the Caraccas. Both, however, agreed in stating, that they had never heard of an instance of torture similar to the one in question, till it was introduced by governor Picton.

Mr. John Nugent, who had been a settler in the island from the year 1786, swore to the same effect.

Mr. Garrow, for the prosecution, adduced a witness to prove that there was a peculiar code of laws, principally of the laws of the Indies, appropriated for the government of the Spanish Islands.

This witness was Don Pedro de Vargas, who stated, that he was bred to the law of Spain, which he had studied for many years, and had practised for two years in the capital of New Grenada; that he had known the Spanish West Indies from his infancy, and had been in the Caraccas, Porto Rico, Cuba, Havanna, and Trinidad, and in all his practice he never knew nor heard that torture formed any part of the law of the Spanish West India Islands, which were regulated not by the laws of Old Spain entirely, but by a code peculiar to themselves and the Indies, called *Recupulation*. He never saw an instrument of torture in any of the islands, and did not believe it possible that either the practice of torture could exist, or the instrument be at all general, without his having heard of their existence.

Lord Ellenborough remarked, that there being here conflicting evidence, the case must be left to the jury to say where it preponderated. In speaking of a special verdict, he understood that the defendant would clearly make out that Trinidad was governed by the law of Spain at the time of the capture, and that that law authorised the infliction of torture.

Mr.

Mr. Dallas then adduced additional evidence taken under a mandamus at Trinidad; but the witnesses all acknowledged their ignorance of the Spanish law, and at the same time admitted the practice in Trinidad to have been against the use of torture.

Mr. Dallas then addressed the jury on the point of fact, arguing that there was sufficient evidence that the law of Spain was that which existed in Trinidad at the time of the capture, and that the want of practice could not, of itself, rescind the law in question.

Mr. Garrow, in a very energetic speech, addressed the jury for the prosecution.

Lord Ellenborough—"The single question for your consideration is, Whether, by the Spanish laws observed in Trinidad, the defendant was justified in inflicting torture upon the prosecutrix? I would advise you, by all means, to divest yourselves of every thing which may inflame your minds, so that you may give impartial attention to the present case. The inquiry for you to make is, what was the subsisting law by which Trinidad, at the time it was taken by sir Ralph Abercrombie, was governed? The various authorities upon the subject of the distribution of justice in Spanish courts, do not mention the infliction of torture, and therefore the right of applying it, if it can be applied at all, must depend upon authorities before us, or upon the jurisdiction of the judge. We are not made acquainted at what time Trinidad was annexed to the Spanish colonial possessions, or what code of laws were then instituted. Depositions of witnesses have been read who have known the island for 32 years, and one of them was born there, and swears, torture was never administered. Mr. Nugent also says, he knew Trinidad for twenty years, and never saw the torture inflicted, or had even seen the instruments, and therefore it is absolutely without any proof to support it. Mr. Gloucester speaks to books of authority, which he stated to be in use when he was in the island; but the existence and reference to them can certainly not extend beyond the period when he himself was acquainted with them." (His lordship having made some further observations respecting the different authorities produced, concluded as follows:)—"The question then resolves itself to this, viz. Whether, in the absence of usage for 32 years, you will infer that the law of Old Spain so necessarily involved that of Trinidad, as to induce you to believe, that as the practice of torture is allowed by the one, it is also by the other. If you are of opinion that it does, you will be so good as to say so, that it may be inserted in the special verdict; if not, you will find the defendant generally Guilty."

The jury immediately returned, that they were of opinion, that no such law did exist which would authorise the defendant in inflicting the torture: in consequence of which general Picton was found—*Guilty.*

CAPTURE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Downing-street, Feb. 28.

The dispatches contained in this gazette are dated Cape Town, Jan. 12, and announce the capitulation of the town and garrison.—The expedition sailed from St. Salvador on the 26th of November, and reached

reached Table Bay on the 4th of January.—After a general survey of the shore, it was found impossible to land the troops any where nearer to Cape Town than Saldanha and Lospards Bays, of which event gen. sir D. Baird gives the following particulars:

"The surf along the shore of Lospards' Bay having considerably abated the ensuing morning, I determined, with the concurrence of commodore sir Home Popham, to make an effort to get the troops on shore; and accordingly the Highland brigade, composed of the 71st, 72d, and 93d regiments effected that object, under the command of brig.-gen. Ferguson.—The shore had been previously very closely inspected by the brigadier, and by his spirited exertions and example our efforts were crowned with success: although a confined and intricate channel to the shore, which had been accurately pointed out by beacons laid down by the diligence and activity of the boats of the Diadem, and a tremendous surf, opposed the passage of the troops. The enemy had scattered a party of sharpshooters over the contiguous heights, and commanded the landing; but the casualties of this service arose principally from natural difficulties, and it is with the deepest concern I have the honour to inform your lordship that we lost 35 rank and file of the 93d regiment by the oversetting of one of the boats, notwithstanding every possible effort to rescue these unfortunate men. The remainder of the troops could only be brought on shore on the succeeding day, when the extraordinary obstacles to all intercourse with the fleet, which nothing but the courage and perseverance of British seamen could surmount, barely enabled us to obtain the indispensable supplies of water and provisions for immediate subsistence.—On the morning of the 8th, the army, consisting of the 25th, 59th, 71st, 72d, 83d, and 93d regiments, about 4000 strong, was formed into two brigades, with two howitzers, and six light field-pieces, and moved off towards the road which leads to Cape Town; and, having ascended the summit of the Blawberg, or Blue Mountains, and dislodged the enemy's light troops, I discovered their main body, drawn up in two lines, prepared to receive us, and even in motion to anticipate our approach.—The enemy's force apparently consisted of about 5000 men, the greater proportion of which was cavalry, and 23 pieces of cannon, yoked to horses, the disposition of which, and the nature of the ground occupied by the enemy's troops, made it evident that they intended to refuse their right wing, and with their left attempt to turn our right flank; but, to frustrate their design, I formed the army into two columns, the second brigade under brig.-gen. Ferguson keeping the road, whilst the first struck to the right, and took the defile of the mountains. Having accomplished my purpose, our line was formed with equal celerity and order; and the left wing, composed of the Highland brigade, was thrown forward, and advanced with the steadiest step, under a very heavy fire of round shot, grape and musquetry. Nothing could surpass or resist the determined bravery of the troops, headed by their gallant leader brig.-gen. Ferguson; and the number of the enemy who swarmed the plain, served only to augment their ardour and confirm their discipline.

The

The enemy received our fire, and maintained his position obstinately; but in the moment of charging, the valour of British troops bore down all opposition, and forced him to a precipitate retreat. The first brigade, composed of the 24th, 59th, and 83d regiments, and commanded, in the absence of brig.-gen. Beresford, by lieut.-col. Baird, was unavoidably precluded, by their situation, from any considerable participation in the triumph of the British arms, though the flank companies of the 24th had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves in dislodging a number of horse and riflemen from the heights on our right flank. This brilliant achievement, however, was clouded by the loss of capt. Foster, of the grenadiers, whose gallantry is best recorded in the bosoms of his brother-soldiers, and the universal regret of the army. It is utterly impossible to convey to your lordship an adequate idea of the obstacles which opposed the advance, and retarded the success, of our army; but it is my duty to inform your lordship, that the nature of the country—a deep, heavy, and hard land, covered with shrubs, and scarcely pervious to light bodies of infantry; and above all, the total privation of water under the effects of a burning sun, had nearly exhausted our gallant fellows in the moment of victory, and with the utmost difficulty were we able to reach the Reit Valley, where we took our position for the night. A considerable portion of the provisions and necessaries with which we started, had been lost during the action, and we occupied our ground under an apprehension that even the great exertions of sir Home Popham and the navy, could not relieve us from starvation."

After some warm and well-merited compliments to the seamen for their zealous co-operation, the general thus continues:

"The loss of the enemy in this engagement is reputed to exceed 700 men in killed and wounded; and it is with the most sensible gratification that I contrast it with the enclosed return of our casualties. Your lordship will perceive the name of lieut.-col. Grant among the wounded; but the heroic spirit of this officer was not subdued by his misfortune, and he continued to lead his men to glory, as long as an enemy was opposed to his majesty's 72d regiment. I have the cordial satisfaction to add, that his wound, though very severe, is not pronounced dangerous; and I indulge the hope and expectation of his early recovery and resumption of command.—On the morning of the 9th, recruited by such supplies as the unwearied diligence and efforts of the navy could throw on shore, the 59th regiment, however, being almost completely destitute of food, we prosecuted our march towards Cape Town, and took up a position south of Salt River, which we trusted might preserve a free communication with the squadron; for our battering train, as well as every other necessary, except water, was to pass to us from his majesty's ships. In this situation a flag of truce was sent to me by the commandant of the garrison of Cape Town (the governor-general Jansens having retired after the action of the 8th into the country, moving by Hottentots Holland Kloof), requesting a suspension of hostilities for 48 hours, in order to negotiate a capitulation. In answer to this overture, I dispatched brig.-gen. Ferguson, accompanied by lieut.-col.

col. Brownrigg, to stipulate, as the condition of my acquiescence, the surrender of the outer works of the town within 6 hours, allowing 36 hours for arranging the articles of capitulation. My proposition being assented to, the 59th regiment marched into Fort Knokke; and the next day, in conjunction with sir Home Popham, the terms were agreed upon, and his majesty's forces were put in possession of the several defences of the town. Of the modified capitulation, as ratified by us, I have the honour to enclose a copy.—The cordial, able, and zealous co-operation of commodore sir Home Popham, emulated by all the officers under his command, merits my warmest acknowledgments and commendation; and I have the satisfaction to add, that no united service was ever performed with more true harmony than has uniformly been manifested by both branches of his majesty's forces. Such of his majesty's ships as could be spared from the service of Lospards Bay, constantly coasted the enemy's shore, throwing shot among his troops and people, and contributing to keep him ignorant of the actual place of our disembarkation; and a very spirited effort was made by the marines of the fleet, and a party of seamen from the Diadem, under the commodore's immediate command, to occupy a position in Reit Valley, and co-operate with the army."

Return of the killed, wounded and missing, of the forces under the command of major-general sir David Baird, in landing at Lospards Bay, on the 6th of Jan. 1806.

First brigade.—None.

Second, or Highland brigade—71st reg. 1 rank and file killed; 1 field officer, 3 rank and file wounded.

N. B. 1 drummer, and 35 rank and file of the 93d regiment drowned in landing.

Officers wounded.—Brevet major Weir, brigade-major, slightly; lieutenant.-colonel Pack, of the 71st regiment, slightly.

W. H. Trotter, maj. 83d reg. acting deputy adj. gen.

Return of the killed, wounded and missing, of the forces under the command of major-general sir David Baird, in the action of the 8th of January, 1806, at Blawberg.

First brigade.—24th reg. 1 captain, 3 rank and file killed; 1 drummer, 15 rank and file wounded; 2 rank and file missing. 59th reg. 1 rank and file killed; 1 captain, 5 rank and file wounded; 1 rank and file missing. 83d reg. 2 serjeants, 2 rank and file wounded; 3 rank and file missing.

Second, or Highland brigade.—71st reg. 5 rank and file killed; 1 field officer, 2 serjeants, 64 rank and file wounded; 1 rank and file missing. 72d reg. 2 rank and file killed; 1 field officer, 1 subaltern, 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 35 rank and file wounded; 1 rank and file missing. 93d reg. 2 rank and file killed; 1 field officer, 4 subalterns, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 51 rank and file wounded. Marine battalion, 1 rank and file killed.

Total.—1 captain, 14 rank and file killed; 3 field officers, 1 captain, 5 subalterns, 7 serjeants, 3 drummers, 170 rank and file wounded; 8 rank and file missing.

Officer killed, 24th reg. captain Andrew Foster.

Officers wounded. 59th reg. Alex. M'Pherson, badly.

71st reg. Brevet lieut.-col. Campbell.

72d

72d reg. Lieut.-col. Grant; lieut. Chisholm.

93d reg. Brevet lieut.-col. Honeyman.

78th reg. Lieuts. Scobie and Strachan, attached to 93d regiment.

86th reg. Ensign Hedderick and Craigh.

W. H. TROTTER, maj. 83d reg. acting deputy adj.-gen.

MARCH.

Admiralty-office, March 4.

This gazette contains a letter from capt. N. D. Cochrane, of the Kingfisher, to admiral Cochrane, dated off Barbadoes, Dec. 18, announcing the capture of the French privateer Elizabeth, from Guadaloupe, mounting 10 long sixes and four short nine-pounders, and 102 men, after a chase of 12 hours.—Admiral Cochrane, in a letter dated Dec. 31, announces the capture of 12 French and 9 Spanish vessels, taken by the ships under his command, between April 2 and December 31; together with five English vessels re-captured.

7. Yesterday the Royal Exchange and the whole neighbourhood of Cornhill were thrown into confusion, by an alarming fire, which broke out about twelve o'clock, at Gilham's chop-house, in Sweeting's-alley. The conflagration was occasioned by the chimney taking fire, the sparks of which fell on the roof and set it in a blaze. The engines arrived with promptitude, and by one o'clock the flames were extinguished. The damage is principally done to the upper part of the house. Shortly after the fire broke out, Mr. Gilham was impannelled with the jury, in the court of common pleas, and trying a cause, when one of his servants arrived to acquaint him with the misfortune of his family: he addressed the court, and was permitted to retire, after the parties in the cause had consented to abide by the verdict of the eleven jurors.

On Thursday last died, after a short indisposition, in the 75th year of his age, Henry Steward, gent. of Bury; who, in the year 1766, was, with Elizabeth Burroughs, tried for the murder of Mary Booty, his housekeeper—the former of whom was acquitted, and the latter convicted and executed. About two hours previous to Mr. Steward's dissolution, he made his will, in the presence of Dr. White, Mr. Hubbard, and Mr. Woodward. After giving the dividends arising from 2000l. stock, 3 per cent. consols., for the benefit of the poor of Lavenham, and disposing of the remainder of his property chiefly to charitable uses, with great composure and firmness of mind, he desired the following declaration might be inserted in his will:—"I hereby solemnly declare that, expecting in a very short time to appear before my maker and judge, I am innocent, and know nothing of how poor Molly Booty came by her untimely death."

Admiralty-office, March 11.

This night's gazette contains a letter from lieut. Shields, of the Forward gun-brig, announcing the capture of the Rancune French privateer, pierced for 12 guns, but had only four mounted, with swivels and small arms.

Admiralty-office, March 22.

Copy of a letter from earl St. Vincent, K. B. admiral and commander in chief of his majesty's fleet

fleet employed, and to be employed, in the Channel, Soundings, or wherever else his majesty's service shall require, to William Marsden, esq. dated on board the Hibernia, in Falmouth harbour, the 19th inst.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, the enclosed copy of a letter from capt. Paget; and have great pleasure in expressing my admiration of the gallant exploit therein recorded.

I am, &c.

ST. VINCENT.

Egyptienne, off Cape Finisterre, March 9.

My lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that having received intelligence of a large French privateer being in the harbour of Muros, I decided on seizing the first opportunity of getting possession of her; I accordingly anchored his majesty's ship under my command off that port last night, and immediately sent the boats away to endeavour to cut her out, in which, I am happy to acquaint your lordship, they succeeded, though she was moored close to the beach, and under the protection of two batteries, which kept an incessant fire till she was towed clear of their range.

This vessel, which appears to be perfectly adapted for his majesty's service, proves to be L'Alcide, of Bourdeaux, a frigate-built ship, pierced for thirty-two guns, only two years old, and had, when last at sea, a complement of 240 men. This affair, so honourable to those who achieved it, was conducted by capt. Hanfield, who was ably supported by lieutenants Alleyn and Garthwaite, of the marines, the petty officers and boats' crews.

To account for that enterprising zealous officer, capt. Hanfield, being in the Egyptienne, I have to inform your lordship, that not having received an official communication of his promotion previous to our sailing, he volunteered, remaining in the ship as first lieutenant during the cruise.

I have, &c.

CHARLES PAGET.

The earl of St. Vincent, admiral of the red, and commander in chief, &c.

Admiralty-office, March 24.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, from vice-admiral sir John Thomas Duckworth, K. B. commanding a squadron of his majesty's ships, addressed to William Marsden, esq. and brought to England by capt. Nathaniel Day Cochrane, were yesterday received at the Admiralty:—

Superb, to leeward of the town of St. Domingue, about twelve leagues, Feb. 7, 1806.

Sir,

As I feel it highly momentous for his majesty's service, that the lords commissioners of the admiralty should have the earliest information of the movements of the squadron under my command, and as I have no other vessel than the Kingfisher that I feel justified in dispatching, I hope neither their lordships or vice-admiral lord Collingwood will deem me defective in my duty towards his lordship by addressing you on the happy event of yesterday; and as you will receive my letter of the 3d inst. herewith, I shall only say, I lost not a moment in getting through the Mona Passage, and on the 6th in

the afternoon was joined by the Magicienne, with a further corroboration from various vessels spoken, of an enemy's force of ten sail of the line, with as many frigates and corvettes, being in these seas; I therefore continued under easy sail for the night, in my approach off the town of St. Domingue, having given orders to capt. Dunn, of the Acasta, whose zeal and activity I have experienced for a series of years, to make sail with the Magicienne, capt. M'Kenzie, two hours before daylight, to reconnoitre; when at six o'clock the Acasta, to our great joy, made the signal for two of the enemy's frigates; and before seven, for nine sail at anchor: at half past, that they were getting under weigh. The squadron under my command then in close order, with sails set, and the Superb bearing my flag, leading, and approaching fast, so as to discover before eight o'clock, that the enemy were in a compact line, under all sail, going before the wind for Cape Nisto, to windward of Ocoa Bay; and as they consisted of only five sail of the line, two frigates, and a corvette (which hereafter will be named), I concluded, from the information I was in possession of, that they were endeavouring to form a junction with their remaining force, and in consequence shaped my course to render abortive such intention, which was completely effected by a little after nine, so as to make an action certain. I therefore telegraphed the squadron, that the principal object of attack would be the admiral and his seconds, and at three quarters past nine, for the ships to take stations for their mutual support, and engage the enemy as they got up, and a few minutes after, to engage as close as possible; when, at a short period after ten, the Superb closed upon the bow of the Alexander, the leading ship, and commenced the action; but after three broadsides she sheered off: the signal was now made for close action, and we were enabled to attack the admiral in the Imperial (formerly Le Vengeur), the fire of which had been heavy on the Northumberland, bearing the hon. rear-admiral Cochrane's flag. By this time, the movements of the Alexander had thrown her among the lee division, which rear-admiral Louis happily availed himself of, and the action became general, and continued with great severity till half-past eleven; when the French admiral, much shattered, and completely beat, hauled direct for the land, and not being a mile off, at twenty minutes before noon ran on shore, his foremast then only standing, which fell directly on her striking: at which time the Superb, being only in seventeen fathom water, was forced to haul off to avoid the same evil; but not long after the Diomede, of 84 guns, pushed on shore near his admiral, when all his masts went; and I think it a duty I owe to character and my country to add, from the information of sir Edward Berry, after she had struck, and the Agamemnon desisting from firing into her, from the captain taking off his hat, and making every token of surrender; and captain Dunn assures me, both ensign and pendant were down, to comment on which, I leave to the world. About fifty minutes after eleven the firing ceased, and upon the smoke clearing away, I found Le Brave, bearing a commodore's pendant, the Alexander and Le Jupiter, in our possession.

When

When I contemplate on the result of this action, where five sail of the line had surrendered, or were apparently destroyed, in less than two hours, I cannot, though bound to pay every tribute to the noble and gallant efforts of the hon. rear-admiral Cochrane, rear-admiral Louis, the captains, officers, seamen, and royal marines under my command, be vain enough to suppose, that without the aiding hand of Providence, such result would have been effected, and with a loss so comparatively small; and though I shall ever sympathise with the connections of those that fell, the reflection on the cause will, I hope, afford much consolation.

To speak individually to the conduct of any one, would be injurious to all; for all were equally animated with zealous ardour in support of their king and country. Yet, possessed of these feelings, I cannot be silent without injustice to the firm and manly support for which I was indebted to captain Keats, and the effect that the system of discipline and good order, in which I found the Superb, must ever produce; and the pre-eminence of the British seamen could never be more highly conspicuous than in this contest.

After the action, the water being too deep to anchor in the Bay of St. Domingue, it was requisite to bring-to with the prizes to repair damages, put the ships in a manageable state, and shift the prisoners, which took me till this afternoon, when I detached the hon. captain Stopford, in the Spencer, with the Donegal and Atlas, which latter had lost her bowsprit, with the prizes to Jamaica; and being anxious, with rear-admiral Cochrane, that he should return to his command, where his services must be wanted, a jury mainmast is fitting to the Northumberland, under this island, to enable her to get to windward, when I shall order the Agamemnon, which is staying by her, to accompany the rear-admiral to his station: and I am now proceeding with the Canopus, rear-admiral Louis, Acasta, and Magicienne, off St. Domingue, to make certain of the Imperial and Diomede being completely wrecked, after which I shall repair to Jamaica.

Having recited the transactions of this glorious combat, which will fairly add another sprig of laurel to our naval history, and assist in promoting our country's good,

I am, sir, &c.

J. T. DUCKWORTH.

Superb, off St. Domingue, Feb. 7, 1806.

Sir,

For the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, I send you herewith a list of the killed and wounded in the squadron under my command during the action of yesterday; but as it was hastily collected, should I find any errors they shall be amended by a subsequent opportunity. You will also have the French captains' statement of their loss in the captured ships; and I can venture to say, the French admiral's will not be in a less proportion; and the striking of the Diomede implies she did not escape the irresistible fire of his majesty's ships. A copy of my public thanks given to the admirals, captains, &c. for having so gallantly performed their duty in this truly and decisive action, I request you will lay before their lordships. I am, sir, &c.

J. T. DUCKWORTH.

To W. Marsden, esq.

BRITISH LINE.

WEATHER DIVISION.

Superb, - - - of 74 guns.
Northumberland, 74
Spencer, - - 74
Agamemnon, - 64

LEE DIVISION.

Canopus, - - of 84 guns.
Donegal, - - - 74
Atlas, - - - - 74

Frigates—Acasta, Magicienne, Kingfisher, and Epervier.

FRENCH LINE.

L'Alexandre, of 84 guns; 300 killed and wounded—taken.

L'Imperial, of 120 guns; number of killed and wounded not known, but certainly many—on shore, and completely wrecked.

Le Diomede, of 84 guns; number of killed and wounded not known, but certainly many—on shore, and completely wrecked.

Le Jupiter, of 74 guns; 200 killed and wounded—taken.

Le Brave, of 74 guns; 260 killed and wounded—taken.

Frigates.—La Felicité, escaped; La Comete, escaped.

Corvette.—La Diligence, escaped

Imperial, { contre adm. Le Siegle. / capitaine Le Pigot.
Alexandre, capitaine Garreau.
Brave, - ——— Conde.
Diomede, ——— Henry.
Jupiter, - ——— Laignel.

An abstract of the killed and wounded on board the respective ships of the squadron under the command of vice-admiral sir John Thomas Duckworth, K. B. in the action of the 6th of Feb., 1806, in the bay of the town of St. Domingue.

SUPERB.

Seamen killed—John Brookbank, Thomas Phenne, Isaac Legard. Marines killed—Thomas Kenry, William Morgan, Clement Alcock. Total—6 killed.

Officers wounded—Charles Patriarch, lieut., badly; Wm. Pickering, master, badly; Charles Wallington, Thomas Jackson, Joseph Bullen, James Willcox, midshipmen, all slightly.

Seamen wounded — Thomas Richards, John Willson, Alexander M'Donald, all dangerously; Nathaniel Hasset, John Nightingale, James Cotte, James Willson, William Jones, Philip Jones, all badly; David Davis, Henry Walker, William Moody, T. Grills, John Wallbrook, John Henderson, John Badcock, John Neil, Bryan Swiney, James Clegg, Andrew Rawn, William Henry Leaver, John Handy (boy), James English, Patrick Murphy, Thomas Tyler, George Rock, John Reading, Andrew M'Donald, John Williams, Michael Mileday, R. Longo, Thomas Ryat, Philip Brooks, William Moffatt, Jos. Lotham, George Browne, John Haylor, Jos. Legg, Andrew M'Kearkin, George Scott, all slightly. Total—40 wounded.

Royal marines wounded—James Quarman, dangerously; Samuel Paradice, John Keimar, both badly; Thomas Getting, James Thomas, Thomas Warmood, John Donough, Daniel Roberts, A. Osser, all slightly. Total—9 wounded.

Recapitulation—No officers killed; 7 officers wounded; 3 seamen killed; 40 seamen wounded; 3 royal marines killed; 9 royal marines wounded. Total—6 killed and 56 wounded,—62.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Officer killed—David Ridgeway, midshipman.

Seamen killed—James Driscole, Robert Hollis, George Ugler, John Humphries, Alexander Tosh, Richard

ard Aspman, John Muir, Thomas Rowe, John Gardner, Kenneth M'Kenzie, Thomas Smith (2), John Coutee, William Shortman, John Kennedy, Jas. Morrison, William Robinson, John Waters, John Naseby.

Marine killed—Jacob Seaford.

Admiral's cook killed—Alexander Sapenack.

Officers wounded—Geo. F. Seymour, lieut., badly; William Millard, C. W. Selwyn, midshipmen, badly; Hen. Stokes, —— Comer, P. Peacock, midshipmen, slightly; Jerem. Laurence, supernumerary midshipman, badly; Daniel Sheridan, boatswain's mate, badly; Louis Lape, French pilot, badly.

Seamen wounded—Thomas Huskins, George Martin, Wm. Western, James Rogers, Manuel Say, John Chester, James Scott, Michael Atkinson, Thomas M'Carty, Alex. M'Cloudy, John Laurence, John Davy, Lewis Grant, Robert Hunter, William Cody, John Cullam, Thomas Kenyon, Joseph Bell, Peter Johnson, Thomas Grampus, William Watson, John George, Robert Wilson, Michael Hunt, Peter Kelly, John Casey, H. Jacobs, all badly; John Rowan, William Duncan, Robert White, Michael Landy, Daniel Connell, Henry Roach, Michael Perrith, Godfrey Hyer, John Holmes, Baptiste Belville, Hedrick Aubert, Thomas Evans, Michael Manning, John Bowre, Alexander Law, Calwin Swift, Edward Teale (boy), Charles Hardy, all slightly.

Secretary's clerks wounded —— —— Thomas, badly; Jeremiah Honey, slightly.

Quarter-master wounded.—G. Lamb, slightly.

Boatswain's mates wounded.—James Maxwell, John Ellender, slightly.

Serjeant of marines wounded—Thomas Jones, badly.

Private marines wounded—Joseph Sparkes, Edward Davis, Thomas Jones, John Pullen, Thomas Hodgets, William Williams, John Palmer, William Cannon, John M'Gowan, John Adams, James Rogers, all badly; William Clerk, F. Davis, Thomas Lynch, Francis Murphy, George Bishop, John Saville, all slightly.

Retinue wounded—James Ward, John Fulham, slightly.

Recapitulation—1 petty officer killed; 13 officers wounded; 19 seamen killed; 48 seamen wounded; 1 marine killed; 18 marines wounded. Total—21 killed, and 79 wounded—100.

CANOPUS.

(Return of names not sent.)—8 killed, 15 badly wounded, 7 slightly wounded. Total—30 killed and wounded.

SPENCER.

(Return of names not sent.)—14 seamen killed; 40 seamen wounded; 3 marines killed; 6 marines wounded.

Name of officer killed—Martin Oates, boatswain.

Names of officers wounded—Hon. Robert Stopford, cap., slightly; James Harris, lieut., slightly; James Cuthbertson, lieutenant of marines, badly; William Neame, midshipman, slightly.

Recapitulation—1 officer killed; 4 officers wounded; 14 seamen killed; 40 seamen wounded; 3 marines killed; 6 marines wounded. Total—18 killed and 50 wounded—68.

DONEGAL.

Officer killed—Charles H. Kynaston, midshipman.

Seamen killed—William Upham, Jeremiah Wakely, William Bickhuss, Andrew Vinburgh, Mar-

van Richardson, Benito Rodrigues, Lennard Mason.

Private marines killed—Wm. Moore, Patrick Kenefick, Edward Triphurst, John Millichamp.

Officers wounded—Mr. John Airey, master; Mr. Russell; Mr. —— Ogleun; Mr. —— Acton, all badly.

Seamen and marines wounded—John Owens, Peregrine Brighton, John Hutchson, James Elliott, David Perkins, Richard Curtis, Thomas Willson, Joseph Williams, James Herriott, Thomas Murray, John Chadwick, John Butcher, all badly; Thomas Hughes, Joseph Stanby, Thomas Dacres, Wm. Tolly, Thomas Cooper, Rd. Lewis, Henry Moore, Rt. Casie, Daniel Blaney, James Othew, John Masson, James Rees, John Cussens, John Owen, Wm. Jones, Thomas M'Clay, Henry Shedley.

Recapitulation—1 petty officer killed; 4 officers wounded; 7 seamen killed; 33 seamen and marines wounded; 4 marines killed. Total—12 killed, and 37 wounded—49.

ATLAS.

Seamen killed—John Ross, John Neville, John Graves, Wm. Bond, John Williamson, John Brown, Nich. Bokman.

Marine killed—Sam. Chambers.

Master wounded—Mr. William Mowbray.

Boatswain wounded—Mr. Stephen Spargo.

Seamen wounded—M. Redman, Joshua Barbau, John Henley, Thomas M'Bride, Samuel Chubb, Wm. Robinson.

Recapitulation—No officer killed; 2 officers wounded; 7 seamen killed; 9 seamen wounded; 1 marine wounded. Total—8 killed and 11 wounded, 4 of which badly, (names not expressed)—19.

AGAMEMNON.

Seaman killed—J. Cavanagh.

Boatswain's mate wounded—Richard Busto.

Seamen wounded—John Morgan, Alexander M'Farlane, Robert Bocock, Eman Joseph.

Serjeant of marines wounded—William Norton.

Corporal of marines wounded—Roger Sturgeon.

Private marines wounded—B. Kellen, Timothy Reilly, John Robertson, Nicholas Cooke, William Cole, J. Hallett.

Recapitulation—1 seaman killed; 5 seamen wounded; 8 marines wounded. Total—1 killed and 13 wounded—14.

General abstract of killed and wounded.

Superb.—6 killed and 56 wounded—62.

Northumberland.—21 killed and 79 wounded—100.

Canopus.—8 killed and 22 wounded—30.

Spencer.—18 killed and 50 wounded—68.

Donegal.—12 killed and 37 wounded—49.

Atlas.—8 killed and 11 wounded—19.

Agamemnon.—1 killed and 13 wounded—14.

Total—64 killed and 294 wounded.

Grand total of British killed and wounded—338.

J. T. DUCKWORTH.

Superb, off St. Domingue, Feb. 7, 1806.

As it is impossible for language to convey an adequate sense of my feelings to the hon. rear-admiral Cochrane, for the noble support rendered me by the Northumberland, or to rear-admiral Louis, and the captains of the squadron under my command, for the bravery and judg-

judgment displayed in the service of their king and country, by effecting a complete victory in as short a period as our naval annals can produce, I therefore can only, with a heart impressed by the highest sense of admiration and approbation, beg to offer to the hon. rear-admiral Cochrane, rear-admiral Louis, the captains, officers, and seamen, and to the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates of the royal marines, my warmest thanks; and I desire that the captains will convey those my sentiments of admiration and approbation, with thanks, in the most gratifying manner, to the officers, seamen and royal marines, as a proof of my high sense of their services in the battle of yesterday.

J. T. DUCKWORTH.

To the hon. rear-admiral Cochrane, rear-admiral Louis, the captains, officers, seamen, and royal marines.

Superb, to leeward of the town of St. Domingue, Feb. 8, 1806.

Sir,

Having, in a letter of about two hours since, acquainted you of my intentions to fire the Imperial and Diomede, I have the satisfaction now to say, that captain Dunn, whom I had employed in that service, has rescued all the prisoners from perishing through a tremendous sea, and completed the whole of the service highly to my satisfaction and his own honour, which I am to desire you will state to the lords commissioners of the admiralty; and I am, sir, yours, &c.

J. T. DUCKWORTH.

To William Marsden, esq.

Admiralty-office, March 28.

This gazette contains letters from admiral Dacres, and captains Hall and Mackenzie, of the Malabar and Wolf, dated at Jamaica, 2d and 13th of January, announcing the capture of two large French privateers, viz. Le Regulateur, of one long 18 and 4 brass six-pounders, and 80 men, and Le Napoleon, of one long nine, two 12lb. carronades, two fours, and 66 men, after an action of an hour and three-quarters with the Wolf, in which the latter lost two men killed, and four wounded.—Le Regulateur, on being towed out of the bay of Azatacleroes, Island of Cuba, sunk, with a seaman of the Malabar on board.—The crews of the privateers escaped on shore.

FROM THE DUBLIN GAZETTE, March 29.

This day about three o'clock, the earl of Hardwicke, late lord-lieut. of Ireland, left the Castle, in order to embark on board his majesty's yacht the Dorset, on his return to England.

His grace the duke of Bedford, lord-lieutenant, and the earl of Hardwicke went together from the Castle in the state coach, preceded by the leading coaches, in which were the officers of state, to the South Wall, where the yacht lay. They were escorted by a squadron of dragoons, and attended by a great number of the nobility and persons of distinction; the lord mayor, sheriffs, several of the aldermen and principal citizens in their carriages, followed by a concourse of people to the water side; the streets were lined by the regiments of infantry on Dublin duty. The earl of Hardwicke received every demonstration of respect, in passing through the streets, from the people, who testified their regard by repeated wishes for his welfare and safe return to England.

APRIL.

Downing-street, April 7, 1806.

A dispatch from major-general sir David Baird, commanding his majesty's troops at the Cape of Good Hope, dated 26th January last, addressed to lord viscount Castlereagh, has been received at the office of Mr. Secretary Windham, of which the following is an extract:

I had the honour to address your lordship on the 13th inst. relative to the situation of affairs in this colony, and I now proceed to submit to your lordship my subsequent operations against the Batavian forces, commanded by lieutenant-general Janssens, and which have terminated in the subjection of the whole colony.

According to my orders brigadier-general Beresford advanced with a detachment of the army on the 13th inst. to occupy the village of Stellenbosch, and secure the strong pass of Roode Sand, with a view to exclude the Batavian forces from that productive portion of the district, and to preserve to ourselves an undisturbed intercourse with the farmers below the Kloof. Lieutenant-general Janssens made no effort to dispute these objects, but contented himself with moving his forces to the summit of Hottentot Holland's Kloof, and there took post, waiting apparently to receive some overtures of pacification. Brigadier-general Beresford availed himself of this aspect of affairs to transmit to lieutenant-general Janssens a letter from me, and took that occasion of announcing that he was vested with powers to come to an accommodation with the lieutenant-general.

This proposition produced a truce for the purpose of carrying on a negotiation; but it were superfluous to occupy your lordship's time by detailing the various pretensions and arguments urged by lieutenant-general Janssens in objection to the terms I offered to his army; but the result thereof afforded so little prospect of accommodation, that I deemed it proper to move the 59th and 72d regiments to the Rhode Sand Kloof, and the 93d regiment towards Hottentot Holland, with a view to a combined operation with the 83d regiment, which had sailed on the 14th inst. for Moselle Bay, in order to throw itself into the enemy's rear, possess the Artaquos Pass, and, from that position, cut off his retreat through the district of Zwellendam.

Brigadier-general Beresford had acquiesced in the prolongation of the truce with general Janssens for a few hours, in the hope that further deliberation might dispose him to listen to the very honourable and advantageous terms I had offered him; and at the moment when every expectation of his renewing the negotiation had ceased, his military secretary, captain Debittz, waited upon me, and presented a modified draft of the terms originally proposed by me. On my declining to vary the conditions, captain Debittz solicited permission to refer my ultimatum to general Janssens; and was at length authorised to notify his acceptance of them.

In consequence of this notification I dispatched brigadier-general Beresford with directions to execute a treaty on the conditions first offered to general Janssens, and whereof I have now the honour to transmit your lordship an authenticated copy.

Articles

Articles of capitulation proposed by lieutenant-general Janssens, governor and commander in chief of the Batavian forces at the Cape of Good Hope, to brigadier-general Beresford, duly authorised by major-general sir David Baird, K.G. and commodore sir Home Popham, K.M. commanding the military and naval forces of his Britannic majesty.

Art. I. As soon as this capitulation is signed, the whole of the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, with all its dependencies, and the rights and privileges held and exercised by the Batavian government, will be considered as surrendered by the governor, lieutenant-general Janssens, to his Britannic majesty.—Ans. Agreed to.

Art. II. The Batavian troops are to march with all their baggage, arms, &c. to a place hereafter to be agreed upon, and retain every thing, as well what belongs to the state as to individuals, and be at liberty either freely to dispose of the same, or, if they prefer, take every thing away with them.—Ans. The Batavian troops shall march from their present camp within three days, or sooner if convenient, with their guns, arms, and baggage, and with all the honours of war, to Simon's Town. They shall retain all private property, and the officers their swords and horses.

But their arms, treasure, and all public property of every description, together with the cavalry and artillery horses, must be delivered up. In consideration, however, of their gallant conduct, the troops will be embarked and sent straight to Holland at the expense of the British government, and shall not be considered as prisoners of war, they engaging not to serve against his Britannic majesty, or his allies, until they have been landed in Holland.

Art. III. The battalion of Hottentot light infantry shall, with the rest of the troops, march to the place to be agreed upon, and there, being disbanded by general Janssens, shall be at liberty to return to their own country.—Ans. The Hottentot soldiers are to march to Simon's Town with the other troops, after which they will be either allowed to return to their own country, or be engaged in the British service, as they may think proper.

Art. IV. Under this capitulation shall be comprehended all military men, who, being wounded, have not been able to follow the army, and have fallen into the hands of the British.—Ans. These persons being already prisoners of war, any decision respecting them belongs only to the British commander in chief.

Art. V. The officers and men belonging to the Batavian army are to be subsisted at the expense of the British government until they are embarked.—Ans. Agreed to.

Art. VI. The troops shall be transported to such ports of the Batavian republic as shall be selected by lieutenant-general Janssens.—Ans. The troops, as in answer to the second article, shall be sent to some port in Holland.

Art. VII. The sick who cannot be removed with the other soldiers are to be attended at the expense of his Britannic majesty, and when recovered sent to Holland.—Ans. Agreed to.

Art. VIII. The inhabitants of the colony who are comprehended in this capitulation, are to enjoy the same rights and privileges as have been granted to those in Cape Town,

Town, according to the capitulation of the 10th instant.—Ans. Agreed to, with the exception of not quartering troops, the country not having the same resources as the town, and this right having been always an appendage to the Batavian government.

Art. IX. The troops whilst on board ship are to be accommodated and fed according either to the Dutch or English method, as is most beneficial to them.—Ans. The troops, when embarked, will be treated in every respect as British troops when on board transports.

Art. X. Lieutenant-general Janssens shall be at liberty to send home a dispatch to Holland, and will receive assistance from the British commanders in forwarding the same.—Ans. Agreed to.

Art. XI. The baron of Hogendorp having expended a great deal of money for the execution of agricultural plans, he shall be supported by the British government in carrying his plan into execution; and the British government shall grant unto him all such rights and privileges as, from the public records, it shall appear the Batavian government meant to have given him. —Ans. This article must be left entirely to the discretion of the future British governor or commanders.

Art. XII. If in this capitulation any thing doubtful may occur, it shall be bona fide construed to the benefit of the Batavian government. Ans. If any doubt should arise as to any article contained in this capitulation, it shall be decided according to what shall appear to be just and honourable, without any preference to either party.

Given under our hands and seals, this 18th day of January 1806, at the Hottentots Holland,

(Signed) J. W. Janssens.
W. C. Beresford,
Brig. gen.

Executed in the presence of
(Signed) J. A. Truter,
J. C. Smith.

Ratified and confirmed in the Castle of Good Hope, this 19th day of January 1806.

(Signed) David Baird,
Major-gen. commander in chief.
Home Popham,
Commodore, commanding his majesty's naval forces.

Admiralty-office, April 7, 1806.

Copy of a letter from the earl of St. Vincent, K. B. admiral and commander in chief of his majesty's fleet employed in the Channel, Soundings, &c. to W. Marsden, esq. dated on board his majesty's ship the Hibernia, off Ushant, April 1, 1806.

Sir,

I inclose, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, a copy of a letter which I this day received from lieutenant T. Usher, commanding his majesty's armed brig the Colpoys.

I am,

St. Vincent.

Colpoys hired brig, Plymouth, March 30, 1806.

My lord,

I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that cruising in his majesty's brig Colpoys, under my command, agreeably to the orders of admiral Cornwallis, on the 21st of this month, we chased three Spanish luggers into the port of Avillas; and, as we had a fine commanding breeze, I determined on following them in, notwithstanding the fire of a six gun bat-

tery

tery under which they ran, but which I considered the Colpoys as competent to silence. For this purpose we prepared for anchoring with springs; and, on arriving within the range of the enemy's guns, and before our carronades could be worked with effect, the wind died away. To draw the fire from the brig, and in order to lose no time in effecting my object, the two boats were immediately manned with volunteers, and, after pushing through a heavy fire of grape from the battery, and the musketry from a party of soldiers, which had been sent on board the vessels to defend them, I succeeded with six men, in the headmost boat, in boarding and carrying them, the enemy jumping over one side as we entered on the other; thirteen of them fell into our hands: the second boat, which pulled heavy, came up afterwards, and we succeeded in bringing them off. Notwithstanding the heavy fire of the enemy's battery of 24-pounders, two men only received any hurt; one of them, I am sorry to add, a dangerous wound, though, I hope, not mortal. I have felt it a duty I owe to the steady courage and perseverance of the master, mates, and crew of the Colpoys, to detail to your lordship the circumstances of this little enterprise, as they have universally shown the same determination in my support in other affairs the Colpoys has been engaged in since I have had the honour to command them. I annex, in the margin, for your lordships' information, the names of the captured vessels.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOMAS USHER.

Right hon. earl S^t. Vincent, &c.

Names of the captured vessels:—La Santa Buena Ventura, of two guns, laden with flax and steel. San Antonia, of two guns, laden with flax and steel. San Real, in ballast, and sent away with eleven prisoners.

Wounded:—Thomas Ash (severely), and John Robinson.

CARDIFF ASSIZES.

There was only one prisoner tried at these assizes, viz. Morgan William, charged with the wilful murder of Margaret William, his servant. The prisoner's servant had been committed on the same charge, but the grand jury did not find the bill against him.

In support of the prosecution it appeared, by the examination of the evidence, that one evening in October last, the prisoner, on returning home to supper, desired the deceased to get him some bread and butter; but that, not being satisfied as to the quantity, some words arose; and the deceased observing that the ghost of his brother had appeared to her, and that she had been informed by other persons that they had seen the same, he got up and laid hold of her, and shook her violently, struck her with his fist on the side, threw her on the ground and dragged her about, and gave her some blows with his hands and knees on the thighs and lower part of her belly. While the deceased was down she requested the witness, who was a servant of the prisoner, to assist her; but Morgan William, the son, desired him not to interfere, for the deceased had caused much mischief in the family. Soon after the woman appeared to be dead, and was lifted into a chair. Whilst she was in the chair the prisoner appeared to be in a distraction of grief, called her his dear Peggy, begged she would speak to him, and kissed her on the cheek. Some spirits were

were then put into her mouth, which the witness could not tell whether she swallowed or not, and she was afterwards taken up stairs on the shoulder of Morgan William, the son.

A boy, fifteen years old, stated that the prisoner desired him to say that the deceased had died in a fit, if any one asked him.

The funeral took place about the usual time after a natural death, at ten o'clock in the day-time, and was attended by the friends of the deceased.

Richard Griffith, esq. the coroner, deposed, that about ten days after the death an inquest was demanded, and that he had directed the body to be taken up. Upon examination there appeared many marks of violence on the thighs and lower part of the belly, evidently made by an obtuse instrument, and which he was convinced could not be the effect of natural corruption, nor the marks of any previous eruptive disease: that, being satisfied as to the cause of her death, he did not open the body. He admitted, however, that there might be some cases of sudden death which could only be discovered by a dissection of the parts. Upon being asked by the court what was his belief of the cause of the death of the deceased, he was decidedly of opinion that she died in consequence of the bruises she had received.

Dr. Turton, on behalf of the prisoner, said he was a physician residing at Swansea, and had sometimes seen cases of sudden death. Being desired to give his opinion as to the probability of discolourations of the skin appearing after death, in a very clear and scientific manner he informed the court, that the circulation of the blood is the last effort of existence; that, after the body is to outward appearance dead, circulation may be for some time going on, though in an imperceptible degree; that while circulation goes on, the vessels must be necessarily in action, and more or less full of blood; and that during this time, even after the appearance of dissolution, they may be broken by any violence or rough handling, and, discharging their contents, occasion discolourations of the skin. He likewise observed that there were various internal disorders and malformations of the organs, which might be exasperated by violent agitations of the passions or feelings so as to cause sudden death; that even the passions themselves, by an excess of exertion, might produce immediate death, by spasm, rupture of an artery, &c.; and that these various internal causes of sudden death can only be discovered by dissection.

The learned judge, in a speech of much energy and eloquence, recapitulated the evidence to the jury; and the latter, after retiring a few moments, brought in their verdict—Guilty of manslaughter.

On the following morning the judge passed sentence on the prisoner in the following impressive address:

"Morgan William, you are convicted of manslaughter alone, upon a charge of murder, which it was the express opinion of the court that your guilt had incurred, if the facts in evidence were believed. The jury, therefore, must either have set up their judgment of the law against ours, or have misunderstood the law as delivered by me, or have disbelieved the witnesses, or have been misled by the effect of your character as a peaceable and good-natured man. As,

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to their preference of their own law in direct and wilful opposition to that of the court, I cannot and will not believe it; in other words, I must not believe them to have abused their power and violated their duty. If I was misunderstood, it was not for want of all the efforts in my power to impress the rule and principle upon their minds with all the accuracy and precision which I could stamp upon them. As to the discredit of the witnesses, it happens that not one of them was impeached by yourself. No witnesses in my judicial experience ever delivered their testimonies with more delicacy or caution; one of them, unsolicited, marked in his evidence, that when you kicked this woman you had no shoes on. The difference in effect was trivial, but in his mind it occurred as a feature softening the outrage. The son of that father, a boy to whom you recommended a false account of the death in confidence, apart, and with him alone, is confirmed by the woman who laid out the deceased, and who represents that you told the same fiction to her. The evidence of the coroner and surgeon, Mr. Griffiths, to the cause of the death as occasioned by your violence, must have convinced the jury when they found you guilty of manslaughter. They must therefore have thought (with me) the evidence of Dr. Turton wasted and thrown away. He enlightened us with certain other causes of death, reconcileable to similar appearances, but which had no ground for them in the fact. His evidence therefore might have been spared. As to your character, if it were true, (and I will assume its truth,) it would prove that you have deceived your neighbours, and that you have deserved a character the reverse of that which has been given. Had a thousand witnesses called you "peaceable and good natured," this one transaction of pride and revenge would outweigh them all. The jury may have thought you did not mean to kill, and therefore could not be guilty of murder; in other words, may have thought you intended cruelty and mischief in the extreme to this defenceless woman, but short of death. If the fact here supposed were true, the opinion that it was therefore no murder would have been false; and it was reprobated by me with all the energy which, armed by the law, I could give to the opinions I delivered. But could they believe the fact, that you did not mean to kill; you that said the very minute before you made the first attack, "it was in your hands to kill her?" Perhaps they believe you were not master of your own reason, but were heated by passion from the moment of your first anger up to the very instant of this poor creature's death. Could they believe it? Could they believe you heated, when, after such a feather of provocation, you fell upon a defenceless person who did not raise her hand against you, beat her with your fist upon the bosom and thighs, kicked her, and when she was down pressed your knees upon several parts of her body, inflicting blows and contusions even upon her waist? Could they believe you were heated, when, upon her affecting appeal to her fellow-servant, you commanded him to desist from any help to her? Could they believe that you had no deliberate hatred in your mind, when there is not one mark of your penitence and remorse? Your "distraction" was the horror of momentary panic, and it came too late. But it was followed up,

up, in a very short period, by the command of a most wicked falsehood, in cold blood, impressed upon one of your servants,—a falsehood asserted the very next morning by yourself. Hundreds have been executed for murders less aggravated and less cruel. It is the second instance in the county of Glamorgan, since my judicial intercourse with it, (and I shall, after this acquittal, fear that it will not be the last,) of a master's tyranny to a servant ending in death and in murder. Whatever motives of judgment or of conscience induced the jury to deliver this verdict, it will be long felt as a deep stain upon the county, "that such guilt as yours could escape," though I impute no blame to the mercy which I cannot understand.

"You have taught your son to resemble you. He did venture to entreat that you would arrest your murdering hand: But when? After the victim had expired. He had previously fomented your bitterness against this wretched creature by telling that idle story of the ghost, which you resented by killing her. When he addressed himself to her, supposing her to be alive, it was in terms of unfeeling insult: "You have done (said he) mischief enough, go to bed." God of mercy! are servants to be thus treated? Is it in this generous island that we can hear of such tyrannies? Had the jury convicted you of the murder, not all your opulence, or the interest it could make, would have given to the short interval between your sentence and your death one additional hour. Who would imagine that I am talking all this time of manslaughter, which is, in its legal acceptance, heated passion, or a wanton act with no peril of life, but ending, by accident unforeseen, in death? The jury would themselves ignorantly tell us, that if it be not murder it is very near it, and is the most aggravated of manslaughter, which, of course, would call upon us to inflict an exemplary punishment upon such an offender. In truth, it is a murder; it is nothing else. Not one feature of the mitigated crime appears. It is at the best a depraved and cruel outrage, endangering life, and ending in the death for which it was calculated; but at the worst it is also deliberation in cold blood, and with a decided purpose to kill; in both of these views it is equally a murder. Yet how to punish it under its name of manslaughter is a difficulty. We are crippled, and yet it is no dishonour to the law that we are, for it never supposed that a case like this could have the name of manslaughter stamped upon it by a verdict. We cannot imprison for the offence to which your guilt has been softened by the verdict, for more than one year. The additional punishment of burning in the hand for manslaughter (properly understood) was absurd and cruel, or both. But in a case like this, one half-laments that it has been superseded. Branded, however, you are still to be—conscience will inflict that penalty; the abhorrence of your character in every feeling heart will pollute your path and your bed. The day will come when this murder, as I call it still, (and by its true name,) will sit heavily upon your soul, unless the guilt is deeply repented before that hour shall come. The only punishment which is now to be added by the court, instead of burning in the hand, is fine. As your fortune is ample, and as we are desirous to mark our sense of your guilt, we should make that fine exemplary

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as well as penal. But here again we are crippled; for the law, contemplating what is manslaughter, (not a case like yours,) has told us that it must be a moderate fine. Upon what principle I cannot imagine, but the court has in general considered the word moderate as intending a nominal fine, and has deemed it satisfied in aggravated manslaughter by a shilling. We have upon former occasions broke in upon that judicial habit elsewhere, and are willing to embrace the odium of the singularity. In your case we impose 50l. as the fine, the most ample that was perhaps ever inflicted upon a manslaughter, but still, if compared with your guilt, moderate in our view of it, and reconcileable to a sound exercise of discretion,—so moderate, that if it was not for that word we should have made it four times heavier. Your sentence therefore is, that you be imprisoned for one year in the county gaol, that you pay 50l. as a fine, and be imprisoned until that fine is paid.

8. About two o'clock this morning the neighbourhood of East Smithfield was alarmed by a dreadful crash, like the rolling of thunder, when it was immediately discovered that a stack of chimneys, in the centre of two very old houses, in Back-lane, near the extremity of Rosemary-lane, had fallen in, carrying along with it the houses themselves, down to the ground-floor, and overwhelming the unfortunate inhabitants in one common ruin. Every assistance was instantly procured, but not less than fifteen persons, male and female, suffered more or less. It is supposed that there were not less than fifty or sixty persons within the walls at the time. One woman was dug out of the rubbish quite dead; another so much bruised that she has since died.

Admiralty-office, April 22.

Inclosures from the earl of St. Vincent, dated on board the Hibernia, off Ushant, April 14, 1806.

Prince of Wales, off Rochefort, April 9.

My lord,

I have the honour to transmit to your lordship a copy of the letter I have this day received from capt. lord Cochrane, of his majesty's ship Pallas, under my orders. It will not be necessary for me, my lord, to comment on the intrepidity and good conduct displayed by lord Cochrane, his officers and men, in the execution of a very hazardous enterprise in the Garonne; a river the most difficult, perhaps, in its navigation of any on this coast. The complete success that attended it, as well as the destruction of the vessels of war, mentioned in the said letter, on the coast of Arcassore, bespeaks their merits more fully than is in my power to do; to which may be fairly added, that nothing can evince more clearly the high state of discipline of the crew of the Pallas than the humanity shown by them to the enemy in the conflict.

EDW. THORNBOROUGH.

The earl of St. Vincent.

Pallas, off Chasseron, April 8.

Sir,

Having received information, which proved correct, of the situation of the corvettes in the river of Bourdeaux, a little after dark, on the evening of the 5th, the Pallas was anchored close to the shoal of Cordovan; and it gives me satisfaction to relate, that, about three o'clock, the national corvette La Tapageuse, of 14 long 12-pounders and

and 95 men, which had the guard, was boarded, carried, and cut out, about 20 miles above the shoals, within two heavy batteries, in spite of all resistance, by the first-lieutenant Mr. Haswell, Mr. Sutherland the master, Messrs. Perkins, Crawford, and Thompson, together with the quarter-masters, and such of the seamen, the serjeants, and marines, as were fortunate enough to find place in the boats. The tide of flood ran strong at day-light. La Tapageuse made sail; a general alarm was given; a sloop of war followed, and an action continued, often within hail, till, by the same bravery by which the Tapageuse was carried, the sloop of war, which had been before saved by the rapidity of the current alone, after about an hour's firing was compelled to sheer off, having suffered as much in the hull as the Tapageuse in the rigging. The conduct of the officers and men will be justly appreciated. With confidence I shall now beg leave to recommend them to the notice of the lords commissioners of the admiralty. It is necessary to add, that the same morning, when at anchor, waiting for the boats (which, by the bye, did not return till this morning), three ships were observed bearing down towards the Pallas, making many signals: they were soon perceived to be enemies. In a few minutes the anchor was weighed, and, with the remainder of the officers and crew, we chased, drove on shore, and wrecked, one national 24-gun ship, one of 22 guns, and La Malicieuse, a beautiful corvette of 18 guns; their masts went by the board, and they were involved in a sheet of spray. All in this ship showed good zeal for his majesty's service. The warrant officers, and Mr. Tattnal, midshipman, supplied the place of those commissioned. The absence of lieutenant Mappleton is to be regretted; he would have gloried in the expedition with the boats. The assistance rendered by Mr. Drummond, of the royal marines, was such as might have been expected. Subjoined is a list of the wounded, together with the vessels captured and destroyed since the 26th ultimo.

COCHRANE.

Admiral Thornborough.

Killed—None. Wounded—3.

Vessels taken or destroyed—Le Dessaix, chasse maree, taken; L'Isle d'Aix, ditto, taken; La Pomone brig, taken; a large brig, burnt; a chasse maree, wrecked.

National ships—La Tapageuse, of 14 guns and 95 men, taken; La Malicieuse, of 18 guns, wrecked; imperial ship, of 24 guns, wrecked; imperial ship of 22 guns, wrecked.

[This gazette also contains a letter from capt. Brace, of his majesty's ship Virginie, giving an account of his having, on the 9th instant, captured the Spanish schooner privateer Vengador, of 14 guns and 82 men.]

Admiralty-office, April 26.

This gazette contains an inclosure from admiral Young, of a letter from capt. T. M. Allan, of the Hind revenue cutter, dated off Catwater, April 21. It states, that on the 18th the cutter fell in with a French brig privateer of 14 guns, three leagues N. N. E. of Scilly. She fired a broadside and a volley of musketry, and then crowded all sail to get off; but, after a running fight for three hours, she struck to the Hind, and proved to be L'Intrepide, of St. Maloes, of 14 guns, eight of which were in the hold. The captain and two of the crew were killed, and two wounded. The

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Hind had none either killed or wounded. The privateer had been out 20 days, and had captured four vessels.

An inclosure from sir A. Cochrane contains a letter from capt. J. Smyth, of the Woolverine, dated January 31, 60 leagues to the windward of Barbadoes, and announcing the capture of the French schooner privateer La Petite Confiance, of three guns and 50 men: and another from capt. Barker, of the Grenada brig, dated off Grenada, February 18, stating the capture of the French schooner letter of marque Princess Murat, having two 42-pounders, one 9-pounder, and several swivels, with 52 men. The enemy had three men killed and seven wounded; on board the Grenada, Mr. Atkins, the master, was wounded, and a boy killed. The enemy's guns were mounted in such a manner as to enable them to bear at the same time in any direction. Captain Barker bestows great praise on Mr. Malone, sub-lieutenant, Mr. Atkins, Mr. Briggs, midshipmen, and a party of the 60th regiment, who were serving as marines, as well as on the whole of the crew.

A letter from capt. Younghusband, of L'Heureux, to W. Marsden, esq. announces the capture of La Bellone French privateer, of 14 9-pounders and 117 men; and of La Bocume privateer, of three guns and 60 men. La Bellone had on board 8000 dollars, being her owner's share of a prize which they had carried into Cayenne.

Admiralty-office, April 29.

This gazette contains a letter from capt. Stockham, of the Thunderer, to lord Collingwood, announcing the capture of a Spanish schooner privateer, of 14 guns and 67 men, from Bayonne. She had been out 15 days, and had captured a Swede, a Hamburgher, and a Dane; which last was retaken by the Thunderer.

CEREMONIAL OF THE TRIAL OF LORD MELVILLE.

First day, Tuesday, April 29.

At 10, the speaker of the house of commons came to the house, and in a short time took the chair. He then dispatched the serjeant at arms to clear the passages, and about half-past 10 proceeded to the bar of the house; when the members, being called over according to their counties, proceeded to Westminster Hall. At 37 minutes past 10, Mr. Whitbread appeared, and, preceding the other managers by a few paces, repaired to the box prepared for them. He was followed by Mr. Fox, lords Howick, H. Petty, A Hamilton, and Robert Spencer, and the rest of the members of the commons associated with him in conducting the impeachment. They were all in court dresses. As soon as the managers were seated, the other members of the house of commons came in, according to the order in which their names had been called over; but took their seats indiscriminately on the benches prepared for them, on the right of the hall, looking from the throne which is placed at the upper end, close to the steps ascending to the courts of king's bench and chancery. When the members had been all seated some minutes, the speaker entered, and took his seat in the chair prepared for him, in the middle of the front row of the benches of the commons. The number of members present was near 500:

but the whole of the space prepared for the house of commons was not occupied; the gallery behind the managers' box being not above one-fourth full. About 11, the lords moved from their own chamber of parliament, the clerks of parliament first, the masters of chancery following them, next the serjeants, then the judges; after them a herald, and then the elder sons of peers, and peers minor; then, after the ushers, the

Barons, 2 and 2.	Marquises.
Bishops.	Dukes.
Viscounts.	Archbishops.
Earls.	Ld. Chancellor.

In about five minutes after the speaker had taken his seat, the procession from the house of lords began to enter the hall. First came Messrs. Rose and Cowper, clerks of the lords; next, the masters of chancery, then the judges. The heralds at arms next appeared, who were followed by the bishops, barons, and viscounts. After an interval of a quarter of an hour, the peers of the degree of earl came in, followed by the chancellor. At this time lord Melville entered the court from the bottom of the hall, and, proceeding round the counsel's box, took his place inside the bar, immediately behind the barons' bench, and just before Messrs. Adam and Plomer, his counsel. His lordship was in a court dress, bottle green, with cut steel buttons; he was unrobed, and sat with his face towards the box of the managers of the impeachment. He displayed a manly composure, and was particularly attentive to the opening speech of Mr. Whitbread. In the box allotted to lord Melville's counsel, Mr. Robert Dundas, lord Melville's son, sat, exhibiting a very dignified and interesting union of sensibility and firmness. His conduct in the house of commons, in the most trying discussions relative to lord Melville's conduct, had previously established a general feeling of respect for his character, which he sustained very well by his becoming deportment this day. After the earls, the marquises, dukes, the abp. of York, the primate, and the lord chancellor, entered in order; the princes of the blood royal being last in the procession, which was closed by the prince of Wales. All the peers bowed to the speaker of the house of commons as they passed by, and, advancing in front of the throne, each peer made obeisance, and proceeded to his place. All the peers were habited in the full robes of their respective ranks. As soon as they were seated, silence was proclaimed, under pain of imprisonment, by the serjeant at arms, who made the following proclamation:

"Oyez! Oyez! Oyez! Whereas charges of high crimes and misdemeanors have been exhibited by the honourable the house of commons, in the name of themselves and of all the commons of Great Britain, against Henry lord viscount Melville; all persons concerned are to take notice, that he now stands upon his trial; and those who have any thing to offer against him may come forth, in order to make good the said charges."

Mr. Whitbread stated, that he had, in the name of the house of commons, and all the commons of Great Britain and Ireland, exhibited articles of impeachment against lord Melville; and declared that he was now ready to make good the same.

The lord chancellor having put the question whether the charges should be read, Mr. Rose proceed-

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ed to read the articles of impeachment, which occupied 40 minutes. Lord Melville's answer was next read. The tenth, or additional charge, was read in like manner, as well as lord Melville's answer to that particular charge, and his protest against it. These took up about 7 minutes more.

The lord chancellor now addressed himself to lord Melville and the managers, and informed them that they were to address whatever they had to offer, to the peers, and not to the chancellor. His lordship then retired from the woolsack, and took his seat in a chair at the clerk's table. His lordship's seat on the woolsack was then occupied by the prince of Wales, who had hitherto sat beside him. On the left hand of his royal highness were the dukes of Clarence and Kent; on the right the duke of York. The dukes of Cumberland, Cambridge, and Gloucester, stood the greater part of the time, the seats for the peers not being sufficient to accommodate more than three-fourths of the number who attended.

As soon as the chancellor was seated at the table, a pause of a few minutes took place, during which the whole of the numerous and splendid assemblage present were filled with anxious expectation. Mr. Whitbread then stood up, and addressed the peers, in one of the most eloquent, nervous, and at the same time liberal speeches that ever was heard, in support of the charges. He spoke for three hours and three quarters; and during every moment of that long time was heard with unwearied attention by every one present. He began at a quarter past 12, and concluded a few minutes before 4, amidst a general buzz of admiration. The lord chancellor returned immediately to the woolsack, and adjourned the court till next day. From the excellent arrangements adopted by the lord chamberlain, and his son, the hon. Mr. Burrell, who acted as his deputy, the company got out with the greatest ease. All had reached their carriages before 5 o'clock. The duchess of York was the only female present of the royal family.

MAY.

Admiralty-office, May 3.

This gazette contains two letters from capt. Younghusband, of L'heureux, to adm. Cochrane. The first is dated off Trinidad, Jan. 15, and announces the capture of the Spanish letter of marque Amelia, of eight 6-pounders and 40 men, with a valuable cargo of dry goods and wine; and the Spanish brig Solidad, from Cadiz to Vera Cruz, with brandy and wine.—The other, dated off Barbadoes, March 10, states the capture of the French privateer Le Huron, of 18 guns and 130 men. The privateer had her captain, second-lieutenant, and 2 men killed, and 7 wounded.

A letter from capt. Collier, of the Woolverine, to adm. Cochrane, states, that he captured on the 12th of March, the French schooner La Tremeuse, of 3 guns and 29 men, from Guadaloupe. Another from lieut. Briarly, of the Steady, dated Dec. 24, mentions his having proceeded in the Brilliant schooner, with a launch, to Pardo Bay, on the Spanish coast, and taken a row-boat privateer, with a schooner and two sloops which she had captured.

Captain sir E. Berry writes to the same admiral, dated March 30, informing him of the capture, by

the Agamemnon and the Heureux, of La Dame Ernouf schooner, from Guadaloupe, of 17 guns and 150 men.

Lieutenant Shackleton, of the Rebuff, in a letter to sir J. Saumarez, states, that on the 26th ult. he captured La Sorciere French privateer, from St. Maloes, of 16 guns and 46 men.

Admiralty-office, May 6.

Copy of a letter from sir John Borlase Warren, bart. and K. B. vice-admiral of the blue, &c. to William Marsden, esq. dated on board his majesty's ship Foudroyant, at sea, the 14th of March 1806.

Sir,

I request you will communicate to their lordships, that at half-past three *a. m.* on the 13th of March, his majesty's ship the London, which I had stationed to windward of the squadron, having wore, and made the signal for some strange sails, I directed the squadron to wear likewise upon the larboard tack, the wind being at W. S. W. and, as day-light appeared, made the signal for a general chase: soon afterwards the London was observed in action with a large ship and a frigate, and continued supporting a running fire with those ships, which were endeavouring to escape, until half past seven, when the Amazon, being the advanced ship, pursued also and engaged the frigate, which was attempting to bear away. The remainder of the squadron approached fast upon the enemy (and the action having continued from before day-light until forty-three minutes after nine *a. m.*); the line of battle ship, bearing the flag of a rear-admiral, struck; and at fifty-three minutes past the above hour the frigate also followed her example; when an officer came on board the Foudroyant with admiral Linois's sword, and informed me that the ships which had surrendered to his majesty's colours were the Marengo of 80 guns, 740 men, and the Belle Poule, of 40 guns, eighteen-pounders, and 320 men, returning to France from the East Indies; these ships being the remainder of the French squadron which had committed so much depredation upon the British commerce in the Eastern world. I have much satisfaction in stating the meritorious and gallant conduct of captains sir Harry Neale and William Parker, supported by the zeal and bravery of the officers and crews of their respective ships, who claim my warmest thanks and acknowledgments; and whose exertions, I hope, will recommend them to their lordships' particular notice and favour. I cannot, however, avoid regretting that the force of the enemy did not afford to the officers and men of the other ships of the squadron, who showed the most earnest desire to have closed with the enemy, an opportunity of displaying that valour and attachment to their king and country, which, I am confident, they will be happy to evince upon some future and more favourable occasion. I have inclosed a list of the killed and wounded on board his majesty's ships, as well as their defects; and have likewise forwarded a particular statement of the ships captured, together with an account of the loss sustained by the enemy, being the most correct that could be ascertained from the rolle d'équipage. Rear-adm. Linois is among the wounded, as well as several other officers.

(Signed) JOHN BORLASE WARREN.

[Here

[Here follows the return of the killed and wounded].

Foudroyant, at sea, March 13.

A list of ships belonging to the French government, captured on the 13th of March, 1806, by a squadron under the command of vice-admiral sir John Borlase Warren, bart. and K. B.

Marengo, 80 guns, 740 men, rear-admiral Linois; Vrignaud, first-capt. Chasseiau, second-capt.

Belle Poule, 40 guns, 18-pounders, 320 men, Bruillac, capt.

(Signed) J. B. WARREN.

Foudroyant, at sea, March 14.

A return of the killed and wounded on board the Marengo and Belle Poule, in the action on the 13th of March, 1806.

Marengo and Belle Poule—65 killed, and 80 wounded.

(Signed) J. B. WARREN.

Copy of a letter from F. L. Maitland, transmitted by admiral lord Gardner, to Wm. Marsden, esq.

Loire, at sea, April 23.

My lord,

I have to inform you, that his majesty's ship Loire, yesterday evening, in lat. 48 deg. 30 min. long. 12 deg. 0 min. captured the Princess of Peace, a very fine new Spanish privateer schooner, pierced for 14 guns, though only carrying one large 24-pounder, and 63 men; she had been out of Passage five days, on her first cruize, without having taken any thing.

I have the honour to be, &c.

F. L. MAITLAND.

Right hon. lord Gardner, &c.

Copy of a letter from captain G. R. Collier, commander of his majesty's ship the Minerva, to Wm. Marsden, esq. dated off Cape Finisterre, April 26.

Minerva, off Cape Finisterre, April 26.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that waiting in Finisterre bay for moderate weather, and the junction of his majesty's gun-brig Conflict, lieutenant J. B. Batt, to cut out some small craft lying under the town, a French privateer lugger rounded the cape, and immediately wore, and stood to sea. At eleven P. M., after a chase of near 60 miles, she was boarded by lieutenant Batt, and proved to be the French lugger Finisterre, of 14 guns and 52 men, commanded by Mons. Michael Deure; had left Corunna that morning, had made no capture, and intended cruizing off Oporto for British convoys. I have great pleasure in stating the very active conduct of lieutenant Batt, of the Conflict, to whom I feel principally indebted for the capture of the privateer.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. R. COLLIER.

7. Yesterday an overland dispatch was received at the India House, bringing intelligence down to the latter end of December. It does not appear that there was any apprehension of the tranquillity of India being soon disturbed, either by Scindia or Holkar. The following comprise the most material intelligence brought by the letters:—

"*Bombay, December* 17.

"We have just heard by a dispatch which sir Edward Pellew has received from admiral Troubridge, at Penang, dated the 5th inst. that the Cambrian arrived there the day before, having left

at Whampoo the ships mentioned in the inclosed list, viz.

"Scaleby.

"David Scott, William, Ardasor, Loujee, Elizabeth, Ganjava, Minerva, Cornwallis, Eugenia, and Castlereagh, for Bombay. And Orient, La Paix, Alexander, and Udney, for Calcutta.

"By the Cambrian, the admiral has intelligence that capt. Wood, of the Phaëton, was very much alarmed for the safety of the English supercargoes (about thirty), who had all left Mocoa the 31st of October, for Canton, and at the date of his letter he had no accounts of them: it was supposed that the Ladrones, who are in great force, had intercepted and stopped them; they had the Phaëton's launch to convey them, with a carronade and 16 men; and captain Wood had dispatched the Harrier brig, as far as she could proceed up the Inner Passage, to their assistance."

"*December* 23.

"The Ladrones are getting uncommonly bold; they attacked the Harrier brig, which sailed a few days ago by order of captain Wood, of the Phaëton, in quest of the launch with the supercargoes on board, and received such a drubbing, as it is hoped will keep their comrades in check for some time to come. As they endeavoured to force their way on board in great numbers, they were most vigorously opposed by the crew, who soon laid thirty dead upon the deck, and took several prisoners."

We are happy in being enabled to state, that accounts of a still later date have been received, which mention that the supercargoes, who it was feared had been murdered, have not so suffered. They were attacked by the Ladrones, and, after a stout resistance, taken prisoners, and plundered. They were then confined in prison, until the freebooters should have an opportunity of making proposals for their ransom.

Another letter of the 25th states:

"We are sorry to inform you of several very valuable captures having been made in the bay by the Bellona and Henrietta, almost on the cruizing ground of the Psyche, Dasher, and St. Fiorenzo; the former has taken the Princess of Wales, from the coast of Sumatra, for Bengal; and the Melville, from Calcutta, to Mascat; and the latter, the Waldegrave, from China; Commeree, from the West Coast; the Phœnix and Robust, from Calcutta to Bombay."

The Coutts, Cumberland, Hope, Easter, and Harley, sailed from Malacca, for China, on the 15th of October under convoy of the Blenheim man of war.

The Aplin joined one of the above ships, supposed the former.

The Culloden, Albion, and Sceptre, men of war, and the Seaflower brig, were cruizing off Ceylon on the 17th of December.

The Devaynes, from Madras to London, put into Penang, refitted, and sailed again; date not mentioned, but supposed in November.

Admiralty-office, May 10.

Copy of a letter from the earl of St. Vincent, K. B. admiral and commander in chief, &c. to W. Marsden, esq., dated Hibernia, off Ushant, May 3.

Sir,

I this day received the inclosed copy of a letter from lieut. Usher of the Colpoys hired brig, containing

ing his account of the capturing two chasse marées in the river Donillan.

I am, &c.
ST. VINCENT.

Colpoys hired brig, off the Glenans, April 25.

My lord,

I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that on the 19th inst. standing along shore between the Glenans and Isle Groer, with the Attack in company, I perceived two chasse marées at anchor in the entrance of the river Donillan, and which, upon our approach, quitted their anchorage, and ran up the river. Finding it necessary to silence a two-gun battery before the boats could get to them, I landed with twelve men from each brig, and after a short skirmish got possession of, and nailed up, the guns (12-pounders); I afterwards brought the vessels down the river, and destroyed the signal post of Donillan. I am happy to acquaint your lordship that the only damage we sustained was some of our standing running rigging and sails cut.—I have to acknowledge the support I received from lieut. Swaine by his well directed fire upon the enemy's guns during the time we were reconnoitring the river and beach. I feel much obliged to Mr. Wood, assistant surgeon of the Growler, who volunteered his services, and attended the party that landed.

I have the honour, &c.
T. USHER.

Names of the captured vessels—Vincent Gabriel, and Marie Française.

Copy of a letter from Michael Novella, commander of the Felicity, private ship of war, to W. Marsden esq. dated Gibraltar, March 1.

Sir,

I beg leave to inform you, that during my last cruise to the westward, I made the following captures, viz.—The French privateer Josefine of one 18-pounder and two 9-pounder carronades, and 37 men: two Spanish gun-boats, Nos. 12 and 15, commanded by lieutenants of the navy, mounting each one 24-pounder, one 36-pounder carronade, and two swivels, and 45 men; and his majesty's late lugger Experiment, mounting four 4-pounders, and manned with 30 men.

I have the honour, &c,
his
MICHAEL ⋈ NOVELLA.
Mark.

12. About nine o'clock on Saturday night, an alarming fire broke out in Bear-alley, Fleet-market, at the house of Mr Steptoe, a butcher, who has likewise a shop in the market. The accident happened in consequence of a maid-servant imprudently leaving the candle with the children after she had put them to bed; which practice is, unfortunately, too prevalent. The girl went out for some porter, and on her return found that the flames had not only consumed the bed-curtains, but had reached the bed-room door; she made every effort to gain admission, but finding it impracticable, immediately gave the alarm, when every one became anxious for the safety of the children. All endeavours, however, to save them unfortunately proved fruitless, and the children, three of them, the eldest eleven years of age, were burnt to death. A fourth child, an infant of nine months old, was preserved

by the mother, who ran up from the market and saved her child's life at the imminent risk of her own. The appearance of the fire at the early part of its career was extremely awful, and seemed to threaten the adjoining houses with destruction; but from the timely assistance of the firemen, who exerted themselves in a becoming manner, it soon began to lose its alarming aspect. The houses on each side were much damaged, particularly Mr. Lines's, who has lost a considerable quantity of his furniture. Parties of the 3d London, and other volunteers, attended with the greatest promptitude, and were extremely useful to the distressed inhabitants.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH,
May 12.

The King v. *Isaac Alexander Cowen, James de Young, and Thomas Wildon.*

These persons had been found guilty during the sitting after last term, of assisting in the escape of two French prisoners.—They were now brought up to receive sentence, which Mr. Justice Grose pronounced nearly as follows:

"You are all of you convicted of offences so similar, that the same observations, and the same punishment, will apply to each of you. You, Thomas Wildon, were convicted of aiding and abetting in the escape of two prisoners of war from Chesterfield; and you, Isaac Alexander Cowen, and James de Young, of endeavouring to facilitate the departure of the same persons to their own country. The evidence produced at the trial, and the facts then proved, fully warranted the verdict of the jury. The notice affixed in the streets of Chesterfield, against committing such offences, ought to have deterred you; but nothing could arrest your guilty progress, and your crime has been established beyond a doubt. Your conduct has been much aggravated, Isaac Alexander Cowen, and James De Young, by the affidavits produced in mitigation of punishment, in which you have ventured to swear what we must consider to be entirely false, because it is utterly inconsistent with the verdict of the jury. Your offence approaches nearer to high treason than any other in the list of crimes; inasmuch as it supplies the enemy with the most useful engines of war, I mean, men, and prevents us from freeing our countrymen from slavery, by making an exchange of prisoners. We are sorry to see in you, T. Wildon, that the love of money has gained so great an ascendancy over your mind, as to lead you to forsake the interests of your own country; and that it should lead you Cowen and De Young to be ungrateful to that government which affords you protection. This court, taking into its consideration every circumstance of aggravation and mitigation, orders, that you do all, and each of you, be imprisoned in his majesty's gaol of Newgate for two years, and then be discharged."

13. A most daring attempt was on Sunday made to break open the shop of Mr. Priestman, jeweller and silversmith, in Princess-street, Soho. Mr. Priestman and the whole of his family left the house to go a little way out of town. From two o'clock in the afternoon till eight in the evening a number of men were observed by the neighbours lurking about the shop-door,

door, and endeavouring to break it open; but the door was so properly secured that all their exertions were baffled. Information was at length sent to the public-office, in Bow-street, when Blackman, Lavender, and Leigh, went in pursuit of the robbers. A little before nine o'clock they found the shop surrounded by five notorious housebreakers. The villains made a desperate resistance to the officers taking them into custody; but they at length succeeded in securing Edward Egerton, John Clemence, and Thomas Whitfield, three well-known characters. Yesterday they were brought to Bow-street, and underwent an examination before James Read, esq. The officers produced a bottle of phosphorus and matches, which they found upon Clemence; likewise, two iron crows and a number of pick-lock keys found near the prisoners. They were committed for further examination.

Whitehall, May 15.

A dispatch has been received at the India House from Sir G. H. Barlow, bart. dated Illahabad, December, 4, 1805, of which the following is an extract:

"I have now the honour to inform your honourable court, that on the 22d ult. a definitive treaty was concluded between the right hon. lord Lake, and the plenipotentiary agent of Dowlut Row Scindiah, upon terms which appear to me to be calculated to establish the relations of amity and concord between the two states, upon the most secure and permanent foundation.—Your honourable court will also have the satisfaction to be apprised of the expectation which I confidently entertain of a speedy and favourable termination of hostilities with Juswunt Row Holkar, and of the consequent important reduction in the military charges of the several presidencies inseparable from a state of war.—I have the satisfaction to inform your honourable court, that perfect tranquillity prevails in every quarter of the company's dominions; and I am not aware of the probability of any occurrence of a nature calculated to disturb it, or to impair the fundamental sources of the British power and prosperity in India."

Dispatches have been also received from sir G. H Barlow, dated Illahabad, December 24, from which it appears, that, in consequence of the treaty of peace with Scindiah, and the confident expectation of a peace with Holkar, orders had been issued for the return of the troops belonging to the presidencies of Madras and Bombay, within the limits of those governments respectively, where they were to be distributed in cantonments, and placed on a peace establishment.

Admiralty-office, May 17.

Copy of a letter from vice-admiral lord Collingwood, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean, to William Marsden, esq., dated on board his majesty's ship Queen, off Cadiz, the 19th of April 1806.

Sir,

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, for the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that his majesty's ship the Renommée, captain sir Thomas Livingstone (one of the ships stationed off Carthagena for the purpose of watching the enemy's squadron), on the 4th instant captured the Spanish brig of war the Vigilante; for the particulars of which

which I refer you, sir, to the inclosed copy of captain sir Thomas Livingstone's letter.

I am, &c.

COLLINGWOOD.

His majesty's ship Renommée, at anchor, Europa Point, W. N. W. one mile, 5th April 1806.

My lord,

I informed your lordship by the Nautilus, that on the 3d inst. two Spanish ships of the line, a frigate and brig, came out of the port of Carthagena, having under their protection a few small coasters, and that the ships of the line and frigate chased us to the southward, while the brig and convoy steered along shore to the westward, the wind being north-easterly.

Finding that the Renommée had left the Spanish ships a great distance astern, I made sail as soon as it was dark for Cape de Gatte, in the hope of cutting off the brig; and in this I was not disappointed, for at two *a. m.* on the 4th inst. we saw the brig anchor under Fort Calleteres, distant from it about two cables' length.

I was prevented by baffling winds from getting up to her for three quarters of an hour; but when we did get up, her fire was soon silenced, and she was in our possession at half past three; the batteries on the shore began to fire, as soon as we were within reach, and continued doing it till we were out of their range. There were two gun-boats with the brig that fired a few shot at first; but they soon ceased, and I believe ran on the beach. The brig was in the act of warping on shore when we commenced firing; but fortunately we cut the warp, and thereby prevented her getting on shore. I am happy to say in this affair we sustained little or no damage, and had only two men wounded.

The brig proved to be the Vigilante, belonging to his catholic majesty, commanded by tenienta de navio Don Joseph Julian, mounting 18 guns, viz, twelve 12-pounders, long guns, and six 24-pounders, shorter, with a crew of 109 men, and is well calculated for his majesty's service.

She had one man killed and three wounded in the fray; her mainmast went overboard soon after we took possession; and the foremast was nearly sharing the same fate. I therefore took her in tow, and bore up for this anchorage, where I arrived this day; and was the more induced to take this measure, as upon our appearance off Cape de Gatte, all the beacons towards Carthagena were fired, and I did not know how near the ships which had chased us the day before might be: I hope therefore your lordship will approve of my having so done.

I have reason to be well satisfied with my officers and crew on this occasion; their steady and well directed fire did them great credit.

As soon as the prisoners are landed, &c. I shall return to my station.

I have the honour to be, &c.

THOS. LIVINGSTONE.

To the right hon. lord Collingwood, &c.

Copy of a letter from commodore sir Home Popham to William Marsden, esq. dated on board his majesty's ship Diadem, Table Bay, March 4, 1806.

Sir,

I beg you will do me the honour to inform my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that at nine this morning

morning a ship was discovered coming from the southward under a press of sail, and, soon after, two more; one of which the station on the Lion Rump reported to be of the line, and an enemy's ship; upon which I directed the Diomede and Leda to slip, and keep on the edge of the south-easter, which had partially set in on the east side of the bay.

At eleven the headmost ship hoisted French colours, and stood towards the Diadem; and by this time I was satisfied, from the judicious manœuvres of the ships in the offing, that they could be no other than the Raisonnable and Narcissus.

At twelve the French frigate passed within hail of the Diadem, when we changed our colours from Dutch to English, and directed her to strike; which she very properly did immediately, and I sent the hon. captain Percy, who was serving with me as a volunteer, to take possession of her. She proved to be La Volontaire; is nearly 1100 tons, and mounts 46 guns, with a complement of 360 men on board.

I congratulate their lordships that, by this capture, detachments of the queen's and 54th regiments, consisting of 217 men, who were taken in two transports in the Bay of Biscay, are restored to his majesty's service.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HOME POPHAM.

24. An unfortunate accident has happened to Mr. Charles Buxton, the celebrated charioteer, on his return from Epsom to London. Mr. Buxton in his phaëton, drawn by four horses, overtook a friend in a barouche drawn by the same number of horses; and a mutual determination being manifested to try the speed of the animals and the skill of the drivers, a race was the consequence. They proceeded on nearly equal terms until they reached Ewel, where, on turning a corner, Mr. Buxton's phaëton was upset, and he and his companion, Mr. Hugh Atkins, a Russia broker, were thrown from their seats in the carriage with such violence, that each gentleman, singular as it is, had a thigh broken, and three ribs.

DARING ROBBERY.

28. Last Wednesday night, about a quarter past ten, the long coach which conveys passengers from the Mail-coach Office, Dawson-street, Dublin, to the packets at the Pigeon-house, was stopped by ten or more persons, armed with blunderbusses, pistols, and swords, at the other side of the Canal Bridge, near a lime-kiln at the Low Ground, who robbed all the passengers, about seven or eight. The villains obliged the passengers to come from the carriage, and rifled them as they came out, commanding them to turn their faces to a wall that was near, immediately after plundering them, that they should not have an opportunity of observing their persons. Lord Cahir and Mr. George Latouche were two of the passengers; from his lordship they took about 400*l.* and it is said 70 guineas from Mr. Latouche. They robbed the other passengers of money, and also carried off some light packages from them. A small box, which contained some of their articles, was found next morning at the commons of Kilmainham, to which place it is supposed they retired after the robbery to divide the spoil.

29. This day seven waggons loaded

loaded with casks of specie arrived at the Bank of England, under the escort of a party of light horse. The casks contain the 400,000*l.* in dollars, sent some time since from the Bank to Hanover, and which was luckily got away before the Prussians took possession of that place.

JUNE.

DREADFUL FIRE.

5. At half past three o'clock this morning, a dreadful fire broke out at the celebrated hotel in Chandos-street, Govent-garden, called the Key. It is said to have broken out in the first floor, and to have been occasioned by the bed-curtains taking fire in a room where the candle had been left too close to the bed. Those who were ever within the hotel know how many rooms were appropriated to the purposes of sleeping. Indeed the whole house was nearly composed of bed-rooms. It was most superbly furnished—every thing that expense could supply in the furnishing of bed-rooms was to be found in it—the drapery of the beds all festooned and constructed à l'Egyptienne—the hanging of the window-curtains, the elegance of the other furniture, the largeness of the glasses, the quantity of plate, every thing was calculated to dazzle the eye, as well as to enchant the senses. In a house so full of such furniture, our readers will judge how rapid and devouring must be the progress of a fire. In a short time the flames caught every part of the lower rooms. To save the furniture was found to be impossible—little or none was saved—To save the lives of the temporary inhabitants of the hotel, was all that could be done, and that, we lament to say, was not entirely effected. There were about 60 persons in the house, an equal number, as our readers may conjecture, of ladies and gentlemen. On the first alarm of fire, the apartments, most of which were locked inside, were forced. Some of the persons had just retired to bed—Judge of their consternation to be awakened by men forcing the doors. If upon such a subject any levity could be indulged, it may well be supposed that some curious scenes took place. All jumped out of bed, and, without waiting to dress themselves, attempted to hurry out of the house. The rooms are so many, that some, instead of going down stairs, got into the other bed-rooms. Few of the ladies or gentlemen had time to get on their clothes, but ran into the streets nearly naked. The houses in the neighbourhood were open to receive them, and we may guess the confusion which some would feel in being obliged to send home for fresh clothes.

The engines arrived in good time, and were well played; but the fire had reached such a height that it could not be stopped till it had consumed the whole of the inside, leaving nothing but the bare walls standing.—One gentleman, beyond the middle age, was burned to death. It is said that he had made his escape, but that he went back to fetch away his partner, when, surrounded and caught by the flames, he was unable to return.

TRIAL OF LORD MELVILLE.

12. This day, the seventeenth of the trial, as soon as the lord chancellor had taken his seat at the table; he put the following question to

to the junior baron:—"Charles, lord Granard, how say you, is Henry lord viscount Melville guilty or not guilty of the first article of charge exhibited against him by the commons of the united kingdom?" Upon which lord Granard rose, and, laying his right hand upon his breast, exclaimed, "Not guilty, upon my honour."—The same question was then put to the remainder of the peers, according to their respective ranks; and after the question had been repeated by the chancellor upwards of 1300 times, the guilties and the not guilties stood as follows.

	Guilty.	Not guilty.	Major.
First charge	15	120	105
Second	54	81	27
Third	52	83	31
Fourth	None	125	—
Fifth	3	131	128
Sixth	47	83	36
Seventh	50	85	35
Eighth	14	121	107
Ninth	14	121	107
Tenth	11	121	110

The dukes of York, Cumberland, and Cambridge, and the duke of Gloucester, generally voted Not guilty; and the dukes of Clarence, Kent, and Sussex, generally Guilty, except on the 4th article. The lord chancellor, and lords Ellenborough and Sidmouth, generally voted with the dukes of Clarence, Kent and Sussex.

Admiralty-office, June 14.

Copy of a letter from vice-admiral Dacres, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at Jamaica, to William Marsden, esq. dated at Port-royal, April 1, 1806.

Sir,

I have great pleasure in transmitting, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, copies of two letters received from captain Ross, of his majesty's ship Pique: the brigs appear very well adapted for his majesty's service, and not more than nine months old: if found adequate thereto by the officers of the yard, I shall direct them to be purchased, and intend giving lieut. Ward the command of one, as a commander, till the pleasure of their lordships is known, who, I am sure, will highly approve of his conduct in boarding and carrying the armed schooner Santa Clara, and it will in some degree alleviate the very severe wound he has received in boarding the French brig of war.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. R. Dacres.

His majesty's ship Pique, off Ocoa bay, March 17.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that lieutenant Ward of his majesty's ship under my command, in the gig, assisted by Mr. Eveleigh (midshipman) in the yawl, most gallantly boarded and succeeded in capturing, after a very smart resistance, (and without loss on our side,) the Spanish armed schooner Santa Clara, of one nine-pounder, and 28 men, completely equipped for war.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. B. H. Ross.

To Rich. Dacres, esq. vice-adm. of the white, &c.

His majesty's ship Pique, off St. Catherine's, March 27.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that yesterday, crossing over from Santo Domingo to Curacoa, I fell in with two men of war brigs, standing in for the land: at one

p. m.

p. m. being within long range, I commenced firing to prevent their getting in with the shore, and from superior sailing closed with them at two, when a most destructive fire continued for about twenty minutes, but a flaw of wind favouring us, the helm was put down, which placed us immediately across the hawse of the commodore; she was directly boarded by lieutenants Ward and Baker, and Mr. Thompson, and every inch of her decks most obstinately defended; the slaughter on both sides was dreadful, and it is with real concern I state the loss of Mr. John Thompson, the master, who was killed with eight seamen; and lieutenants Ward and Baker, with twelve seamen and marines, wounded: the contest was very severe, but in about five minutes the colours were hawled down; the other struck after a few broadsides more, and we took possession of the Phaëton and Voltigeur, of 16 guns and 120 men each, French brigs of war, beautiful vessels, and only nine months old. It was impossible for two vessels to be more obstinately defended, every thing being cut to pieces, and nearly one half their crews killed or wounded. I understand they had been roughly handled by an English man of war brig (Rein Deer) the day before. I beg leave to recommend to your notice my first-lieutenant Ward, whose good conduct at all times has merited the highest approbation; he is, I am afraid, dangerously wounded. The death of Mr. Thompson I most sincerely lament; in him, his country has lost a brave and most excellent officer; he is the same so handsomely spoken of by captain Bissett in the Racoon; he has left a wife to lament his loss, and almost a stranger in this country. The wound of lieutenant Baker, I rejoice to say, will only lay him up for a short time. The assistance I received from lieutenant Craig of the royal marines (who is also wounded) and his party deserves the highest praise, for the steady and well directed fire kept up by them, and their soldier-like behaviour at all times. We had only one man wounded on board, all the others were killed and wounded on the brigs' decks. The ship's company behaved uncommonly well, and I trust the conduct of all will merit your approbation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CHARLES B. H. ROSS.

James Richard Dacres, esq. &c.

Le Phaëton, 16 guns, 120 men, Freyanet, lieutenant de vaisseau.

Le Voltigeur, 16 guns, 115 men, M. St. Craig, lieutenant de vaisseau.

I beg leave to inclose you a list of the killed and wounded on board his majesty's ship under my command. I have had no account from the prizes, but their loss has been very great. The commodore has lost his right arm.

CHARLES B. H. ROSS.

List of officers, seamen, and marines killed and wounded on board his majesty's ship Pique, Charles B. H. Ross, esq. capt. in action with the French national brigs Le Voltigeur and Phaëton, on the 26th day of March, 1806.

Killed.—Mr. John Thompson, master; Alexander Mackintosh, yeoman of the sheets; Matthew Meyler, able seaman; Cornelius Carmody (1), landman; Thomas Watkins, second gunner; Thomas Reid, landman; Jacob Reid, able seaman; James Shaw, landman; George Collier, supernumerary.

Wounded.

Wounded.—Mr. William Ward, first-lieut.; Mr. P. H. Baker, third-lieut.; Mr. W. H. Craig, lieut. of marines, slightly; William Marshal, boatswain's mate; James Mills, able seaman; Thomas Scott, ordinary seaman; Ralph Harrison, able seaman; William Pickoran, able seaman; Bryan White, quarter-master; Daniel Hall, able seaman; Christopher Hake, supernumerary; William Carnes, private of marines; Jos. Wright, ditto; Henry Davies, ditto. Total—9 killed and 14 wounded.

Copy of another letter from vice-admiral Dacres to William Marsden, esq. dated at Port Royal, April 27, 1806.

Sir,

I have much pleasure in inclosing, for their lordships' information, the copy of a letter I have received from capt. Fyffe, of the Rein Deer, acquainting me of the capture of the French privateer schooner, La Creole, a vessel that has been a great annoyance in and about the Passages, and had avoided capture by the cruizers that have fallen in with her, by superior sailing.

I am, &c.
J. R. DACRES.

His majesty's sloop Rein Deer, at sea, off Cape San Nicholas, St. Domingo, 21st of April, 1806.

Sir,

I am much gratified in having to acquaint you, that this morning, after a short chase, I captured the French schooner privateer La Creole, pierced for 14 guns, but had only 6 mounted, besides swivels. Her complement of men appears to have been 75, but only 59 were found on board, the rest being absent in prizes. The Creole is about ninety tons burden, is a very fine vessel, and said to be the fastest sailer that has been in these seas: I am satisfied we never could have taken her, had not the commander been so confident of her speed, as to persevere till near under our bow, in endeavouring to gain the wind of us.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) JOHN FYFFE.

James Richard Dacres, esq.
&c. &c. Jamaica.

Copy of a letter from commodore sir Home Popham to William Marsden, esq. dated on board his majesty's ship the Diadem, in Table Bay, the 24th of March, 1806.

Sir,

I have the honour to inclose to you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, a list of ships and vessels taken, retaken, and destroyed, by the squadron I have the honour to command.

I have the honour to be, &c.
HOME POPHAM.

The list consists of five French vessels, two Spanish, one Batavian, and two English retaken.

[This gazette also contains an order in council for allowing friendly and neutral nations to trade to the Cape of Good Hope; prohibiting, however, the importation of Asiatic goods or military stores, except by the India company, and restricting exports generally without license].

Downing-street, June 23.

CALCUTTA GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Fort William, Jan. 27, 1806.

A dispatch, of which the following

ing is a copy, has been received from the honourable the governor-general, by the honourable vice-president in council, and is now published, together with the treaty concluded between the honourable company and Maharajah Dowlut Row Scindiah, on the 22d of November, 1805, with the declaratory articles annexed to it, for general information.

The hon. G. Udney, vice-president in council.

Hon. sir,

1. In my dispatch of the 5th ultimo, I had the honour to transmit the copy of the treaty concluded with Dowlut Row Scindiah by the right hon. lord Lake, on the 22d of November, under my instructions, by which all differences between the British government and Dowlut Row Scindiah had been satisfactorily adjusted. I also transmitted a copy of declaratory articles which I judged to be proper to annex to the treaty, and which I desired his lordship to transmit to Dowlut Row Scindiah.

2. I have already had the honour to apprise you of my having received from the right hon. lord Lake, official information of the arrival in his lordship's camp of a copy of the treaty duly ratified by that chieftain, with a slight modification of the 6th article. I request that you will be pleased to direct the immediate publication of the treaty and of the declaratory articles annexed to it, for general information.

3. I consider it necessary to postpone this measure until the receipt of the declaratory articles ratified by Dowlut Row Scindiah, as the object of those articles is to relinquish some of the concessions which Dowlut Row Scindiah had voluntarily proposed, and consequently the mere delivery of the declaratory articles to that chieftain, will answer the purpose for which they were framed.

Your faithful servant,

(Signed) G. H. Barlow.

On the river near Rajmahi,
January 21, 1806.

Definitive treaty of amity and alliance between the honourable the English East India company and the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Row Scindiah Bahadur, and his children, heirs and successors.

Whereas various doubts and misunderstandings have arisen respecting the clear meaning and interpretation of parts of the treaty of peace concluded between the British government and Dowlut Row Scindiah at Serjee Anjengaum, on the 30th of December, 1803; with a view of doing away all such doubts, and of preventing the recurrence in future of any misunderstanding, this definitive treaty of amity and alliance is concluded between the two states, by lieut.-col. John Malcolm, acting under the immediate direction and superintendance of the right hon. general Gerard lord Lake, commander in chief of his majesty's and the honourable company's forces, &c. &c. &c. and vested with full powers and authority from the honourable sir George Hilaro Barlow, baronet, appointed by the honourable the court of directors of the said company to control and direct all their affairs in the East Indies: and Moonshee Kavil Nyne, vested with full powers and authority on the part of the said Maharajah Dowlut Row Scindiah.

Article I.—Every part of the treaty of peace concluded by general sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B. at

at Serjee Anjengaum, except what may be altered by this engagement, is to remain binding upon the two states.

Art. II.—The honourable company can never acknowledge that Dowlut Row Scindiah has any claim or right grounded on the treaty of Serjee Anjengaum to possess the fort of Gualior, or the territories of Gohud; but from considerations of friendship, it agrees to cede to the maharajah that fortress, and such parts of the territory of Gohud as are described in the accompanying schedule.

Art. III.—As a compensation for this cession, and to remunerate the English government for the annual expense incurred in supporting the ranah of Gohud, Dowlut Row Scindiah agrees on his own part, and that of his sirdars, to relinquish, after the 1st of Jan. 1806, all right and claim whatever to the pensions of fifteen lacks of rupees, granted to several of the chief officers of his state by the 7th article of the aforesaid treaty of Serjee Anjengaum.

Art. IV.—The honourable company agree to pay to Dowlut Row Scindiah the arrears due upon the pensions granted by the 7th article of the treaty of peace, as above mentioned, up to the 31st of December 1805, and also the balance due upon the revenues of Dholepoor, Rajah-Kerrah and Barree, up to the same date, making deductions on the following heads:

1st. Pensions forfeited by Bappoo Scindiah and Sudasheo Row, by acts of hostility towards the British government, to be stopped from the date of their hostility.

2d. Plunder of the British residency.

3d. Cash advanced by Mr. Jenkins to parties of the maharajah's troops.

4th. Charges of collection, &c. for the provinces of Dholepoor, Barree, and Rajah-Kerrah.

Art. V.—With a view of preventing any misunderstanding relating to their respective possessions in the quarter of Hindostan, it is agreed that the river Chumbul shall form the boundary between the two states, from the city of Kottah to the west, to the limits of the territories of Gohud to the east; and within that extent of the course of the Chumbul, Dowlut Row Scindiah shall have no claim or right to any rule, tribute, revenues, or possessions on its north bank, and the honourable company shall have no claim or right to any rule, tribute, revenues or possessions on the south bank of that river. The talooks of Bhadek and Sooseperarah, which are on the banks of the Jumna, will however remain in the possession of the honourable company.

Art. VI.—By the 5th article of this treaty, which makes the river Chumbul the boundary of the two states, from the city of Kottah to the west, to the limits of the territories of Gohud to the east, the maharajah resigns all pretensions and claims to any tribute from the rajah of Boondee, or any other on the north bank of the Chumbul, within the aforementioned limits, as also to the countries of Zemeendah, Dholepoor, Rajah-Kerrah, and Barree, antiently in the possession of the maharajah, all which now remain in the possession of the honourable company.

Art. VII.—The honourable company, on consideration of the benefits derived from the article which makes the Chumbul the boundary between the two states, and from friendship to the maharajah, agree to grant to him personally and exclusively the an-

nual sum of four lacks of rupees, to be paid by quarterly instalments through the resident at the Durbar; and the honourable company also agree to assign within their territories in Hindostan, a jaggeer, (to be holden on the same footing as that enjoyed by Balla Bhye,) amounting to a revenue of two lacks of rupees per annum, to Baeezah Bhye, the wife of Dowlut Row Scindiah, and a jaggeer, amounting to the sum of one lack of rupees per annum, to Chumnah Bhye, the daughter of that chief.

Art. VIII.—The honourable company engage to enter into no treaties with the rajahs of Oudeepoor and Joudpoor and Kottah, or other chiefs, tributaries of Dowlut Row Scindiah, situated in Malwa, Mewar, or Marwar, and in no shape whatever to interfere with the settlement which Scindiah may make with those chiefs.

Art. IX.—The honourable company are now engaged in a war with Jeswunt Rao Holkar, and using every exertion for his reduction; but should they hereafter make a peace, or enter into any agreement with that chief, they engage not to restore to him, or desire to be restored to him, any of the possessions of the family of Holkar, in the province of Malwa, lying between the river Tapti and Chumbul, which may have been taken by Dowlut Row Scindiah, nor will the honourable company interfere in any manner whatever in the disposal of those provinces; and they will consider Dowlut Row Scindiah at full liberty to make such arrangement as he chooses with Jeswunt Rao Holkar, or with any other branch of the Holkar family, respecting the claims of that family to tribute from the rajahs or others, or to any possessions situated to the north of the river Tapti, and to the south of the river Chumbul: but it is clearly to be understood, that as the company's government agrees not to concern itself with the arrangements which Scindiah may make with the family of Holkar, respecting their claims or hereditary possessions situated between the Tapti and the Chumbul, that government will not take part in any dispute or war which may be the result or consequence of any such arrangement or settlement.

Art X.—As Serjee Rao Ghautka has acted in a manner calculated to disturb the friendship between the two states, the maharajah agrees never to admit that chief to share in his councils, or to hold any public employment under his government.

Art. XI.—This treaty, consisting of eleven articles, has been this day settled by lieut.-col. Malcolm, acting under the directions of the right hon. lord Lake, on the part of the hon. company, and by Moonshee Kavil Nyne, on the part of Dowlut Row Scindiah; lieut.-col. John Malcolm has delivered one copy thereof in Persian and English, signed and sealed by himself, to the said Moonshee Kavil Nyne, to be forwarded to the maharajah Dowlut Row Scindiah, and has received from the said Moonshee Kavil Nyne a counterpart of the said treaty, signed and sealed by the said Moonshee. Lieut.-col. John Malcolm engages that a copy of the said treaty, ratified by the honourable the governor-general, in every respect a counterpart of the treaty now executed by himself, shall be delivered to Moonshee Kavil Nyne, to be forwarded to the maharajah, within

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in the period of one month from this date; and on the delivery of such copy to the maharajah, the treaty executed by lieut.-col. John Malcolm, under the immediate direction of the right hon. lord Lake, shall be returned: and Moonshee Kavil Nyne in like manner engages, that another copy of the said treaty, ratified by the maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Row Scindiah, in every respect a counterpart of the treaty now executed by himself, shall be delivered to lieut.-col. John Malcolm, to be forwarded to the honourable governor-general, within the period of one month from this date; and on the delivery of such copy to the honourable the governor-general, the treaty executed by Moonshee Kavil Nyne, by virtue of the full powers and authority vested in him, as above mentioned, shall also be returned.

Done at Mustafahpoor, this 22d day of November, Anno Domino 1805, or 29th of Shaban, in the year of the Hijerah 1220.

(Signed) JOHN MALCOLM.
KAVIL NYNE.

Declaratory articles annexed to the treaty concluded between the right honourable lord Lake on the part of the honourable company, and maharajah Dowlut Row Scindiah, on the 22d of November, 1805.

Whereas objections have arisen to the terms of the 5th, 6th, and 7th articles of the aforesaid treaty, it is hereby agreed and declared, that in lieu of those three articles the two following shall be substituted.

Article I.—With a view to prevent any misunderstanding relating to the respective possessions of the honourable company and maharajah Dowlut Row Scindiah, in the quarters of Hindostan, the maharajah hereby agrees to cede to the honourable company all the territory north of the river Chumbul, which was ceded to the maharajah by the 7th article of the treaty of Serjee Anjengaum, that is to say, the whole of the districts of Dohlepoor, Barree and Rajah Kerrah; and the honourable company shall have no claim or right to any rule, tribute or revenues, or possessions on the south bank of that river. The talooks of Bhadeck and Sooseperarah, which are on the banks of the Jumna, will however remain in the possession of the honourable company.

Art. II.—The honourable company, from friendship to the maharajah, agree to grant to him personally and exclusively the annual sum of four lacks of rupees, to be paid by quarterly instalments, through the resident at the Durbar; and the honourable company also agree to assign within their territories in Hindostan, a jaggeer (to be holden on the same footing as that enjoyed by Bhalla Bhye) amounting to a revenue of two lacks of rupees per annum, to Baeezah Bhye, the wife of Dowlut Row Scindiah; and a jaggeer amounting to one lack of rupees per annum to Chumnah Bhye, the daughter of that chief.

Done at Illahabad, this 3d day of December, 1805.

(Signed) G. H. BARLOW.

Published by order of the honourable the vice-president in council.

T. BROWN, acting chief sec. to the government.

Fort William, Feb. 5, 1806.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been this day received from the honourable the governor-general, by the honour-

able the vice-president in council, and is now published, together with the treaty concluded between the British government and Jeswunt Rao Holkar, on the 24th of December, 1805, and the declaratory articles annexed to it, for general information.

To the honourable George Udney, esq. vice-president in council.

Honourable sir,

My separate dispatch of this date conveys a copy of a treaty of peace and amity concluded by the right hon. lord Lake, with Jeswunt Rao Holkar, on the 24th of December, 1805, under my instructions, together with a copy of a declaratory article, which, on the ground stated in that dispatch, I deemed it expedient to annex to the treaty.

2. The treaty having been duly ratified by Jeswunt Rao Holkar, I request that you will be pleased to direct the immediate publication of it, and of the declaratory articles annexed to it, for general information.

3. I consider it necessary to postpone this measure until the receipt of the declaratory article ratified by Jeswunt Rao Holkar, as it contains a relinquishment of the concessions made by that chieftain, under the second article of the treaty, without requiring any equivalent, and consequently the mere delivery of the declaratory article to Jeswunt Rao Holkar will answer the purpose for which it was framed.

I have the honour to be,

(Signed) G. H. Barlow.

On the River, Feb. 2, 1806.

Treaty of peace and amity between the British government and Jeswunt Rao Holkar.

Whereas disagreement has arisen between the British government and Jeswunt Rao Holkar, and it is now the desire of both parties to restore mutual harmony and concord, the following articles of agreement are therefore concluded between lieut.-col. John Malcolm, on the part of the honourable company, and Sheikh Hubeeb Oolla and Bala Ram Seit, on the part of Jeswunt Rao Holkar; the said lieut.-col. John Malcolm having special authority for that purpose from the right hon. lord Lake, commander in chief, &c. &c.; his lordship aforesaid being invested with full powers and authority from the hon. sir. G. H. Barlow, bart., governor-general, &c. &c. and the said Sheikh Hubeeb Oolla and Bala Ram Seit also duly invested with full powers on the part of Jeswunt Rao Holkar.

Article I.—The British government engages to abstain from all prosecution of hostilities against Jeswunt Rao Holkar, and to consider him henceforth as the friend of the honourable company; Jeswunt Rao Holkar agreeing on his part to abstain from all measures and proceedings of a hostile nature against the British government and its allies, and from all measures and proceedings in any manner directed to the injury of the British government or its allies.

Art. II.—Jeswunt Rao Holkar hereby renounces all right and title to the district of Tonk Rampoorah, Boondee, Lakhérie, Sumeydee, Bhamungaun, Daee, and other places north of the Boondee Hills, and now in the occupation of the British government.

Art. III.—The honourable company hereby engage to have no concern with the antient possessions of the Holkar family in Mewar, Malwa, and Harrowtee, or with

with any of the rajahs situated to the south of the Chumbul; and the honourable company agree to deliver over immediately to Jeswunt Rao Holkar such of the antient possessions of the Holkar family in the Dekhan, now in the occupation of the honourable company, as are south of the river Tapti, with the exception of the fort and pergunnah of Chandore, the pergunnahs of Ambar and Seagham, and the villages and pergunnahs situated to the southward of the Godavery, which will remain in possession of the honourable company. The honourable company, however, in consideration of the respectability of the Holkar family, further engage, that in the event of the conduct of Jeswunt Rao Holkar being such as to satisfy that state of his amicable and peaceable intentions towards the British government and its allies; it will, at the expiration of eighteen months from the date of this treaty, restore to the family of Holkar the fort of Chandore and its district, the pergunnahs of Ambar and Seagham, and the districts formerly belonging to the Holkar family, situated to the south of the Godavery.

Art. IV.—Jeswunt Rao Holkar hereby renounces all claims to the district of Koonch, in the province of Bundlecund, and all the claims of every description in that province; but in the event of the conduct of Jeswunt Rao Holkar being such as to satisfy the British government of his amicable intentions towards that state and its allies, the honourable company agree, at the expiration of two years from the date of this treaty, to give the district of Kooneh in jagghire to Beemah Bhye, the daughter of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, to be holden under the company's government on the same terms as that now enjoyed by Bhalla Bhye.

Art. V.—Jeswunt Rao Holkar hereby renounces all claims of every description upon the British government and its allies.

Art. VI.—Jeswunt Rao Holkar hereby engages never to entertain in his service Europeans of any description, whether British subjects or others, without the consent of the British government.

Art. VII.—Jeswunt Rao Holkar hereby engages not to admit into his council or service, Serjee Rao Ghautka, as that individual has been proclaimed an enemy to the British government.

Art. VIII.—Upon the foregoing conditions, Jeswunt Rao Holkar shall be permitted to return to Hindostan without being molested by the British government, and the British government will not interfere in any manner in the concerns of Jeswunt Rao Holkar. It is however stipulated, that Jeswunt Rao Holkar shall, immediately upon this treaty being signed and ratified, proceed towards Hindostan by a route which leaves the towns of Putteala Khytult, Iheend, and the countries of the honourable company and the rajah of Jypoor, on the left; and Jeswunt Rao Holkar engages on his route to make his troops abstain from plunder, and that they shall commit no act of hostility in any of the countries through which they may pass.

Art. IX.—This treaty, consisting of nine articles, being this day settled by lieut.-col. John Malcolm on the part of the honourable company, and by Sheikh Hubeeb Oolla and Bala Ram Seit on the part of Jeswunt Rao Holkar; lieut.-col. John Malcolm has delivered one copy thereof in Persian and

English, signed and sealed by himself, and confirmed by the seal and signature of the right hon. lord Lake, to the said Sheikh Hubeeb Oolla and Bala Ram Seit, who on their part have delivered to lieut.-col. John Malcolm a counterpart of the same, signed and sealed by themselves, and engage to deliver another copy thereof, duly ratified by Jeswunt Rao Holkar, to the right hon. lord Lake, in the space of three days, the said lieut.-col. John Malcolm also engaging to deliver to them a counterpart of the same, duly ratified by the honourable the governor-general in council, within the space of one month from this date.

Done in camp at Raipoor Ghaut, on the banks of the Bheah river, this 24th day of December, Anno Domini 1805, corresponding with the second of Shawaul in the year of the Hijerah 1220.

(Signed) JOHN MALCOLM.
SHEIKH HUBEEB OOLLA.
BALA RAM SEIT.

Declaratory articles annexed to the treaty of peace and amity, concluded between the British government and maharajah Jeswunt Rao Holkar, through the agency of the right honourable lord Lake, on the 24th of December, 1805.

Whereas by the 2d article of the above-mentioned treaty, maharajah Jeswunt Rao Holkar renounces all right and title to the districts of Tonk Rampoorah, Boondee, Lakherie, Sumeydee, Bhamungaun, Daee, and other places north of the Boondee Hills, and now in the occupation of the British government: and whereas it has been understood that the maharajah attaches great value to the district of Tonk Rampoorah and other districts in that vicinity, which constituted the antient possessions of the Holkar family; and the relations of amity and peace being now happily restored between the British government and maharajah Jeswunt Rao Holkar, the British government is desirous of gratifying the wishes of the maharajah to the utmost practicable extent, consistent with considerations of equity, and of manifesting its solicitude to cultivate the friendship and good will of the maharajah: therefore the British government thereby agrees to consider the provisions of the 2d article of the treaty aforesaid, to be void and of no effect, and to relinquish all claim to the districts of Tonk Rampoorah, and such other districts in their vicinity as were formerly in the possession of the Holkar family, and are now in the occupation of the British government.

Done on the river Ganges, the 2d day of February, 1806.

(Signed) G. H. BARLOW.

Published by order of the hon. vice-president in council.

T. BROWN, acting chief sec. to the government.

JULY.

Downing-street, July 2.

The king has been graciously pleased to appoint Dupré earl of Caledon to be his majesty's governor and commander in chief in and over the castle, town and settlement of the Cape of Good Hope.

Admiralty-office, July 5.

Copy of a letter from vice-admiral the right hon. lord Collingwood, commander in chief, &c. in the Mediterranean,

Mediterranean, to W. Marsden, esq. dated on board the Ocean, off Cadiz, May 29.

Sir,

I inclose to you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, a copy of a letter which I have this day received from capt. Prowse, detailing the proceedings of his majesty's ship the Sirius, in an encounter he had with a very formidable flotilla of the enemy off the Tiber, in which the commander of it was captured. The exertion and zeal of capt. Prowse has on every occasion been distinguished, and highly honourable to himself; on this he has performed an important service, in disabling so formidable a flotilla of the enemy. I also inclose a list of the enemy's vessels, and of the killed and wounded on board the Sirius.

I am, &c.

COLLINGWOOD.

His majesty's ship Sirius, Malta, April 29.

My lord,

Being six or seven leagues to the eastward of Civita Vecchia on the 17th instant, at two P. M. I gained intelligence that a French force was to have sailed that morning from thence, and were to proceed to Naples. I crowded a press of sail in the same direction; and at a quarter past four they were seen from the mast-head near shore. On closing with them just after sunset, I had the satisfaction of seeing one ship, three brigs (corvettes), and five heavy gun-vessels, (a list of which is annexed), formed in a compact order of battle, within two leagues of the mouth of the Tiber, and near a dangerous shoal, lying-to, with a resolution to await our attack. At seven, within pistol-shot, commenced firing with vigour on both sides, and continued closely engaged with the squadron for two hours, when the commodore, in the ship, hailed "he had surrendered." His gallant and determined resistance, together with the dangers of the shore, and the crippled condition of his majesty's ship (the smoothness of the water admitting the enemy to use their guns with the greatest effect), prevented me from pursuing the remainder of the flotilla, although several were much disabled, and compelled, a short time before the ship struck, to cease firing, and make off. Had it been day-light, I have no doubt, from the firm and gallant conduct evinced by the officers and ship's company, that we should have succeeded in capturing more of the enemy's vessels. I have deeply to lament the loss of my nephew, the only officer, and eight seamen and marines killed in the above contest; and three officers and seventeen seamen and marines wounded, nine of whom are in a very dangerous state. The ship captured is called La Bergere, mounts eighteen long 12-pounders, manned with 189 men, and was commanded by Chaney Duolvis, capitaine de frégate, and commodore of the flotilla, and belonging to the Legion of Honour. She is a remarkably fine vessel, sails well, and is fit for his majesty's service.

I beg particularly to recommend to your lordship's notice lieutenant William Hepenstall, who was the senior lieutenant in the actions of the 22d of July and 21st of October, and who has been in the ship nearly five years, as an officer deserving promotion. The gallantry and good conduct of the other officers and ship's company like-

wise deserves my warmest acknowledgments.

I inclose lists of the killed and wounded; and have the honour to be, &c.

W. PROWSE.

The right hon. lord Collingwood, commander in chief.

List of the enemy's force opposed against his majesty's ship Sirius.

Ship La Bergere, of 18 twelve-pounders, 1 thirty-pounder carronade, and 189 men.

Brig L'Abeille, of 18 nine-pounders, 2 thirty-six-pounder carronades, and 160 men.

Brig La Legere, of 12 nine-pounders.

Brig Le Janus, of 12 nine-pounders.

Bombard La Victoire, of 12 eighteen-pounder carronades, and 2 sixty-eight-pounder carronades.

Cutter La Gauloise, of 4 four-pounders and 1 thirty-six pounder carronade.

Gun-ketch La Jalouse, of 4 four-pounders and 1 thirty-six pounder carronade.

Gun-ketch La Gentille, of 4 four-pounders and 1 thirty-six pounder carronade.

Gun-ketch La Provençale, of 4 four-pounders and 1 thirty-six pounder carronade.

List of killed on board the Sirius.

Mr. William Adair, master's-mate; Richard Berry, able; George Wyatt, quarter gunner; Edward Mooney, ordinary; Neil M'Cormack, able; Joseph Bray, armourer; Edward Nott, private marine; John Reed, ditto; Charles Bommell, ditto.

List of wounded on board the Sirius.

Mr. James Brett, acting master, slightly; Mr. Meyricke Lloyd, midshipman, badly; Mr. John Robinson, master's mate, ditto; James Bartlett, carpenter's crew, ditto; Thomas Herbett, ordinary, ditto; William Thomas, landman, badly; John Horrell, ordinary, ditto; John Drennon, landman, ditto; Richard Johnson, able, slightly; Edward Clark, quarter-master, since dead; John Shea, able, slightly; John Cornish, able, ditto; John Dunn, purser's steward, ditto; William Phipps, ordinary, ditto; Charles Jackson, able, Thomas Burgess, private marine, ditto; Peter Scott, private marine, slightly; Joel Franklin, private marine, badly; John M'Dermott, private marine, slightly; Thomas Chidlow, private marine, ditto.

W. PROWSE.

Admiralty-office, July 5.

Copy of another letter from vice-admiral lord Collingwood to Wm. Marsden, esq. dated on board the Ocean, off Cadiz, 5th of June 1806.

Sir,

I inclose, to be laid before the lords commissioners of the admiralty, a copy of a letter which I have this day received from capt. sir T. Livingstone, bart. giving an account of the capture, on the morning of the 4th ultimo, of his catholic majesty's schooner the Giganta, having been boarded in a very gallant manner, and brought out from under the guns of the town and tower of Vieja, by the boats of the Renommée and Nautilus, under the direction of lieutenant sir William Parker, bart.

I also inclose a copy of the return of wounded on this occasion.

I am, &c.

COLLINGWOOD.

Renom-

Renommée, off Cape Palos, May 4th, 1806.

My lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that this morning about one A. M. the boats of the Renommée and Nautilus, under the direction of lieutenant sir William Parker, of this ship, gallantly boarded, carried, and brought out from under the fire of the guns of the town and Torre de Vieja, and also from under the fire of more than one hundred musketeers, his catholic majesty's schooner Giganta, of nine guns, viz. 2 twenty-four-pounders, and 3 four-pounders, long guns, and 4 four-pounders, swivels, commanded by alfierez de navio Don Juan de Moire, with a crew of thirty-eight men. The 2 twenty-four pounders are in her bow, and she is, in my opinion, very fit for his majesty's service, particularly at Gibraltar.

The officers who gallantly supported sir William Parker were, Mr. Charles Adams, lieutenant; Mr. Henry Meereton, lieutenant of royal marines, and Mr. Timothy Murray, boatswain of the Renommée; Mr. Alexander Nesbett, lieut., and Mr. Dawson, carpenter of the Nautilus: and when it is considered this schooner was moored with a chain, within half pistol shot of the shore, had boarding nettings up, and that she was in every respect prepared to receive our boats, as were also the batteries and musketeers, too much praise cannot be given to the officers and men employed on the enterprise, and I am confident their conduct will meet your lordship's approbation.

In this affair Mr. Charles Forbes, midshipman, and three men were badly wounded, and three others slightly; their names are herewith inclosed.

The enemy had nine men wounded, one of them mortally, the others severely—there were none killed on either side.

I have the honour to be, &c.

T. LIVINGSTONE.

The right hon. lord Collingwood, &c. &c. &c. Mediterranean.

Return of the killed and wounded in the boats of the Renommée and Nautilus, in cutting out the Giganta Spanish schooner, May the 4th, 1806.

Renommée.—None killed.

Wounded—Mr. Charles Forbes, midshipman; William Hollingsworth, seaman, badly; George Hynes, slightly.

Nautilus.—None killed.

Wounded—James Brenton, badly; Peter Coulson, ditto; Jonathan Crabtree, slightly; William Wilkinson, ditto.

(Signed) T. LIVINGSTONE, senior officer.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH, JULY 6.

Sittings after term, before lord Ellenborough and a special jury.

The King v. *Milner and others.*

This was an indictment against the rev. Mr. Milner, a titular bishop of the Romish church, the rev. Mr. Wheeler, a clergyman of the same faith, Mr. Gadd, a surveyor, and miss Gadd, his sister, for unlawfully conspiring together to prevent the marriage of Mr. Taylor, a surgeon at Islington, with miss Pike, a young lady of fortune, after the marriage deeds were drawn, the wedding clothes bought, and every preliminary settled.

It appeared, from the statement of the learned counsel, and the evidence of the prosecutor, that the defendant Milner, the guardian of miss

miss Pike, was charged with having exercised an undue influence over her, in order to prevent her marrying the prosecutor; and that he had told her that she could not in honour marry him, as he had courted and engaged himself to miss Gadd.—Against Mr. Wheeler it was alleged, that he had used his authority as father confessor to miss Pike, for the purpose of persuading her of the unlawfulness of her proposed marriage with Mr. Taylor; and with regard to Mr. and miss Gadd, they were accused of having given currency to the report which had induced miss Pike to refuse the hand of the prosecutor. It was manifest, upon the evidence of the prosecutor himself, that he had paid his addresses to miss Gadd, and had quitted her for the pursuit of miss Pike.

Lord Ellenborough observed, that to communicate to a lady a former courtship of her intended bridegroom to another person, could not, if the fact were so, be the subject of an indictment. His lordship accordingly advised the jury to acquit all the defendants.—A verdict of Not Guilty was immediately recorded.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Whitehall, July 15.

The king has been pleased to constitute and appoint the right hon. Thomas Grenville; the right hon. George John earl Spencer, knight of the most noble order of the garter; the right hon. William Windham, the right hon. Charles James Fox, his majesty's three principal secretaries of state; the right hon. William Wyndham, baron Grenville, first commissioner of his majesty's treasury; the right hon. Henry Petty, (commonly called lord Henry Petty,) chancellor and under-treasurer of his majesty's exchequer; the right hon. George Howard, (commonly called viscount Morpeth,) the right hon. John Hiley Addington, the right hon. John Sullivan, and the right hon. John Joshua earl of Carysfort, in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, knight of the illustrious order of St. Patrick, to be his majesty's commissioners for the management of the affairs of India.

Admiralty-office, July 15.

Copy of a letter from the earl St. Vincent, K. B. admiral and commander in chief, &c. to William Marsden, esq. dated on board the Hibernia, off Ushant, the 11th instant.

Sir,

I transmit herewith copies of a letter with its inclosure, from rear admiral Harvey, reciting a very neat exploit, conducted by lieutenant Mulcaster, first of the Minerva; whom I feel great pride in acknowledging as an elève of my own. I am, &c.

ST. VINCENT.

Tonnant, off Cape Finisterre, June 23, 1805.

My lord,

The weather being hazy, we did not see the Minerva, when the Princess Royal parted company this morning. As we stood in shore the Minerva joined; and captain Collier sent me a letter, of which the inclosed is a copy. It displays an enterprising spirit on the part of his officers and men employed upon this service. I have the honour to be, &c.

ELIAB HARVEY.

The earl St. Vincent, K. B. &c. &c.

Minerva,

Minerva, off Cape Finisterre, June 23, 1806.

Sir,

The particular part of your orders having been accomplished by my falling in with his majesty's ships Renown and Warrior on the 21st instant, I felt it my duty to direct my attention to the annoyance of the enemy's trade carried on along this coast to the ports of Ferrol and Vigo; and having reason to believe there were some lugger privateers in Finisterre bay, under the protection of the fort, I last night, it being calm, dispatched two boats from his majesty's ship under my command to scour the Bay. From among the volunteers for this service, it fell to the lot of lieut. Mulcaster, first-lieutenant, accompanied by lieutenant Menzies of the royal marines, to command the cutter; the barge was directed by lieutenant Ogle Moore. This forenoon I had the satisfaction to see the boats returning, accompanied by five Spanish luggers and chasse marées, as per margin*, mostly laden with wine, bound to Ferrol and Corunna. Lieutenant Mulcaster speaks very handsomely of the support he received from the petty officers and seamen and marines employed on this affair. I feel I should be deficient in my duty did I omit to state the circumstances attending the execution of this service, so creditable to lieutenant Mulcaster and his companions.—The first object was the fort, mounting eight brass guns, of twenty-four and twelve-pounders, which commanded the vessels. This was carried in a most neat and masterly manner by the bayonet and pike, before the guard had either time to raise the drawbridge, or discharge a twelve-pounder, which had been brought to face the gate (a fishing-boat having apprised them of the approach of our boats): part of the Spanish guard laid down their arms, and are now on board; the rest escaped. As the day began to dawn, and as the men were much harassed from a long row to the shore, and a fatiguing march over a heavy sand, the party were obliged to confine themselves to spiking the guns, and throwing some of them into the sea, ere they took possession of the vessels. The circumstance from which I derive most pleasure is, that this service was executed without a man being hurt on either side, although the boats in their return, during a calm of near three hours, were exposed to the fire of a two-gun battery from a hill to the southward of the town.

I have the honour to be &c.

GEORGE RALPH COLLIER.

Rear-admiral Harvey, &c. &c. &c.

Admiralty-office, July 19.

Copy of a letter from the hon. rear-admiral sir A. Cochrane, K. B. commander in chief, &c. at the Leeward Islands, to William Marsden, esq. dated Barbadoes, June 3.

Sir,

I inclose, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, copies of letters from captains Campbell and Bluett, of his majesty's sloops Cygnet and Wasp, giving an account of the capture of a French national schooner and sloop; the latter his majesty's late armed sloop Domi-

*Angel de la Guarda, Johan Antonio Anemas, Santa Antonio Anemas, Nostra Señora del Carmen, and Santa Christo Janemas.

nica,

nica, which had been run away with by her crew three or four days before, and carried to Guadaloupe, where she was immediately commissioned and manned with 75 men, and sent back with the schooner to attempt cutting out the merchant ships in Roseau Bay, which was happily frustrated, and one vessel only, which they had taken possession of, was recaptured. The French general, Hortade, with a party of soldiers, were taken on board these vessels. What motives could have induced an officer of his rank to engage in such petty predatory warfare I am at a loss to guess, particularly as he was taken without any uniform whatever.—The captain of the Duke of Montrose packet deserves great credit for his exertions; he received on board a party of the 46th regiment, and at the desire of the president got under weigh, and chased, and by this means the schooner was captured.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ALEX. COCHRANE.

His majesty's sloop Cygnet, off Dominica, May 24.

Sir,

At nine this morning, when at anchor in Prince Rupert's Bay, I received information of a schooner and cutter of the enemy being in the offing, on which I weighed, and made the necessary signals to his majesty's sloop Wasp, then standing in for the bay. At two, the cutter surrendered to the Wasp, and before eight the schooner commenced a partial action with the Duke of Montrose packet (who joined in chase from Roseau); on the approach of the Cygnet she surrendered, and proves to be the French national schooner L'Imperial, commanded by a lieutenant de vaisseau, mounts 1 long nine-pounder, 2 two-pounders, with small arms, and 65 men; sailed the evening before from the Saints.

I am, &c.

R. B. CAMPBELL.

His majesty's sloop Wasp, Dominica, May 24.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that in proceeding to Prince Rupert's Bay this morning, I received intelligence (per signal) from his majesty's sloop Cygnet, at that anchorage, of an enemy in the S. W. quarter, which I immediately went in chase of, being a cutter and schooner: the former I captured, which proved to be the Napoleon privateer (late his majesty's cutter Dominica), commanded by Vincent Gautier, having 73 men, four of whom were of the 4th regiment of artillery, and twelve of the 26th regiment; she sailed from Basseterre on the 23d instant. I experienced the greatest satisfaction in being witness to the most gallant conduct and perseverance of his majesty's packet the Duke of Montrose in capturing L'Imperial schooner (consort to the above cutter). I am sorry to inform you, from the determination of the cutter to escape, if possible, she had two men killed.

I have the honour to be, &c.

B. STERLING BLUETT.

The hon. Alex. Cochrane, K. B.

Admiralty-office, July 26.

Copy of a letter from vice-admiral Dacres, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at Jamaica, to Wm. Marsden, esq. dated on board the Hercule, Port Royal, June 7, 1806.

Sir,

With much pleasure I inclose, for

for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, the copy of a letter I have received from captain Coghlan, acquainting me of the Renard having captured the French national brig Diligent, of 14 six-pounders, and 2 thirty-two pounders, brass carronades, with a complement of 125 men.

Should the brig, upon survey, be found fit for his majesty's service, I shall direct her to be purchased, and shall commission her by the name she now bears, with a sloop's complement.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. R. DACRES.

His majesty's sloop Renard, Port Royal, Jamaica, June 3, 1806.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that his majesty's sloop under my command captured on the 28th ultimo, in lat. 20 deg. 30. min. N. long. 68 deg. W. after a chase of sixty-four hours, the French national brig Diligent, commanded by captain Thevenard, of 14 six-pounders, and 2 thirty-two-pound brass carronades, with a crew of 125 men; seven days from Point-à-Petre, Guadaloupe, charged with dispatches from France, which were thrown overboard during the chase.

The conduct of the officers and men of this sloop was highly commendable, and their exertions uncommon, during so long and anxious a chase.

The brig is coppered and fastened, only three years old, sails well, is a very complete vessel, and is, in my opinion, fit for his majesty's service.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) J. COGHLAN.

Copy of another letter from vice-admiral Dacres, to Wm. Marsden, esq. dated on board the Hercule, Port Royal, June 8, 1806.

Sir,

I have the honour to inclose, for the information of their lordships, the copy of a letter I have received from captain Vansittart, informing me of the capture of a privateer by his majesty's ship Fortune, under his command.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. R. DACRES.

His majesty's ship Fortune, off Nayassa, June 1, 1806.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that in the execution of your order of the 5th ult. directing me to stretch over to the coast of Cuba, and cruize diligently for the protection of the trade and annoyance of the enemy, on the 18th, off Cape Berens, his majesty's ship under my command fell in with and captured the French privateer schooner Grand Juge Bertolio, of Guadaloupe, armed with 1 long brass twelve-pound gun, 2 fours, and 4 twelve-pound carronades, complement 120 men, but having only 51 on board, five days from St. Jago de Cuba, bound to the city of St. Domingo to complete her complement. A few days previous to this capture, the boats of his majesty's ship under my command destroyed two Spanish feluccas, with beef and flour, and captured a small schooner.

I have the honour to be, &c.
H. VANSITTART.

Admiralty-office, July 29.

The following letter from rear-admiral sir William Sidney Smith, addressed

addressed to vice-admiral lord Collingwood, has been forwarded to the admiralty in his lordship's letter of the 2d instant.

Pompée at anchor off Scalea, May 24, 1806.

My lord,

I arrived at Palermo in the Pompée on the 21st of last month, and took on me the command of the squadron your lordship has done me the honour to place under my orders. I found things in the state that may be well imagined on the government being displaced from its capital, with the loss of one of the two kingdoms, and the dispersion of the army assembled in Calabria. The judicious arrangement made by captain Sotheron of the ships under his orders, and the position of the British army under sir John Stuart at Messina, had however prevented further mischief.

I had the satisfaction of learning that Gaeta still held out, although as yet without succour, from a mistaken idea, much too prevalent, that the progress of the French armies is irresistible. It was my first care to see that the necessary supplies should be safely conveyed to the governor. I had the inexpressible satisfaction of conveying the most essential articles to Gaeta, and of communicating to his serene highness the governor (on the breach battery, which he never quits) the assurance of further support to any extent within my power, for the maintenance of that important fortress, hitherto so long preserved by his intrepidity and example. Things wore a new aspect immediately on the arrival of the ammunition: the redoubled fire of the enemy with red-hot shot into the mole (being answered with redoubled vigour) did not prevent the landing of every thing we had brought, together with four of the Excellent's lower-deck guns, to answer this galling fire, which bore directly on the landing-place. A second convoy, with the Intrepid, placed the garrison beyond the immediate want of any thing essential and the enemy; from advancing his nearest approaches to within 250 yards, was reduced to the defensive in a degree, dreading one of those sorties which the prince of Hesse had already shown him his garrison was equal to, and which was become a much safer operation, now that the flanking fire of eight Neapolitan gun-boats I had brought with me in addition to four his highness had already used succesfully, would cover it, even to the rear of the enemy's trenches. Arrangements were put in train for this purpose; and according to a wise suggestion of his serene highness, measures were taken for the embarkation of a small party from the garrison to land in the rear of the enemy's batteries to the northward.

I confided the execution of the naval part of this arrangement to captain Richardson, of his majesty's ship Juno, putting the Neapolitan frigate and gun-boats under his orders. His serene highness possessing the experience of European warfare, and a most firm mind, having no occasion for further aid on the spot, I felt I could quit the garrison without apprehension for its safety in such hands, with the present means of defence, and that I could best co-operate with him by drawing some of the attacking force off for the defence of Naples, and accordingly proceeded thither with the line of battle ships named in the margin.

margin*. The enemy's apprehension of attack occasioned them to convey some of the battering train from the trenches before Gaeta to Naples. The city was illuminated on account of Joseph Bonaparte proclaiming himself king of the two Sicilies! The junction of the Eagle made us five sail of the line, and it would have been easy for their fire to have interrupted this ceremony and show of festivity, but I considered that the unfortunate inhabitants had evil enough on them; that the restoration of the capital to its lawful sovereign and its fugitive inhabitants would be no gratification if it should be found a heap of ruins, ashes, and bones; and that as I had no force to land and keep order, in case of the French army retiring to the fortresses, I should leave an opulent city a prey to the licentious part of the community, who would not fail to profit by the confusion the flames would occasion. Not a gun was fired—but no such consideration operated on my mind to prevent me dislodging the French garrison from the island of Capri, which, from its situation, protecting the coasting communication southward, was a great object for the enemy to keep, and by so much one for me to wrest from him. I accordingly summoned the French commandant to surrender: on his non-acquiescence (see the annexed correspondence), I directed captain Rowley, in his majesty's ship Eagle, to cover the landing of marines and boats' crew, and caused an attack to be made under his orders. That brave officer placed his ship judiciously, nor did he open his fire till she was secured, and the distance marked by the effect of musquetry on his quarter-deck, where the first-lieut. James Crawley, fell wounded, and a seaman was killed. Although captain Rowley regretted much the services of that meritorious officer in such a critical moment, he has since recovered.

An hour's fire from both decks of the Eagle, (between 9 and 10 o'clock) with that of two Neapolitan mortar boats under an active officer, lieutenant Rivera, drove the enemy from the vineyards within their walls; the marines were landed, and gallantly led by captain Bunce; the seamen in like manner, under lieutenant Morrell, of the Eagle, and lieutenant Redding, of the Pompée, mounted the steps; for such was their road, headed by the officers, nearest to the narrow pass, by which alone they could ascend. Lieutenant Carrol had thus an opportunity of particularly distinguishing himself. Captain Stannus commanding the Athenienne's marines, gallantly pressing forward, gained the heights, and the French commandant fell by his hand: this event being known, the enemy beat a parley, a letter from the second in command claimed the terms offered; but being dated on the 12th, after midnight, some difficulty occurred, my limitation as to time being precise: but on the assurance that the drum beat before twelve, the capitulation annexed was signed, and the garrison allowed to march out and pass over to Naples with every honour of war, after the interment of their former brave commander, with due respect. We thus became masters of this important

* Pompée, Excellent, Athenienne, Intrepid.

post.

post. The enemy not having been allowed time to bring two pieces of heavy cannon with their ammunition to Capri, the boat containing them, together with a boat loaded with timber for the construction of gun-boats at Castellamare, took refuge at Massa, on the main land opposite to the island, where the guard had hauled the whole upon the beach. I detached the two mortar boats, and a Gaeta privateer, under the orders of lieutenants Faliverne and Rivera, to bring them off, sending only Mr. Williams, midshipman of the Pompée, from the squadron, on purpose to let the Neapolitans have the credit of the action, which they fairly obtained; for, after dislodging the enemy from a strong tower, they not only brought off the boats and two 36-pounders, but the powder (twenty barrels) from the magazine of the tower, before the enemy assembled in force.

The projected sorties took place on the 13th and 15th in the morning, in a manner to reflect the highest credit on the part of the garrison and naval force employed. The covering fire from the fleet was judiciously directed by captains Richardson and Vicuna, whose conduct on this whole service merits my warmest approbation. I inclose captain Richardson's two letters, as best detailing these affairs, and a list of the killed and wounded on the 12th.

On the 19th ult. the boats of the Pompée, under lieutenant Beancroft, brought out a merchant vessel from Scalvitra, near Salerno, although protected by a heavy fire of musketry. That officer and Mr. Sterling distinguished themselves much. The enemy are endeavouring to establish a land carriage there to Naples.

On the 23d, obtaining intelligence that the enemy had two 36-pounders in a small vessel on the beach at Scalea, I sent the Pompée's boats in for them. But the French troops were too well posted in the houses of the town for them to succeed without the cover of the ship. I accordingly stood in with the Pompée; sent a message to the inhabitants to withdraw; which being done, a few of the Pompée's lower-deck guns cleared the town and neighbouring hills, while the launch, commanded by lieutenant Mouraylin, with lieutenant Oats of the marines, and Mr. Williams, drove the French, with their armed adherents, from the guns, and took possession of the castle, and of them. Finding, on my landing, that the town was tenable against any force the enemy could bring against me from the nearest garrison, in a given time, I took post with the marines; and, under cover of their position, by the extreme exertions of lieutenant Carrol, Mr. Ives, master, and the petty officers and boats' crews, the guns were conveyed to the Pompée, with twenty-two barrels of powder.

(Signed) W. Sidney Smith.

On board his majesty's ship La Pompée, May 11, 1806.

Sir,

Before I make a regular attack, which must necessarily reduce an insulated and irregular fortress without works, I have thought proper, according to the custom of war, to summon you to evacuate the post which you occupy. If you refuse, I inform you that you will be forced to yield upon terms more or less favourable, according to the degree of force and time which you may oblige me to employ

ploy to reduce you to this extremity: thus, sir, you see that the terms of the surrender of the post depend upon yourself today: in the hope of an answer, which will spare blood on both sides,

(Signed) W. SIDNEY SMITH.

To the commandant of the French troops at Capri.

The commandant of Capri to rear-admiral Sidney Smith.

Capri, May 11.

I received, sir, your letter, dated this day, and for answer I have to observe to you, that a true soldier does not surrender till he has tried his force with that which attacks him. You are, sir, too good and brave a soldier to blame me if I do not accept your polite invitation.

(Signed) CHERVET, capt. 101st reg.

Captain L'Etang, commanding the French troops, to sir Sidney, Smith, rear-admiral of the English squadron.

Capri, May 12.

Good fortune having favoured you, together with the advantage you had in landing, oblige me to make you the following proposals:—

To give up to you the town of Capri, and all the island, reserving to myself for my honour, and that of the troops I command, the liberty of returning to Naples, with arms and baggage, at the time which it shall please you to grant me. I expect this generosity from your hands, to avoid bloodshed on both sides; in default of which I shall be obliged to continue till extinction.

L'ETANG.

CAPITULATION.

Capri, at midnight, the 11-12*th of June.*

In consequence of the good conduct of the officers and troops of the garrison of Capri, the English commanders have granted the following articles; to wit,

Art. 1. The officers, subalterns, and soldiers shall embark as soon as possible, with the arms and baggage belonging to them.

Art. 2. They shall be conveyed to Pozzuoli.

Art. 3. The English officers engage to cause the French troops to be respected as much as possible, during the time they shall be in their power.

Art. 4. The French officers make the same engagement towards the troops and vessels which shall transport them to their destination.

This present treaty was concluded at midnight of the 11th-12th of May, 1806, between captain Charles Rowley, capt. of the ship, and M. L'Etang, capt. of the 22d regiment of light infantry, commanding in the island of Capri.

To which have signed,

(Signed) L'ETANG.

CHARLES ROWLEY.

N. B. The commandant since wishing to disembark with his troops at Massa, invites the English admiral to grant it to him.—Approved.

(Signed) W. SIDNEY SMITH.

List of killed and wounded in taking Capri, May 12, 1806.

Eagle—Lieutenant James Crawly, first-lieutenant, slightly wounded; 1 seaman and 1 marine killed; 4 seamen and 6 marines wounded.

List of killed and wounded in the sortie of Gaeta, May 15, 1806.

Divisions of the boats detached from the Juno—4 seamen killed and 5 seamen wounded.

(Signed) W. SIDNEY SMITH.

His majesty's ship Juno, Gaeta, May 14, 1806.

Sir,

The enemy having erected a battery of 4 guns on the point La Madona della Catterra, his serene highness the prince of Hesse ordered sixty men from the garrison to be embarked in four fishing-boats; and on the night of the 12th I proceeded with the Juno's boats, armed, accompanied by those of his Sicilian majesty's frigate Minerva, commanded by captain Vieugna, and landed the troops, undiscovered, in a small bay, in the rear of the enemy's works. Lieutenant Parisio, who commanded the party, having advanced, the enemy abandoned the post, after firing to alarm their camp; but before they could arrive with a reinforcement, the guns were spiked, the gun-carriages destroyed, and the troops re-embarked without any loss.

(Signed) H. RICHARDSON.

Sir W. S. Smith, K. S. rear-admiral of the blue, &c.

His majesty's ship Juno, Gaeta, May 16.

Sir,

His serene highness the prince of Hesse Philipsthal, having signified to me on the 14th inst. his intention of making a sortie early on the following day, to attack the French lines, and directing me to have the necessary arrangements made, that the boats might co-operate with and support the troops from the garrison, I caused the gun-boats to be divided into three divisions (four in each), and delivered copies of the inclosed order to captain Vieugna, of his Sicilian majesty's frigate Minerva, and lieutenants le chevalier Beliamo and Valguirnira.

The sortie took place precisely at half past eight o'clock yesterday morning, and was attended with success: the Neapolitan troops having driven the enemy out of their trenches, and taken the Serapo battery (the guns of which they spiked), returned into garrison with little loss, bringing in with them a captain of engineers and some others, their prisoners; the number I have not yet learnt.

They were supported in their attack and retreat, on their left along the shore of Serapo, by the boats of this ship, armed, under the direction of lieutenant Wells of the navy, and lieutenant Mant of the marines, and the first division of gun-boats, which I took the command of; and on their right, by the second division, under the orders of lieutenant Valguirnira: the third division (having embarked fifty men from the garrison) were ordered, with the Minerva frigate, to make a diversion on the other side of the bay; but, owing to a calm, the Minerva could not reach her station, though the boats succeeded in landing the troops, and brought off some cattle; the fire from this division having kept in check and prevented from advancing a considerable body of the enemy's cavalry, which were sent to attack the party landed.

The loss of the garrison I have not yet understood: that of the boats is, First division, two killed; Second division, two killed and five wounded. The enemy must have suffered considerably, as more than one hundred muskets have been brought in.

I think it my duty to recommend to your notice, on account of their good conduct and courage, the lieutenants of his Sicilian majesty's navy, le chevalier Beliamo,

Beliamo, Valguirnira, and Pughese. H. RICHARDSON.

Sir W. S. Smith, K. S. rear-admiral of the blue, &c.

Admiralty-office, July 29.

Copy of a letter from the right hon. lord Keith, K. B. admiral of the white, &c. &c. to William Marsden, esq. dated on board the Edgar, off Ramsgate, 27th of July, 1806.

Sir,

I have the satisfaction of transmitting, for their lordships' information, a copy of a letter which I have received from captain Lavie, of his majesty's ship the Blanche, acquainting me with the capture, in the latitude of the Ferroe Islands, of the French frigate La Guerriere, one of the enemy's squadron that has been harassing our ships employed on the Greenland fisheries. Their lordships will have great pleasure in observing, from the list annexed to captain Lavie's report, that in consequence of his good conduct, this large frigate has been carried with very little loss on our part, and that he speaks in terms of high commendation of lieutenant Davies and the rest of the Blanche's officers and ship's company. KEITH, admiral.

His majesty's ship Blanche, Yarmouth Roads, July 26.

My lord,

I have the honour to acquaint you of my return to Yarmouth Roads, having in company La Guerriere French frigate, commanded by Monsieur Hubert (of the legion of honour), whom I captured on the 19th instant, in latitude 62 deg. N. off the Ferroe Islands, after a sharp contest of 45 minutes. La Guerriere is of the largest class of frigates, mounting 50 guns, with a complement of 317 men; but these were soon sadly reduced by our destructive fire, and the ship has also suffered very severely, while the damages of the Blanche are confined to the topmasts, rigging, and sails. It now becomes a pleasing duty to beg you to recommend lieutenant Henry Thomas Davies to their lordships' notice, and to speak in terms of respect of his general good conduct, as also of lieutenants Bastin and Allan; of Mr. Robertson, the master, and lieutenant John Campbell of the marines. The warrant officers, midshipmen, and ship's company are likewise entitled to my warmest praise. Underneath you will observe the list of killed and wounded. THO. LAVIE.

Blanche—None killed.

Wounded.—Lieutenant Bastin, not dangerously; Thomas Wilkinson, James Wilkinson, marines, not dangerously; Geo. Morley, marine, dangerously.

La Guerriere—Twenty killed; thirty wounded, ten dangerously.

T. LAVIE.

Right hon. lord Keith.

Copy of an inclosure from vice-admiral lord Collingwood, commander in chief in the Mediterranean, off Cadiz, July 1.

Apollo, June 10, Messina.

Sir,

I arrived here this evening with a French brig laden with six brass 24-pounders, their shot and carriages, taken on the night of the 5th instant near the Agie Finucana, in the Gulf of Torento, where she had run aground, her crew having stove her, and landed to defend her, assisted by the armed force in the neighbourhood. The almost continual fire, during the night, of their musketry, aid-

ed by a large field-piece, could not prevent the officers and crews of the boats I dispatched on this service from having her off towards the morning. I have more satisfaction in having performed this service, as I conceive from the course she was steering when I first saw her, that those guns were intended for the new batteries opposite the Pharos. One seaman only was wounded on our part.

(Signed) E. FELLOWS.

Sir W. S. Smith.

WEST INDIA DOCKS.

The ceremony of opening the large export dock, which completes this magnificent undertaking, was performed on Saturday the 12th inst. the anniversary of the day (12th July, 1799,) on which the act of parliament for carrying the same into effect received the royal assent.

The chairman, Robert Milligan, esq.; the deputy chairman, Richard Lee, esq.; with most of the directors, attended about two o'clock, to receive the company at the principal entrance into the works; and soon afterwards the company arrived, which were very numerous, and amongst them many ladies and gentlemen of the first rank and distinction.

The Phœnix, captain Douglas, a large West India ship belonging to Messrs. Hibberts, which was ornamented with various flags of different nations, being moored in a convenient situation near the dock, the chairman, deputy chairman, and directors, accompanied by

E. of Westmorland	Lord Burgherst
E. of Chichester	The Lord Mayor
Earl Temple.	Rt. Hon. the Master of the Rolls.
Lord Hawkesbury	
Lord Minto	L. C. Just. Mansfield
Lord Sheffield	Rt. Hon. G. Rose.
Lord Howick	R. B. Sheridan.
Lord Henry Petty	Sir Al. Clarke, K. B.

And many other gentlemen of distinction, proceeded on board the ship, which, upon a signal-gun being fired, was navigated into the new export dock, and having proceeded to the middle of the dock, she was moved to the centre of the quay on the north side thereof.

The company, after partaking of an elegant repast on board the ship, landed and proceeded to the east end of the quay, and passing over the lock, entered the premises belonging to the great import dock, which they viewed, with the stupendous warehouses surrounding the same, and expressed great pleasure and satisfaction at the completion of an undertaking of such prodigious magnitude, so beneficial to the commerce of the country, honourable to the parties who conducted the execution of the works, and ornamental to the nation.

An Account of Goods imported from the West Indies, and landed in the West India Docks, in the Years 1803, 4, 5, & 6.

GOODS.	1803.	1804.	1805.	1806.
Sugar, . hhds.	138,33	132,536	152,010	154,150
——— tierces.	13,[illegible]	12,07[illegible]	12,6[illegible]6	15,[illegible]
——— barrels.	5,95	5,93[illegible]	11,25[illegible]	7,[illegible]
Rum, . puns.	23,[illegible]	11,55[illegible]	18,083	15,986
——— hhds.	54[illegible]	30[illegible]	326	[illegible]
Cotton, . bales.	8,2[illegible]	23,144	17,611	15,[illegible]
——— bags.	1,621	1,[illegible]6	1,811	3,4[illegible]
Ginger, .	2,14[illegible]	2,7[illegible]	3,981	3,90[illegible]
Coffee, . casks.	17,218	25,549	24,374	3,[illegible]91
——— barrels.	3[illegible]	1,644	1,218	1,6[illegible]
——— bags.	24,30[illegible]	44,7[illegible]	29,73[illegible]	110,[illegible]
Cocoa, . casks.	912	7[illegible]	1,624	1,457
——— bags.	52[illegible]	751	3,297	4,1[illegible]
Pimento, .	8,118	9,975	3,58[illegible]	16,[illegible]
Indigo, . packs.	2[illegible]0	1[illegible]7	503	[illegible]
Wine, . butts.	35	62	36	54
——— pipes.	1,182	1,058	1,035	1,416
——— hhds.	407	355	219	449
——— quarter casks.	113	99	49	137
Packages, .	244,162	274,611	283,464	387,170
Dye Woods, tons	6,625	7,361	6,339	6,[illegible]
Mahogany, logs, &c.	8,134	4,986	3,913	5,5[illegible]3

AUGUST.

AUGUST.

Admiralty-office, August 2.

Copy of a letter from the earl of St. Vincent, K. B. admiral and commander in chief in the Channel, Soundings, &c. to William Marsden, esq. dated Hibernia, off Ushant, the 27th July, 1806.

Sir,

I inclose the relation of a very gallant action, in which the most intrepid valour has been manifested, and the national character highly sustained; but I greatly regret the loss of a number of brave men in the performance of it; flattering myself, however, that 16 of them are prisoners. I am, &c.

ST. VINCENT.

Centaur, off Rochefort, July 19.

My lord,

I beg leave to inclose to your lordship a letter I have received from captain Rodd, of his majesty's ship Indefatigable, giving an account of an attack made by a boat from each line of battle ship from this squadron, and those of his majesty's ships Indefatigable and Iris, on two corvettes and a convoy, in the entrance of the river Garonne. Le Cæsar, the largest corvette, was boarded and carried by the division of boats led on by lieut. Sibly, first lieutenant of the Centaur, in a style highly honourable to the national character. The western breeze that sprung up after the boats had left the Indefatigable, and blowing stronger as they advanced, was truly perplexing, for it was the only circumstance that could have prevented the whole falling into our hands; they took advantage on the first attack, and made sail, and escaped before the wind and tide up the Garonne; it was impossible for the boats to prevent them. The firm resistance made by the corvette caused a greater loss than could be expected, but nothing could withstand the bravery of the officers and seamen employed.

To lieut. Sibly's gallantry no words of mine are equal to do justice, every one speaks of him in terms of the highest commendation, and I had before, in the West Indies, experienced his brave conduct; he now has seven severe wounds, but I hope none mortal, and I beg leave to recommend him as an officer truly deserving the attention of my lords commissioners of the admiralty.—To lieut. Parker, first of the Indefatigable, much praise is due, and given him by lieut. Sibly, for his brave support and able conduct in managing the corvette after he was wounded.

The loss of the boats was unavoidable, of that of the Revenge, with her officer and crew, no certain account can be obtained; there is a faint hope she may have been driven up the Garonne.

I have the honour, &c.

SAM. HOOD.

Rt. hon. earl St. Vincent, &c.

Indefatigable, off Rochefort, 17th July, 1806.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, in obedience to your orders of the 14th inst., I gave the command of the boats of the squadron you sent me by the Iris, for the purpose of endeavouring to capture or destroy the French convoy in the entrance of the river of Bourdeaux (with the addition of three from the Indefatigable, and three from the Iris) to lieut. Sibly, of the Centaur, with all the information I was in possession of respecting their situation on the evening of the 15th, it appearing a favourable time to make the attempt; though some

time after the boats had quitted the Indefatigable, the wind shifted to the westward and came on to blow fresh, notwithstanding the boats proceeded to Verdun Road, boarded and carried the French brig Le Cæsar, of eighteen guns, and by the rolle d'equipage, 86 men, commanded by monsieur Louis Francois Hector Fourre, lieutenant de vaisseau. The conflict was severe on both sides, the Frenchmen being in every respect well prepared, expecting the attack. The wind coming on to blow fresh, and the tide running very strong, was much against the boats; but nothing could withstand such men, led on by the officers who commanded them.

Lieutenant Sibly, I lament to say, is badly wounded in several places, though, from the reports of the surgeon, I trust he will recover. To this gallant officer (whose conduct is spoken of by all who were under his command with admiration) I beg to refer you for particulars. The convoy all cut their cables and ran up the river instantly on the attack being made on the brig.

There is much credit due to lieutenant Thomas Parker, first of the Indefatigable, who took the command of Le Cæsar after she was carried, for his conduct in working her out past the batteries, which kept up a constant cross fire on her, and engaged by the Teazer brig (late in his majesty's service), for nearly two hours; the same attaches to the other officers and men for their coolness and conduct while they were engaged.

The greater part of the boats were either shot through, or so badly stove that they were swamped and obliged to be cut adrift from the brig, except the Indefatigable's launch and Iris's cutter.—The Revenge's boat, officers and crew, are missing. Le Cæsar is a fine brig, evidently sails well, five years old, eighty-eight feet long, twenty-three wide, coppered, and appears fit for his majesty's service. Inclosed is a list of the killed and wounded.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN T. RODD.

To sir Samuel Hood, senior officer, &c. off Rochefort.

List of officers and men belonging to such of the boats of his majesty's squadron, under the orders of captain sir Samuel Hood, K. B. who were killed or wounded in the attack of the French men of war and convoy in Bourdeaux river, on the 16th July, 1806.

Centaur—E. R. Sibly, lieutenant, wounded by pike and sabre on the side, arm, and face; Samuel Wooldridge, quarter-master, wounded badly in the thigh by a pike; Thomas Gray, quarter-gunner, wounded badly in the side by a pike; Michael Hales, able, wounded in the hand and arm by a musket-ball, and in the shoulder by a pike; John James, able, wounded slightly on the chin by a musket-ball; Bernard Connor, able, wounded in the lip by a sabre, and thigh by a pike; William Tully, able, killed by a musket-ball; William M'Cormick, private of marines, wounded badly on the arm by a musket-ball, and thigh by a pike.

Conqueror: lieutenant G. Fitzmaurice—Mr. Helpman, master's-mate, killed by a shot in the boat; Thomas Willoughby, quarter-master, wounded, fear mortally, on board the Cæsar brig; Samuel Noy, able, wounded severely in the arm.

Prince of Wales, lieutenant Francis—David Parry, able, killed; F. B. Gibbs, wounded slightly on the

the left leg and right arm; Thomas Mullins, master's mate, flesh wounded on the outer part of left thigh by a pistol shot; Thomas Pritchard, able, contused wound over the right cheek, and slight wound in the middle finger of the right hand; Thomas Wales, quarter-master's-mate, slight wound on the inner ankle of the left leg; John Slater, private of marines, contusion over the right eye, occasioning a total loss of sight in that eye; slight punctured wound over the seventh rib; contusion on the left hip; Charles Valantine, private of marines, flesh wound on the right foot.

Revenge: lieutenant Manners and Mr. Blackstone, midshipman—Charles Manners, lieutenant, missing; Thomas Blackstone, midshipman, ditto; John Drey, coxswain, ditto: Samuel Colvin, able, ditto; Joseph Willson, able, ditto; John Thomson (1), able, ditto; John Kelson, able, ditto; Thomas Matterson, able, ditto; Hugh Jones (2), able, ditto; Thomas Shirrelt, able, ditto; John Swinbank, able, ditto; John Masterman, able, ditto; George Pearson, able, ditto; David Maddocks, quarter gunner, ditto; William Trickett, able, ditto; William Bell, able, ditto; John Thompson (2), able, ditto; William Murphy, private of marines, ditto; Alexander Spence, private marine, ditto; Thomas Helps, private marine, ditto; David Whitehead, private marine, ditto.

Polyphemus—William Anderson, quarter-master's mate, severe cut across the head; W. Fleming, coxswain, slightly cut across the eye-brow.

Monarch: lieutenant Tait—Dalhouse Tait, lieutenant, wounded badly in the groin and breast by a pike; John Boil, able, wounded badly in the face by a sabre; Thomas Anderson, able, wounded badly in the leg and hand by a musket-ball; Thomas Kennedy, able, wounded badly in the neck by a pike; Edward Harms, able, wounded slightly by a pike; Thomas Brooks, private of marines, wounded sightly in the side by a pike; Thomas Robertson, able, wounded slightly by a pike; John Coward, able, killed and drowned.

Indefatigable: lieutenants Parker, Arscott, and Shepperdson.—William Cross, boatswain's-mate, killed; John Cross, boatswain's-mate, ditto; Thomas Parker, lieutenant, wounded slightly in the side by a pike; R. Shepherdson, lieutenant, wounded badly in the face by a splinter; John Cunningham, able, wounded dangerously in the side by a sword; J. Brownlow, able, wounded badly in the groin by a grape-shot; W. Gerrish, private of marines, wounded badly in the hip by a pistol-ball; John Quin, able, wounded slightly in the leg by a musket-ball; John Sullivan, able, wounded slightly in the thigh by a pike; James Shearing, wounded slightly in the face by a musket ball; Richard Grannaw, captain of the main-top, wounded slightly in the leg and breast by a sabre; Reg. Sutherland, captain of the forecastle, wounded slightly in the groin and hand by a pike; serjeant Berry, private marine, wounded slightly in the foot and finger.

Iris—William Taylor, able, wounded badly by a shot lodged in his arm.

Total—6 killed, 36 wounded, 21 missing.

Many on the above list but slightly wounded.

N. B. By intelligence gained yesterday from a Portuguese vessel, of sixteen English prisoners having

been marched into Rochefort from Bourdeaux, it is considered they are the Revenge's men, missing in the above report.

Copy of a letter from admiral the earl of St. Vincent, K. B. to William Marsden, esq. dated on board his majesty's ship Hibernia, off Ushant, the 29th July, 1806.

Sir,

Inclosed is another instance of the enterprising spirit of my elève, lieutenant Mulcaster, of the Minerva.

I am, &c.

ST. VINCENT.

Tonnant, off Cape Finisterre, 17th July, 1806.

Sir,

The inclosed is a copy of captain Collier's letter respecting the capture of one of the Spanish boats, which do so much mischief to trading vessels on the coast of Portugal. The zeal and activity of lieutenant Mulcaster upon this, as on several other occasions, appears to me very deserving the approbation of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, as well as the conduct of lieutenant Menzies, of the royal marines, who has been his constant companion in these expeditions. I have ordered the prisoners a passage to England in the Spartiate, and remain, &c.

ELIAB HARVEY.

Sir Charles Cotton, bart. vice-admiral of the red, &c.

His majesty's ship Minerva, Oporto Road, 12th July.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that finding it were likely his majesty's ship under my command might be detained in these roads a couple of days, and being informed the Oporto and Lisbon trade were hourly expected from England, for whom several Spanish privateers and row-boats were lurking in Portuguese creeks and rivers, I determined upon sending a boat to the northward; and, at the solicitation of my first-lieutenant, Mr. Mulcaster, I dispatched him on the 9th instant in the barge, with his former companion lieutenant Menzies of the marines, who upon every opportunity has most handsomely volunteered his services, and Mr. Turrell, midshipman, to cruize a few leagues north of this port, with the hope of intercepting some of the piratical cruizers belonging to Guarda.

On the evening of the 11th I had the satisfaction to be rejoined by the barge, having a Spanish lugger in company, La Buena Dicha privateer, armed with one nine pounder, blunderbusses, and musketry, manned with twenty-six of the Guarda desperadoes, and capable of rowing twenty sweeps.

The very general, active, and enterprising character of lieutenant Mulcaster will not, I trust, suffer by my giving you the particulars of the capture of the privateer, which, though insignificant in herself, is one of those, from their peculiar construction, which have done much mischief to British Oporto traders. The lugger, having been apprised by a fishing-boat of the barge being near her, was far from avoiding the contest, which, though short, was severe. The barge advanced under a discharge of grape-shot from the prow gun, which was soon cleared, when the enemy prepared to defend themselves with the sabre and pistol, which the activity and resolution

lution of the officers, seconded by serjeant Hull, and Peter Ward, gunner's mate, and others of the crew, soon rendered unavailing. One Spaniard was killed, the captain, two officers, and two seamen, miserably (and, I understand, mortally) wounded. The regret I should feel on any other occasion is considerably diminished by a knowledge of the character and description of the people the boat's crew had to deal with; and I have little doubt but this check, so much desired by the British factory at Oporto, will destroy, in a great measure, that spirit and enterprise which has so long marked the inhabitants of Guarda.

I have the greatest pleasure in stating lieutenant Mulcaster's report of the very active and determined conduct of lieut. Menzies, the inferior officers and boat's crew, after a fatiguing race of near forty miles, and am sure you will feel equal pleasure in a knowledge that none were killed or wounded.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) G. R. COLLIER.

Copy of a letter from captain Beresford, of his majesty's ship Cambrian, &c. senior officer of his majesty's ships at Halifax, to William Marsden, esq. dated at Halifax, July 1, 1806.

Sir,

I have the honour to inclose, for their lordships' information, a letter from captain Hawker, of his majesty's ship Tartar, who has brought in a fine brig corvette, with information that her consort L'Argus, a corvette of twenty guns, was to cruize for four months near Bermuda. The officers of the yard report so favourably of L'Observateur, (in every respect strong, for this station, and wants nothing,) that I have taken on me to appoint the hon. lieutenant Crofton to act as commander in her, with officers, a complete crew, and directions to proceed off Bermuda in search of the Argus.

I am, &c.

J. P. BERESFORD.

Tartar, at sea, 9th June, 1806.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, his majesty's ship under my command (the Bacchus cutter in company) this day fell in with, and captured, after a chase and a few minutes resistance, the French imperial corvette brig L'Observateur, captain Crozier, of eighteen guns, pierced for twenty, with one hundred and four men, victualled and stored for four months; she sailed from Cayenne on the 13th May, in company with L'Argus, French brig of war, on a cruize, and had taken nothing.

I am, &c.

E. HAWKER.

To J. P. Beresford, esq. commodore, &c.

LEWES, *Aug.* 4.

Hickes *v.* Gollard.

Cruelty to a dog.—Mr. Morris stated that the declaration in this cause complained, that the plaintiff had a valuable dog; the defendant beat the dog, and rubbed his sides with a caustic liquid, in consequence of which it became necessary to destroy the animal. To this the defendant had pleaded, that the dog trespassed upon his premises, and that he beat him to keep him away.

Mr. Garrow stated to the jury, that this was a cause of most unparalleled cruelty, as well as an aggravated breach of the law. The plaintiff, Mr. Hickes, was the keep-

er

er of a livery-stable at Brighton, and the dog which was destroyed was a most useful animal in guarding the yard. The defendant was of that class of religious sectaries who are supposed to carry the principles of the christian religion to greater extent than their neighbours. He dressed like a quaker, and would talk like one; his yea would be "yea," and his nay would be "nay;" but so far from being purer in principles than his neighbours, his conduct on the present occasion would show that he had not the first rudiments of christianity in his heart, for that was devoid of mercy. The Scripture taught us that a merciful man would be merciful to his beast, and he would add, he would also be merciful to his neighbour's beast. How far he had been so the jury would judge. The defendant, it seemed, kept a bitch, and the neighbouring dogs would frequent his house. He had an unquestionable right to beat them away; and if that had been all he had done, the plaintiff would have had no right to complain. But he should show that he actually enticed the plaintiff's dog into his yard, and then he rubbed him over with a liquid, which, from circumstances, be believed was oil of vitriol. He then turned the poor creature out, and in the course of the next day it corroded the flank of the poor wretch until the bowels actually dropped out, and it became necessary to put the animal out of its misery. It was for the jury to say what recompense they would give the plaintiff. It was not intended to prove any specific value of the dog, but the jury would be justified in giving the highest value that ever yet was set upon any animal of the sort.

Among other evidence, Cooper Sampson, ostler at the stables, stated that the next morning after the liquid had been applied, about five o'clock, he first saw the dog; it was then running about the yard in great agony. The hair on the back was hard as though burnt, but on the sides where the dog had licked himself, the flesh had been torn away, and there was but a thin skin between the bowels. The tongue of the animal, by licking itself, was burnt hard like a coal, and was so hard and stiff that it remained bent, as if it was bended. About twelve o'clock the skin in the flank was quite eaten through in holes, and the bowels dropped out on the ground. In this state they shot the animal. Two other witnesses proved the same thing.

Mr. Serjeant Best, for the defendant, admitted he could not say any thing in his justification, and that a verdict must be had against his client, for the value of the dog. But he cautioned the jury against giving way to their angry feelings, and awarding vindictive damages. They were by their verdict to compensate the plaintiff for the loss of his dog, and not to punish the defendant.

The lord chief baron also stated to the jury, that by their verdict they were to give to the plaintiff a compensation for the loss of his dog. In his way of business, such an animal was certainly useful in protecting the stable-yard from the depredations of strollers. But he doubted not but that such cruelty would be punished in the religious society of which the defendant was a member. They no doubt would expel him from amongst them, when they heard of such unparalleled cruelty.

The jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, Damages Five Pounds.

Admiralty.

Admiralty-office, Aug. 9.

Copy of a letter from the right honourable the earl of St. Vincent, K. B. admiral and commander in chief of his majesty's fleet employed in the Channel, Soundings, &c. to William Marsden, esq.; dated on board his majesty's ship the Hibernia, off Ushant, the 5th instant.

Sir,

I have great pleasure in transmitting the accompanying letter from captain Keats, with its inclosure from captain R. D. Oliver of his majesty's ship the Mars, whose perseverance and judgment enabled him to capture a fine French frigate in the face of her three consorts of equal force.

I am, &c.

ST. VINCENT.

Superb, August 2.

My lord,

I have the honour to inclose your lordship a letter from captain Oliver, of the Mars, stating his chase from the squadron, and capture of La Rhin, a fine French frigate, on the 28th ult. with which he is just returned; and I lament exceedingly that the Mars could not be kept sight of the night of the 27th, as it would, doubtless, have led to more important success.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) R. G. KEATS.

The earl of St. Vincent,
K. B. &c.

Mars, at sea, July 29, *lat.* 45 *deg.* 9 *min. N. long.* 4 *deg.* 50 *min. at noon.*

Sir,

I beg leave to acquaint you, that I continued in pursuit of four of the enemy's frigates the night of the 27th instant; although I lost sight of them, as also of the squadron under your command soon after it was dark, except the Africa, which we saw until about eleven o'clock, on the lee-quarter, when she was observed to burn some false fires. We steered about a point free the whole night, with a light in the stern, standing to the southward, and carried a press of sail; I was induced so to do from observing the course the enemy's squadron was steering when first seen, and judging that it would increase their difficulty of getting to leeward of us: it had that effect most fully, for at daylight yesterday morning they were discovered precisely on the same bearing as on the previous evening, though at a greater distance, except their sternmost ship, which we appeared to be gaining on: this induced the French commodore to tack with his three headmost ships, and join her, and form in line of battle on the larboard tack—I thought, and hoped, with a determination to try the fortune of war, which was what every one on board the Mars most anxiously wished: but after making some signals, about three in the afternoon he made off with three frigates; the other continued her course under an extraordinary press of sail; and finding she was the only one we had gained on during a chase of 150 miles, and the day far spent, I still kept after her till six o'clock, when, in the midst of a violent squall of wind and hail, we were ranging upon her lee-quarter, after the first shot she struck her colours, just at the moment our broadside was ready to open upon her. She proved to be La Rhin, a very fine French frigate of 44 guns, 18-pounders, on the main deck, and 318 men; only four years old, commanded

commanded by captain Chesneau: the squadron was commanded by monsieur Lamarre Lapeillerie, in the Hortense, with the Hermione and Themis frigates, on their return from Porto Rico. Soon after the Rhin had surrendered, on the squall clearing away, the other three frigates were seen standing to the south-east; and I regret that the weather, which has yet prevented our removing more than one-third of the prisoners, made it impracticable for me to pursue them further. I cannot conclude without expressing my admiration of the conduct of every officer and man in this ship during a chase of twenty-four hours, against so superior a force, with very bad weather, and incessant rain; several of our sails were split, and replaced with alacrity; and, in short, had the remainder of the French squadron waited our approach, from the great zeal manifested by every person on board, I have no doubt but our efforts would have been crowned with complete success in their destruction.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ROB. DUDLEY OLIVER.

To captain Keats, of his majesty's ship Superb, commanding a detached squadron, &c.

P. S. The Rhin hove overboard in the chase six of her quarter-deck and forecastle guns, and a bower anchor.

Admiralty-office, Aug. 12.

Copy of a letter from captain Stiles, of his majesty's ship the Adamant, to William Marsden, esq. dated at the Island of St. Helena, the 25th June 1806.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit a copy of a letter to commodore sir Home Popham, at the Cape of Good Hope, acquainting him with the capture of the Spanish ship of war Nostra Senora de los Dolores, *alias* La Reparadora.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN STILES.

Adamant, in False Bay, Cape of Good Hope, May 26.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you of the arrival of his majesty's ship under my command, at this anchorage, with the victuallers named in the margin*, accompanied by the Spanish ship Nostra Senora de los Dolores, *alias* La Reparadora, of thirty guns (twelve and twenty-four pounders) and three hundred and fifteen men, commanded by Stanislaus Comaud, an officer in the Spanish navy. We fell in with and captured her on the 6th instant, in lat. 30 deg. 30 min. S. and long. 15 deg. 20 min. W. She had been out a month from Monte Video, in the Rio de la Plata, and had taken nothing. I have great satisfaction in announcing the capture of this ship to you, as from her magnitude and force she might have done much mischief to the trade on the coast of Africa; her crew are a desperate set of French, Spaniards, Portugueze, and Americans, the principal officers French: she had authority from the viceroy to wear the colours of the king of Spain, and had a company of

* Alexander and Royal Charlotte

Spanish

Spanish infantry on board. She is a strong well-built vessel, about four years old, coppered, and copper-fastened, and is, in my opinion, well calculated for his majesty's service.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN STILES.

Commodore sir Home Popham, &c. &c.

Admiralty-office, Aug. 12.

Copy of another letter from captain Stiles, of his majesty's ship Adamant, to William Marsden, esq. dated at St. Helena, June 25, 1806.

Sir,

Four days before I parted with the East India convoy, I fell in with and captured a Spanish ship of war of thirty guns and three hundred and fifteen men; the particulars of which I beg leave to inclose in a letter No. 1. I arrived in Table Bay, with the victuallers, on the 20th of May; and having seen them in safety without anchoring myself, I immediately proceeded to sea on my return to St. Helena, according to their lordships' orders; but meeting with a most violent gale of wind from the N. W. and being very short of water, (having been three months from England without touching at any place, with three hundred and fifteen prisoners), both my main-topsail yards carried away, and my people very much afflicted with the scurvy, I thought myself justified in bearing up for Simon's Bay for refreshments. The French admiral Willeaumez, with six sail of the line, was in these seas about six weeks ago; his intention was to have gone to the Cape; but hearing it was in our possession he was obliged to go to Fernand de Noronne for water, and has not since been heard of. The Cannonnier French frigate (late his majesty's ship Minerve) put into False Bay about the last of May, not knowing the Cape was in our hands, and sent her boat on shore with a lieutenant, who, with his crew, are prisoners on board this ship. As there was no man of war in either Table or False Bay, and as she did not quite fetch into the proper anchorage, she got away, and it is supposed she is gone to the Isle of France, where the Piedmontese is lying blocked up by the Russel, Lord Duncan, and Psyche.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. STILES.

15. Yesterday afternoon as Mr. Bolton, haberdasher, of Stanhope-street, Clare Market, was travelling with his son, a fine boy, four years old, inside the Bath and Taunton double-bodied coach, in Piccadilly the door flew open, and the child fell out; the hinder wheels of the vehicle, which was loaded with from fourteen to twenty passengers, went over both the legs of the child above the ancle, and broke the bones into splinters. It was a spectacle too shocking to give a full description of; the blood flowed copiously from the wounds, and the legs seemed only to be held together by the sinews.—The poor child was taken to the shop of Mr. Hambridge, Piccadilly, where every assistance was afforded to alleviate its sufferings.

Thursday se'nnight an infamous transaction took place at a public-house called Low-bridge, on the road between Manchester and Huddersfield, about two miles from the latter place. A young woman who had not been married more than a week, proceeding on a visit to her parents,

parents, called at this house to procure refreshment, where five men were drinking, without appearing to take much notice of her. Just after she had partaken of a gill of ale, she complained of sickness, and went to the door; on her return her indisposition evidently increased, and at this period she was laid on her back, while they poured ardent spirits down her throat. In this situation the young girl, who in the absence of her father had the charge of the house, with apparent humanity helped her to bed; but this was no sooner done, than she introduced into the room of the undefended stranger the fellows above noticed; from whom, aided in the proceedings by two other vile women, she was compelled to suffer a species of violence above all others the most abhorrent to the feelings of a virtuous woman. Not content with perpetrating the above, those wretches proceeded to *amuse* themselves with many indecent pranks, to the disfigurement of the young woman's person. The three men, and the three females above mentioned, are in custody. When the offenders were apprehended, and ready to be conveyed to Wakefield, the populace at Honley would have torn them to pieces, had they not been restrained by the constables.

19. Advices have been received from the Baptist Missionaries at Serampore, to Bengal, to Feb. 6, 1806. Considerable additions have been made to the church lately.—The number of natives baptised from January 1, 1805, to February 6, 1806, is thirty-six, making the whole number of the baptised, eighty-three persons. There are besides these many inquirers. A church has been established at Dinagepore, of eight members, over which Mr. Fernandez is ordained as their pastor. Mr. Carey expects two others to be soon constituted. A Mr. Mayhir, who lives 700 miles in the country, and has lately joined the church, with young Mr. Fernandez, have arrived at Philadelphia, on their way to Britain. The former intends to return immmediately, to attempt to introduce the gospel there; the latter is to reside some time in Britain for improvement as a misionary.

The mission at Serampore have published proposals for translating the Scriptures into Shanscrit, Mahratta, Gazzerattee, Orissa, Carnatta, Telenga, Burmah, Assam, Bochar, Tibet, and Chinese. These, with the Bengalee, Hindostanee, Malay, Tamul, and Cingalese, are the whole languages in India; and the Bible being already in the five last, no part of that vast continent will be destitute of the Word of God in their own language. The college at Fort William, and the Asiatic society, patronise the undertaking; and the Bible society of London, of which lord Teignmouth is president, have voted 1000*l.* towards defraying its expense.

The Chinese translation is begun, under the tuition of Mr. Joannes Lassar, from Canton, professor of that language, who was lately employed in correcting the official correspondence between the Portuguese at Macao and the court of Pekin. He is now resident at the Mansion-house at Serampore, and is teaching the language to three of the missionaries. Some part of the translation is already printed off, from characters cut in wood after the Chinese manner. The third and last volume of the Old Testament, in Bengalee, is at press. The Gospel of Matthew is printed in the Mahratta tongue; and

and a Minute Account of the Religion, Manners, and Customs of the Hindoos, derived from the Hindoo Shasters, and personal knowledge, for which Mr. Ward has been collecting materials several years, will soon be published in one volume quarto. Mr. Marshman is about to publish the Greek and Shanscrit languages compared.

20. Yesterday Swinton, the bankrupt, late vender of "Daffy's Elixir," in Salisbury-square, underwent a final examination before the commissioners, at Guildhall. In addition to the facts which have been made public, the bankrupt acknowledged the manner in which he made the fabricated account-book to impose on the commissioners. It was constructed by him, and Hall his servant, and three sorts of ink were used, namely, ink, ink and water, and ink and vinegar. Pens, differently formed, were also resorted to, and many of the leaves rubbed over with a German sausage, to give them a greasy, old appearance. He denied that the old leaves torn out of the cover, and destroyed by him, related to his Daffy's Elixir account, but said they contained receipts for making horse medicines, which he did not wish the world to be made acquainted with. Upon the whole of his examination his statements appeared so suspicious and fraudulent, that notwithstanding Mr. Const made several observations in his behalf, the commissioners committed him to Newgate. It did not appear that miss More, who has part of the bankrupt's accounts in her possession, could be found.

Singular occurrence.—In the early part of last week, a lady took a boat on the Surrey side of Blackfriars-bridge for Old Palace-yard. The waterman requested that she would allow his wife to go along with them; to which she readily consented. About midway the woman got up, and, after a formal apology to the lady for alarming her, declared her fixed determination to drown her husband; for the purpose of accomplishing which object, she immediately began to make every possible effort to upset the boat. In the midst of her exertions, however, her foot happened to slip, she fell overboard, and never rose more!

22. A most atrocious robbery was committed on a number of gentlemen at the Stock Exchange, on the settling day, by a foreign Jew of the name of Joseph Elkin Daniels, who has for a long time been a conspicuous character in the Alley. He had deliberately contrived a scheme of plunder perfectly new, but which, by the extreme confidence which is given on the Stock Exchange, was but too practicable. He was what is denominated a bull of omnium, that is, he had employed a broker (Mr. Montefiori), to buy omnium for the account, which was on Wednesday last. He had bought all the way up to 12¾ premium, and the average of his purchases was as high as 10. In the morning of the settling day, he told his broker that he would take the whole of the omnium he had purchased, and pay for it, as he was sure it would rise before the next account; he was enabled, he said, to hold it, as his relations had agreed to advance the money, and take it in pawn for him. This satisfied the broker, and he received from different gentlemen 31,000*l.* omnium on Daniel's draft for 16,816*l.* 5*s.* on the house of Messrs. Smith, Payne and Smith, and which draft Mr. Montefiori suffered,

ed, in the usual way of business, to pass to the clearing house, instead of sending directly for the money, while in the mean time he gave his own drafts to the different brokers for the omnium he had received. The instant that Daniels got possession of the omnium, he applied to Mr. Battye to sell 12,000*l.* of it for money; to another broker to sell 5000*l.*; and from both these gentlemen he got drafts for the amount, which he immediately received at their respective bankers; and two of the bank notes of 1000*l.* each, he changed at the bank of England, into 20 notes of 100*l.* each. He continued at the Royal Exchange till three o'clock, and was afterwards seen on Ludgate-hill so late as four o'clock. At that hour his own cheque for 16,816*l.* 5*s.* was refused payment, and the robbery was discovered. He had only 2700*l.* at his bankers', which was yesterday attached in their hands. Some of Montefiori's drafts were paid before the fraud was discovered. It yesterday came out also that he had borrowed considerable sums from different gentlemen on his drafts; and this accounts for his leaving a sum in the hands of his banker, as he thought it probable that some of them might have been carried in for payment, instead of passing through the clearing-house.

It is supposed that the robbery may extend to 40 or 50,000*l.* Precautions were yesterday taken, every way, to discover his route, and to prevent his getting out of the kingdom; but he had laid his plot with so much circumspection, and went about it with such arrangement, that it is feared he will escape to the continent, where the notes will, no doubt, be circulated. A committee sat yesterday at the Stock Exchange to take steps on the occasion. Mr. Abraham Goldsmid made application, by letter, to the right hon. lord Howick, requesting that he would be pleased to send notice by the telegraphs to the outports, to endeavour, if possible, to prevent his escape out of the kingdom; to which his lordship replied with promptitude, and informed him, that he had transmitted notice of the fraud to all the ports with which the admiralty correspond by telegraphs. The lord mayor dispatched his officers in all directions; and some of the principal sufferers went off themselves express to the most likely places.

26. About half past nine on Wednesday morning the George inn, at Hurst Green in Sussex, and an adjoining house occupied by a Mr. French, were struck with lightning. In the latter, which it first struck, it took off the corner of a chimney in an upper sitting-room, passed into a bed-room, where it shivered to pieces an alarum clock, and thence took a direction downwards into the kitchen. Here it struck a lanthorn, completely consuming the horn, and heating the tin work so that it could not be touched for some minutes after. The lightning then taking an angular direction into the back yard of the inn, shivered the posts on each side the kitchen door, and killed a full-grown fowl. Upwards of two dozen plates, standing near the door, on a stool, were broken into a thousand pieces. It then entered the brick-work at the bottom of the house, leaving a hole of about sixteen inches in circumference, and buried itself in the cellar. Miss Hanson, the daughter of the landlord of the George inn, stood within two feet of

of the place where it entered, and her mother and the maid-servant were close by her; all of them felt the shock, and fell at the same instant. Fortunately the only injury suffered was a slight contusion on miss Hanson's right foot, occasioned by a splinter from the door-post. The house was for several minutes filled with a sulphurous smoke.

LOSS OF THE NAIAS TRANSPORT.

27. The following particulars of the loss, on the coast of Newfoundland, of the transport Naias, bound to Quebec last fall, with three companies of his majesty's 100dth regiment of foot, have been furnished by one of the survivors of that deplorable event:—

"On the 23d of October, at four o'clock in the morning, the ship struck on the rocks, about a quarter of a mile off a small island near the Port-aux-Basques, to the eastward of Cape Ray. The strength of the wind at S. E. blowing inshore, the weight of the waves dashing over the vessel, and her filling, made it evident that she would shortly go to pieces. On attempting to lower the long-boat, it was carried away, and on this occasion major Bertram, the commanding officer, had his arm broke, and was carried overboard with the boat, and perished. Several who attempted to swim on shore perished in the sight of their comrades. Nothing, therefore, could be done by those who still remained on board, (and whose numbers were diminishing every minute, by being washed overboard,) but to commit themselves to the will of Providence, and await the awful moment of the breaking up of the vessel. This took place about eight o'clock; at that time there remained little more than fifty or sixty persons on board. Thirty-four of these, principally from the quarter-deck, got on shore on pieces of the wreck, to the small island already mentioned, which was but ten yards from the main land, to which they afterwards crossed on a raft. Their situation was then, however, but little less desperate than before they reached the shore.

"Shortly after the vessel broke up, the wind changed to N. W.; the hopes of their provisions being driven on shore were by that means entirely destroyed.—What provisions they had, when equally divided, amounted to about a pound of pork, and a few biscuits each; the shore, at that time of the year, seldom or never visited; the country barren and uninhabited; and the most inclement season approaching. The whole of those who got on shore, (among whom were lieutenant Dawson and ensign Falkner,) excepting three, of whom the informant was one, struck into the woods. The three just mentioned remained four days on the beach, when they were fallen in with by a hunter, of the name of Michael Gillam, who, it appears, had occupied a fishing-post near where the vessel was wrecked, in the summer, but had now retired to the woods, where he was hutted for the winter. By this man they were treated with the greatest humanity, and taken to his winter habitation, where they remained in company with two of the party which struck into the woods, whom this man had also discovered and brought in, till the spring, when he conducted them to Fortune Bay, where they embarked for Quebec.

"Accounts had been received of the escape of two sailors of the

large party which struck into the woods. The rest, it is feared, have all perished. The total number of souls on board the vessel was about 247, thirty or forty of which were women and children.

"The names of the persons known to be saved are Edward Cornwall, corporal; James M'Garnie, John Crossier, John M'Dermod, and James M'Kennah, privates 100dth regiment; Daniel Donovan and Thomas Robertson, sailors.

"The following are the names of the officers who were on board: major Bertram, captains Enright and Sherrard, lieutenant Dawson, ensigns Falkner, Cooper, and Ormsby, and assistant surgeon W. Hendrick, all of the 100dth regiment."

SEPTEMBER.

Downing-street, Sept. 4.

Dispatch received by Mr. Secretary Windham.

Camp on the Plain of Maida, July 6.

Sir,

It is with the most heartfelt satisfaction that I have the honour of reporting to you, for the information of his majesty, the particulars of an action, in which the French army quartered in this province have sustained a signal defeat by the troops under my command. — Gen. Regnier, having been apprised of our disembarkation at St. Eufemia, appears to have made a rapid march from Reggio, uniting, as he advanced, his detached corps, for the purpose of attacking, and, with his characteristic confidence, of defeating us. On the afternoon of the third instant I received intelligence that he had that day encamped near Maida, about ten miles distant from our position; that his force consisted at the moment of about 4000 infantry and 300 cavalry, together with four pieces of artillery, and that he was in expectation of being joined within a day or two by 3000 more troops, who were marching after him in a second division.—I determined therefore to advance towards his position; and, having left our four companies of Watteville's regiment under major Fisher to protect the stores, and occupy a work which had been thrown up at our landing-place, the body of the army marched the next morning according to the following detail:

Advanced corps; lieut.-colonel Kempt, with 2 four-pounders. Light infantry battalion. Detachment royal Corsican rangers. Detachment royal Sicilian volunteers. —1st brigade; brig.-gen. Cole, with three four-pounders. Grenadier battalion. 27th regiment.—2d brigade, brig.-gen. Ackland, with three four-pounders. 78th regiment. 81st regiment.—3d brigade; col. Oswald, with 2 four-pounders. 58th regiment. Watteville's regiment, five companies. 20th regiment, lieut.-col. Ross, landed during the action.—Reserve of artillery; major Lemoine, four six-pounders, and two howitzers.—Total: rank and file, including the royal artillery, 4795.

Gen. Regnier was encamped on the side of a woody hill, below the village of Maida, sloping into the Plain of St. Eufemia; his flanks were strengthened by a thick impervious underwood. The Amato, a river perfectly fordable, but of which the sides are extremely marshy, ran along his front; my approach to him from the sea-side (along the borders of which I directed

rected my march, until I had nearly turned his left) was across a spacious plain, which gave him every opportunity of minutely observing my movements. Had gen. Regnier thought proper to remain upon his ground, the difficulties of access to him were such, that I could not possibly have made an impression upon him. But quitting this advantage, and crossing the river with his entire force, he came down to meet us upon the open plain—a measure to which he was no doubt encouraged by a consideration of his cavalry, an arm with which, unfortunately, I was altogether unprovided. After some loose firing of the flankers to cover the deployments of the two armies, by nine o'clock in the morning the opposing fronts were warmly engaged, when the prowess of the rival nations seemed now fairly to be at trial before the world, and the superiority was greatly and gloriously decided to be our own. The corps which formed the right of the advanced line, was the battalion of light infantry commanded by lieut.-col. Kempt, consisting of the light companies of the 20th, 27th, 35th, 58th, 61st, 81st, and Watteville's, together with 150 chosen battalion-men of the 35th regiment, under major Robinson. Directly opposed to them was the favourite French regiment the 1st Legere. The two corps at the distance of about 100 yards fired reciprocally a few rounds, when, as if by mutual agreement, the firing was suspended, and in close compact order and awful silence, they advanced towards each other, until their bayonets began to cross. At this momentous crisis the enemy became appalled. They broke, and endeavoured to fly, but it was too late; they were overtaken with the most dreadful slaughter.—Brig.-gen. Ackland, whose brigade was immediately on the left of the light infantry, with great spirit availed himself of this favourable moment to press instantly forward upon the corps in his front; the brave 78th regiment, commanded by lieut.-col. Macleod, and the 81st regiment, under major Plenderleath, both distinguished themselves on this occasion. The enemy fled with dismay and disorder before them, leaving the plain covered with their dead and wounded.—The enemy being thus completely discomfited on their left, began to make a new effort with their right, in the hopes of recovering the day. They were resisted most gallantly by the brigade under brig.-gen. Cole. Nothing could shake the undaunted firmness of the grenadiers under lieut.-col. O'Callaghan, and of the 27th regiment under lieut.-col. Smith. The cavalry, successively repelled from before their front, made an effort to turn their left; when lieut.-col. Ross, who had that morning landed from Messina with the 20th regiment, and was coming up to the army during the action, having observed the movement, threw his regiment opportunely into a small cover upon their flank, and by a heavy and well-directed fire entirely disconcerted this attempt.—This was the last feeble struggle of the enemy, who now, astonished and dismayed by the intrepidity with which they were assailed, began precipitately to retire, leaving the field covered with carnage. Above 700 bodies of their dead have been buried upon the ground.—The wounded and prisoners already in our hands (among which are gen. Compere, and an aid-de-camp, the lieut.-colonel of the Swiss regiment,

and a long list of officers of different ranks) amount to above 1000. There are also above 1000 men left in Monteleone and the different posts between this and Reggio, who have mostly notified their readiness to surrender whenever a British force shall be sent to receive their submission, and to protect them from the fury of the people.—The peasantry are hourly bringing in fugitives, who dispersed in the woods and mountains after the battle. In short, never has the pride of our presumptuous enemy been more severely humbled, nor the superiority of the British troops more gloriously proved, than in the events of this memorable day. His majesty may, perhaps, still deign to appreciate more highly the achievements of this little army, when it is known that the second division, which the enemy were said to be expecting, had all joined them the night before the action; no statement that I have heard of their numbers places them at a less calculation than 7000 men.—Our victorious infantry continued the pursuit of the routed enemy so long as they were able; but, as the latter dispersed in every direction, and we were under the necessity of preserving our order, the trial of speed became unequal.—The total loss occasioned to the enemy by this conflict cannot be less than 4000 men. When I oppose to the above our own small comparative loss, as underneath detailed, his majesty will, I hope, discern in the fact the happy effects of that established discipline to which we owe the triumphs by which our army has been latterly so highly distinguished.—I am now beginning my march southward, preparatory to my return to Sicily, for which station I shall re-embark with the army, as soon as his Sicilian majesty shall have arranged a disposition of his own forces to secure those advantages which have been gained by the present expedition.—There seldom has happened an action in which the zeal and personal exertions of individuals were so imperiously called for as in the present; seldom an occasion where a general had a fairer opportunity of observing them. The general officers, and those who commanded regiments, will feel a stronger test of their merits in the circumstances which have been detailed of their conduct, than in any eulogium I could presume to pass upon them. The 58th and Watteville's regiment, commanded by lieut.-cols. Johnstone and Watteville, which formed the reserve, under col. Oswald, were ably directed in their application to that essential duty.—The judgment and effect with which our artillery was directed by major Lemoine was, in our dearth of cavalry, of most essential use; and I have a pleasure in reporting the effective services of that valuable and distinguished corps.—To the several departments of the army, every acknowledgment is due; but to no officer am I bound to express them so fully, on my part, as to lieut.-col. Bunbury, the deputy-quarter-master-general, to whose zeal and activity, and able arrangements in the important branch of service which he directs, the army as well as myself are under every marked obligation. From capt. Tomlin, the acting head of the adjutant-general's department, and from the officers of my own family, I have received much active assistance. Among the latter I am to mention lieut.-col. Moore, of the 23d light dragoons, who being in Sicily for his health at the time of our departure

departure, solicited permission to accompany me on this expedition; he was wounded in the execution of my orders.—From the medical department under the direction of Mr. Grieves, the deputy inspector, I am to acknowledge much professional attention; the more so as their labours have been greatly accumulated by the number of wounded prisoners who have become, equally with our own, the subject of their care. The scene of action was too far from the sea to enable us to derive any co-operation from the navy; but admiral sir Sidney Smith, who had arrived in the bay the evening before the action, had directed such a disposition of ships and gun-boats as would have greatly favoured us had events obliged us to retire. The solicitude, however, of every part of the navy to be of use to us, the promptitude with which the seamen hastened on shore with our supplies, their anxiety to assist our wounded, and the tenderness with which they treated them, would have been an affecting circumstance to observers even the most indifferent. To me it was particularly so.—Capt. Fellowes, of the Apollo, has been specially attached to this expedition by the rear-admiral; and, in every circumstance of professional service, I beg leave to mention our grateful obligations to this officer, as well as to capts. Cocket and Watson, agents of transports, who acted under his orders.—Capt. Bulkeley, my aid-de-camp, who will have the honour of presenting this letter to you, has attended me throughout the whole of the services in the Mediterranean, and will therefore be able to give you every additional information on the subject of my present communication. J. STUART, maj.-gen.

Total killed and wounded of the British troops, July 4.—One officer, 3 serjeants, 41 rank and file, killed; 11 officers, 8 serjeants, 2 drummers, 261 rank and file wounded.

Names of officers killed and wounded.—Killed, Light inf. batt. captain M'Leane, 20th foot.—Wounded, Grenadier batt. major Hammill, of royal reg. of Malta. Light inf. batt. major Paulett, 44th foot, severely. 78th foot, 2d batt. lieutenant-col. M'Leod; major D. Stuart; capts. D. M'Pherson and D. M'Gregor; lieut. J. M'Kay; ensigns C. M'Kenzie and P. M'Gregor.—81st foot, 1st batt. capt. Waterhouse; lieut. and adj. Ginger.—Staff, Lieut-col. Moore, 23d light dragoons, acting aid-de-camp to sir J. Stuart.

R. TOMLIN, assist. adj. gen.

Downing-street, September 7.

A dispatch from H. Elliot, esq. to Mr. Fox, dated Palermo, Aug. 5, incloses the following from sir John Stuart.—Mr. Elliot observes, "That every fort along the coasts, all the depôts of stores, ammunition, and artillery, prepared for the attack of Sicily, are become the prey of the victors; and what, perhaps, may be considered as even of still more consequence than those advantages, an indelible impression is established of the superior bravery and discipline of the British troops."

Extract of a dispatch from sir John Stuart to Hugh Elliot, esq. dated Messina, August 3.

"Having occasion to send an express to my aid-de-camp, capt. Bulkeley, at Palermo, I avail myself of the opportunity to acquaint you with another fortunate result

of our auspicious day at Maida. Cotrone, with all its stores, magazines, &c. and 600 troops (now prisoners), capitulated on Wednesday evening last to the land and naval forces of his Britannic majesty, under lieut.-col. M'Leod of the 78th regiment, and capt. Hoste of the Amphion, who were assisted in their operations against that place, and upon the adjacent coasts, by the gun-boats of his Sicilian majesty. 300 prisoners, who prove to be survivors of the wounded after the action of the 4th ult., are already arrived in this fort. Gen. Regnier, who had endeavoured to hold his position, under much embarrassment for some time past, between Cotrone and Catanzaro, has retreated precipitately towards Tarento; and it was reported, when the transport left Cotrone, that he had been attacked by the masse, and had lost 6 or 700 of his flying people. I am now to congratulate you on the total evacuation of Calabria Ultra, in which single province, previous to the action of the 4th, we have every certainty that the enemy had a distributed force of at least 9000 men; of these, when gen. Regnier quitted his position near Cotrone, certainly not 3000 remained. The losses of the French in Upper Calabria have also borne a proportion. A great deal of heavy ordnance, lately transported by the French to Cotrone, besides what was found mounted on the castle, amounting in the whole to about 40 pieces, have fallen into our hands."

A dispatch from gen. Fox to Mr. Windham, dated Messina, Aug. 3, incloses extracts from two letters received from lieut.-col. M'Leod, of the 78th regiment, which give a detail of the operations that led to the surrender of Cotrone. Much praise is bestowed on capt. Hoste, for the judicious manner in which he brought his frigate and the gun-boats to the annoyance of the enemy. In the second letter, speaking of the enemy's retreat from before Cotrone, in which a garrison was left of 1000 men, it appears that they retired precipitately amongst the mountains, endeavouring to pass by Cozenza. He adds—"The enemy's route from this city has been marked by circumstances of the most cruel devastation. The village of Strongoli, with several others within our view, which he conceived hostile to his cause, have been ransacked, and burned to the ground. Our information of yesterday stated, that 1000 men had been left to garrison the town and city of Cotrone; but several deserters, who joined us this morning, having mentioned that the greatest part of this force had marched to join their army in the course of the night, capt. Hoste agreed with myself in the propriety of summoning the town and citadel to surrender to the force under our orders, conceiving that the immediate possession of what we understood to be the enemy's sole *depôt*, and his *dernier ressort* in Lower Calabria, in point of position, together with the removal of his stores, &c. might contribute to prevent his attempt to re-enter the province."

[The terms were that the French should march out with the honours of war, and deposit their arms; after which they should be sent to Messina as prisoners of war. The private property of the officers and soldiers to be respected, and the public property to be delivered up.]

Downing-street, September 13.

The following dispatches have this day been received by Mr. Windham, from major-general Beresford,

ford, commanding a detachment of his majesty's troops in South America.

Fort of Buenos Ayres, July 2.

Sir,

I had the honour to communicate to you, by my letter dated the 30th April, the circumstances of my arrival at St. Helena, and the result of the application to the governor of that place for troops.—The fleet sailed thence the 2d of May, and, after a most unexpected long passage, made Cape St. Mary on the 8th of June. The Narcissus had been dispatched from the fleet on the 27th of May, and sir Home Popham thought it right to proceed in her for the purpose of making himself acquainted with the navigation of the river, that no delay might occur in proceeding immediately on the arrival of the troops to such place as our information should induce us first to attack. I had sent capt. Kennet of the royal engineers (not liking myself to leave the troops) in the Narcissus, to make such reconnoitring of the enemy's places on the river as circumstances would admit; and to collect every possible information concerning them, and the strength of the enemy at the several places. From fogs and baffling winds we did not meet the Narcissus until the sixth day after our arrival in the river; and I had there the satisfaction to see in company with her the Ocean transport, which had parted from us previous to our going to St. Helena. Sir Home Popham and myself immediately consulted, whether it would be better first to attack the town of St. Philip of Monte-Video, or Buenos Ayres, the capital of the province; and, after much reasoning, we determined to proceed against Buenos Ayres, which made it necessary to remove from the line-of-battle ships the troops, and marines, and such seamen as were incorporated with the latter, and others that had been practised to arms during the passage, into the transports, and his majesty's ship Narcissus; which was effected on the 16th ult. And though then only about 90 miles from Buenos Ayres; still, though to his skill sir Home Popham added the most persevering zeal and assiduity, yet from fogs, the intricacy of the navigation, and continual opposing winds, it was not until the 24th at night that we reached opposite to it. We found ourselves the next morning about eight miles from the Point of Quilmes, where I proposed landing, having been informed by an Englishman, who was pilot for the river, and had been taken by the Narcissus out of a Portuguese vessel, that it was an excellent place, and an easy access from it into the country. As soon as the wind would permit, on the 25th, sir Home Popham took the shipping as near as it was possible for them to go, and at a convenient distance for disembarking, which was effected in the course of the afternoon and night, and without any opposition, the enemy remaining at the village of Reduction, on a height about two miles from us in our front: the whole intermediate space, as well as to the right and left, being a perfect flat: but my guide informed me, that though in winter it was impassable, it was then very practicable, and easy for us to pass. It was 11 o'clock in the morning of the 26th before I could move off my ground; and the enemy could, from his position, have counted every man I had; the numbers as

per margin*. He was drawn up along the brow of a hill, on which was the village of Reduction, which covered his right flank; and his force consisted principally of cavalry (I have been since informed 2000), with eight field-pieces. The nature of the ground was such, that I was under the necessity of going directly to his front; and to make my line, as much as I could, equal to his, I formed all the troops into one line, except the St. Helena infantry of 150 men, which I formed 150 yards in the rear, with two field-pieces, with orders, to make face to the right or left, as either of our flanks should be threatened by his cavalry. I had two six-pounders on each flank, and two howitzers in the centre of the first line. In this order I advanced against the enemy; and after we had got within range of his guns, a tongue of swamp crossed our front, and obliged me to halt whilst the guns took a small circuit to cross, and which was scarcely performed, when the enemy opened their field-pieces on us, at first well pointed; but, as we advanced at a very quick rate, in spite of the boggy ground that very soon obliged us to leave all our guns behind, his fire did us but little injury. The 71st regiment reaching the bottom of the heights in a pretty good line, seconded by the marine battalion; the enemy would not wait their nearer approach, but retired from the brow of the hill; which our troops gaining, and commencing a fire of small arms, he fled with precipitation, leaving to us four field-pieces and one tumbril; and we saw nothing more of him that day. I halted two hours on the field, to rest the troops. and to make arrangements for taking with us the enemy's guns and our own, which had now, by the exertions of capt. Donnelly of the Narcissus, been extricated from the bog.—He had accidentally landed, and accompanied the troops, on seeing them advance to the enemy; and I am much indebted to him for his voluntary assistance.—I then marched, in hopes of preventing the destruction of the bridge over the Rio Chuelo, a river at this season of the year not fordable, and which lay between us and the city; distant from it about three miles, and eight from our then situation; and, though I used every diligence, I had the mortification to see it in flames long before I could reach it. I halted the troops for the night a mile from it, and pushed on three companies of the 71st under lieut.-col. Pack, with two howitzers, to the bridge, to endeavour to prevent its total destruction. I accompanied this detachment; but, on reaching the bridge, I found it entirely consumed; and

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* Actual state of the troops under the command of major-general Beresford, at the Point de Quilmes, June 26.

After specifying the number of officers and men in each corps, the following is given as the total. 1 major-general, 1 major of brigade, 1 aid-de-camp, 1 assistant-quarter-master general, 1 assistant-commissary; 1 surgeon and 1 assistant-surgeon (of the staff); 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, and 4 midshipmen (of the royal navy); 2 lieutenant colonels, 2 majors, 15 captains, 20 lieutenants, 7 ensigns, 1 paymaster, 1 adjutant, 1 quarter-master, 2 surgeons, 4 assistant-surgeons, 72 serjeants, 27 drummers, 1466 effective rank and file, 16 effective horses, 1 wheeler, 1 collar-maker, 4 artificers, 2 five-and-half-inch howitzers, 4 light 6-pounders, and 2 light 3-pounders.

W. C. Beresford, major-general.

as the enemy during the night was heard bringing down guns, I withdrew the detachment before light, as their position was thought too open and exposed to the enemy's fire, who had, at nine o'clock, on hearing some of our soldiers go to the river to get water, opened a fire from their guns, and a considerable line of infantry. As soon as it was light, I sent capt. Kennet of the engineers, to reconnoitre the sides of the river; and found that on our side we had little or no cover to protect us, whilst the enemy were drawn up behind hedges, houses, and in the shipping on the opposite bank, the river not 30 yards wide. As our situation and circumstances could not admit of the least delay, I determined to force the passage, and for that purpose ordered down the field-pieces, which, with the addition of those taken from the enemy the day before, were 11 (one I had spiked and left, not being able to bring it off), to the water's edge, and ordered the infantry to remain in the rear, under cover, except the light company and grenadiers of the 71st. As our guns approached, the enemy opened a very ill-directed fire from great guns and musketry; the former soon ceased after our fire opened, the latter was kept up for more than half an hour; but, though close to us, did us but little or no injury, so ill was it directed. We then found means, by boats and rafts, to cross a few men over the Rio Chuelo; and, on ordering all fire to cease, the little of them that remained ceased also. The troops which opposed us during these two days appear to have been almost entirely provincial, with a considerable proportion of veteran officers. The numbers that were assembled to dispute our passage of the river, I have been since informed, were about 2000 infantry. I had no reason from their fire to suppose their numbers so great; the opposition was very feeble; the only difficulty was, the crossing the river to get at them. I cannot omit reporting to you that I had the most just cause to be satisfied with the conduct of every officer, and all the troops under my command: to lieut.-col. Pack of the 71st every praise is due, as well as to that excellent regiment. The battalion of marines, commanded by capt. King of the royal navy, not only behaved with the utmost good conduct, but with a discipline in the field much beyond what could have been expected, though every exertion to effect it had been used by commodore sir Home Popham, and every officer of the royal navy, during the passage. A corps of seamen, who had been drilled to small arms, were also landed; they were between 80 and 90 in number, and I was under the necessity of attaching them to draw the guns, which they did with a cheerfulness and zeal that did them great credit; and I was under great obligation to capt. King for his activity in preparing rafts, boats, &c. to pass the Rio Chuelo. Lieut.-col. Lane, and the St. Helena troops, also merit my thanks for their good conduct; as does captain Ogilvie, commanding the artillery, for the manner in which the guns were conducted and served. Capt. Kennet, of the royal engineers, was particularly serviceable by his intelligence and zeal; as were the hon. major Dean, my brigade-major, and the hon. ensign Gordon of the 3d guards, my aid-de-camp. By 11 o'clock A. M. I had got some guns and the greatest part of the

troops

troops across the river; and seeing no symptoms of further opposition, and learning that the troops in general had deserted the city, motives of humanity induced me to send, by the hon. ensign Gordon, a summons to the governor to deliver to me the city and fortress, that the excesses and calamities which would most probably occur if the troops entered in a hostile manner might be avoided; informing him that the British character would insure to them the exercise of their religion, and protection to their persons and all private property. He returned to me an officer, to ask some hours to draw up conditions; but I could not consent to delay my march, which I commenced as soon as the whole had crossed the Rio Chuelo; and on arriving near the city, an officer of the governor again met me with a number of conditions, to which I had not then time to attend; but said I would confirm by writing what I had promised, when in possession of the city; and the terms granted and signed by sir Home Popham and myself I have the honour to annex. —I also transmit a return of the killed, wounded, and missing, on the 26th and 27th of June, as well as the return of the ordnance taken. —I cannot conclude without assuring you of the unwearied zeal and assiduity of commodore sir Home Popham, in whatever could contribute to the success of this expedition, and of the cordial co-operation and great assistance which I have received from him.

W. C. Beresford, maj. gen.
Sir D. Baird, commanding in chief, &c.

Killed, wounded, and missing, on the 26th and 27th June.—St. Helena artillery, 1 rank and file wounded.—7th reg. 1 officer, 1 serjeant, 5 rank and file wounded.—St. Helena infantry, 1 rank and file wounded; 1 officer missing.—Royal marines, 3 rank and file wounded.—Corps of seamen, 1 rank and file killed.

Officers' Names.—Capt. LeBlanc, of the 71st regiment, shot in the leg; since amputated above the knee.—Assistant-surgeon Halliday, of the medical staff attached to St. Helena regiment, missing.

[The terms granted to the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres consist of 10 articles. After the usual stipulations respecting the entrance of the troops, &c. and the marching out of the prisoners with the honours of war, they state that all *bonâ fide* private property, whether belonging to the people, the churches, or the public institutions, shall be unmolested; that all the inhabitants shall receive protection: that the different taxes shall be collected by the magistrates, &c. as usual, until his majesty's pleasure be known; that every protection shall be afforded to the exercise of the Catholic religion; that the coasting vessels in the river shall be delivered to their owners; and that all public property shall be surrendered to the captors.]

Ordnance, &c. captured.—Iron ordnance, of different calibres, from 18- to 3-pounders, 45 pieces.—Brass ordnance, from 32- to 3-pounders, including mortars and howitzers, 41 pieces. Total 86.—550 whole barrels of powder, 2064 muskets with bayonets, 616 carbines, 4019 pistols, 31 musketoons, 1208 swords.

J. E. Ogilvie, capt. commanding royal and St. Helena artil.

Since the above return was sent to sir D. Baird, the following guns, left by the viceroy in his flight, have been taken, and arms, &c. received: —Brass ordnance 7 pieces, 139 muskets

muskets with bayonets, 71 muskets without bayonets, 85 pouches, and 89 swords.

Extract of a letter from major-general Beresford to lord Castlereagh, dated Fort of Buenos Ayres, July 11.

"I trust the conduct adopted towards the people here has had its full effect, in impressing upon their minds the honour, generosity, and humanity of the British character. His majesty's ministers will see, by the detail of our proceedings, that, after the army had passed the Rio Chuelo, the city of Buenos Ayres remained at our mercy, and that, in fact, the only conditions on which I entered were such as I pleased to offer, and which humanity and a regard to our national character would naturally induce me to give under any circumstances. However, to quiet the minds of the inhabitants, we not only consented to put in writing my promises, but acceded to many conditions not expected by them; and, contrary to direct stipulations, gave up to the proprietors all the coasting vessels captured, with their cargoes, of which I annex a return*, and the value of which amounted to one million and a half of dollars, and which, being done with the views already exposed, will, I trust, meet with his majesty's approbation. I have the honour to inform his majesty's ministers, that I had detached captain Arbuthnot, of the 20th light dragoons on the 3d instant, with a party consisting of seven dragoons, and 20 infantry (the whole mounted) to a place called Luxan, 50 miles distant. My principal object was, to have the country reconnoitred, and to see what were the dispositions of the inhabitants; but with the avowed object of escorting back some of the treasure which had been taken from hence, and to prevent its following the viceroy, which I had reason to suspect was intended, though it was said to be all private property; and in which case, we had declared, if brought back, it should be given to its owners, if of this city. Captain Arbuthnot returned last night; and I am glad to say with information of a pleasing nature; for your lordship will see, by this detachment passing so easily through the country, that whatever their present inclinations may be, there is no very great danger from any hostile intentions against us; and captain Arbuthnot reports rather favourably of the general dispositions of the people. The country to Luxan, as I have already represented, in general the whole of it, is a perfect flat, and the view of the horizon is obstructed by nothing but the immense herds of horses and cattle—but principally horned cattle. Luxan is situated on a river of the same name, and where there is a bridge over it, and the route leading to all the interior provinces; and I rather think it will be adviseable on many accounts that I possess myself of it, which I can do by a small detachment. Much of the treasure was caught actually going to Cordova; and the rest, but for the opportune arrival of the party, would have been pillaged. The waggons conveying this treasure may be expected here to-morrow.

* It has been found difficult to procure the return of vessels here alluded to, at least the names of all. They are of various classes, from 150 tons downwards, and amount in the whole to 180 in number.

Those

Those with the royal treasure, and that of the Philippine company, arrived some time since, and it is already embarked. The hon. major Deane, who is the bearer of these dispatches, will give any further information to his majesty's ministers that they may desire; and I beg to recommend him as an officer deserving of any mark of favour that his majesty may be graciously pleased to bestow on him."

Extract of a dispatch from major-general Beresford to lord Castlereagh, dated Fort of Buenos Ayres, July 16.

I am now able to transmit nearly an account of the money which has been received as prize, under the terms of my agreement with the acting governor of the place previous to my entering the town. The statement shows the various departments and public bodies whence the sums forming the total have been derived. The sum of 1,086,208 dollars is going home in his majesty's ship Narcissus, and sir H. Popham and myself have thought it right to reserve here, for the exigencies of the army and navy, a considerable sum; and for the purpose of keeping down the exchange on bills drawn by the respective services, and which would otherwise bring the dollar to an enormous price. It is estimated that the merchandise in the king's stores, principally Jesuits bark and quicksilver, and which is in the Philippine company's stores, with the little that is retained of floating property, will amount, if it can be disposed of, to between two and three millions of dollars. Of the bullion delivered in, some is claimed as private property, and which shall be delivered in the same spirit of liberality with which we trust it will be considered we have acted here. The 61,797 dollars were yesterday delivered to the consulada, on their assurance only that it belonged to the people of this town; and they have a claim upon 40 or 50,000 dollars more, which will be settled this day.

Total amount of money, &c. received in consequence of an agreement on June 28.

Embarked on-board the Narcissus 1,086,208. Remain in the treasury 205,115. Total 1,291,323 dollars.

Admiralty-office, Sept. 13.

Capt. Donnelly, of the Narcissus, arrived last night with the following dispatch from commodore sir Home Popham, addressed to W. Marsden, esq.

Narcissus, off Buenos Ayres, July 6.

Sir,

In the letter which I had the honour to address you from St. Helena on the 30th of April, I fully explained, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, the motives that induced me to press so strongly the urgency and expediency of undertaking an expedition against the enemy's settlements in the Rio de la Plata. I have, therefore, only to give you a short detail of the proceedings of the squadron, previously congratulating their lordships on his majesty's forces being in full possession of Buenos Ayres and its dependencies, the capital of one of the richest and most extensive provinces of South America. To the commerce of Great Britain it exhibits peculiar advantages, as well as to the active industry of her manufacturing

nufacturing towns. And when I venture, in addition, to assure their lordships of the extreme healthiness of the climate, I trust I only hold out a consolation, that the friends of every person employed on this expedition are justly entitled to, and which I am satisfied will be equally gratifying to the feelings of every British subject. As I considered it an object of material consequence to obtain the earliest local information in the river, I placed the squadron under the direction of capt. Rowley on the 27th of May, and preceded it in the Narcissus for that purpose. On the 8th ult. we anchored near the island of Flores; and, after passing Monte Video the following day, we detained a Portuguese schooner, by whom the intelligence we had formerly received was generally confirmed. On the 11th we fell in with the Encounter and Ocean transports near the south coast of the river; and on the 13th we joined the squadron. It was immediately determined to attack the capital; and no time was lost in removing the marine battalion to the Narcissus, the Encounter, and the transports, for the purpose of proceeding to Buenos Ayres, while the Diadem blockaded the port of Monte-Video, and the Raisonable and Diomede, by way of demonstration, cruized near Maldonado and other assailable points. Our progress up the river was very much retarded by the shoalness of the water, adverse winds and currents, continual fogs, and the great inaccuracy of the charts; but by the unremitting and laborious exertions of the officers and men I had the honour to command, these difficulties were surmounted, and the squadron anchored, on the afternoon of the 25th, off Point Quelmey a Pouchin, about 12 miles from Buenos Ayres. As it was impossible for the Narcissus to approach the shore, on account of the shoalnes of the water, the Encounter was run in so close as to take the ground, the more effectually to cover the debarkation of the army in case of necessity: the whole, however, was landed in the course of the evening, without the least opposition; consisting of the detachment of troops from the Cape, and that from St. Helena, with the marine battalion, under the orders of captain King, of the Diadem, which was composed of the marines of the squadron, augmented by the incorporation of some seamen, and three companies of Royal Blues from the same source of enterprise, which had been regularly trained for that duty, and dressed in an appropriate uniform. The enemy was posted at the village of Reduction, which was on an eminence about two miles from the beach, with the appearance of a fine plain between the two armies, which however proved on the following morning to be only a morass in a high state of verdure. This in some measure checked our advancement, nor did the enemy open his field train till the troops were nearly in the middle of the swamp, from whence he thought it was impossible for them to be extricated. The able and excellent disposition of general Beresford, and the intrepidity of his army, very soon, however, satisfied the enemy, that his only safety was in a precipitate retreat; for we had the satisfaction of seeing from the ships near 4000 Spanish cavalry flying in every direction, leaving their artillery behind them, while our troops were ascending the hill with

with that coolness, and courage, which has on every occasion marked the character of a British soldier, and has been exemplified in proportion to the difficulties and dangers by which he was opposed. I have probably trespassed on a line that does not immediately belong to me, but I could not resist the gratification of relating to their lordships what I saw; assuring myself, at the same time, they will be convinced, if the enemy had given the squadron an equal opportunity, I should have had the pleasing duty of reporting an honourable issue to the effect of their eminent zeal and exertions. On the 27th, in the morning, we saw some firing near the banks of the river Chello, but it blew so hard that it was totally impracticable to have any communication with the shore during that day. Early on the 28th, a royal salute was fired from the castle of Buenos Ayres, in honour of his majesty's colours being hoisted in South America, and instantly returned by the ships lying off the town. I now consider it to be a proper moment for acknowledging, in terms of the sincerest gratitude, my high sense of the zealous and animated conduct of every officer and man in the squadron which I have the extraordinary good fortune to command. Capt. Rowley, with captain Edmonds under his orders, continued as long as the weather would permit an advantageous demonstration off Maldonado. Capt. Donnelly, who did me the favour of requesting I would go up the river in the Narcissus, and to whom, from his rank, no specific service could be assigned in our small scale of operations, applied himself in every occasion where he could promote the objects of the expedition:—and, as he is charged with this dispatch, I take the liberty of recommending him to their lordships' protection, under a full conviction they will obtain, through him, every information which they have a right to expect from an officer of great intelligence and long meritorious service. I consider captain King, with the officers of the marine battalion, so completely under the report of general Beresford, that I shall only state to their lordships my extreme satisfaction on hearing personally from the general how highly he appreciated every part of their conduct, particularly the celerity with which they transported the artillery and troops across the Rio Chuelo after the bridge was burnt by the enemy. Lieut. Talbot, of the Encounter, manifested great zeal in every instance where it was necessary to call on him; Lieut. Groves, of the Diadem, was also very active in landing the ordnance and ordnance stores; and I think it highly proper to state to their lordships, that the masters and crews of the different transports behaved with great attention during the whole of this service. I inclose a copy of the terms (see p. 106) granted to the inhabitants after the capture of the city, by which their lordships will see that the coasting vessels in the river, supposed with their cargoes to amount to one million and a half of dollars, were restored to the proprietors; for an early record to the country of the great liberality of his majesty's government.

I am, &c. H. POPHAM.

I have sent lieut. Groves to take possession of Ensenaba de Baragon, a port to the eastward of Buenos Ayres, where I understand there

there are two gun-vessels and two merchant ships. H. P.

23. We have to record another instance of the violence and atrocity of Bonaparte. A bookseller, M. Palm, residing at Nuremberg, formerly an imperial town, and under the special protection of Prussia, was dragged from his house to the fortress of Brannau, and there tried, and shot by the sentence of a French military commission on the 26th of August, for no greater crime than vending, in the way of his trade, a book respecting the government of France under Napoleon. He was a man of the highest integrity, and his unhappy fate is universally lamented. This atrocious act, placed beyond a doubt by private letters, is only slightly alluded to in the German papers. The fact is, that there is not one journalist within three days' journey of the French army, who has not the fate of the Nuremberg bookseller continually before his eyes.

OCTOBER.

2. Her royal highness the princess of Wales was this afternoon on her way to the seat of Mr. Locke, at Norbury Park, near Leatherhead, Surrey, in a barouche, attended by lady Sheffield and miss Harriet Mary Cholmondeley, and was driven by her royal highness's own servants. On their arrival at Sutton, they took post-horses, and were driven by the post-boys belonging to the Cock inn. Her royal highness's horses and servants were left to refresh, in order to take her home that evening. Her royal highness proceeded to Leatherhead, when, on turning a sharp corner to get into the road which leads to Norbury Park, the carriage was overturned, opposite to a large tree, against which miss Cholmondeley was thrown with such violence as to be killed on the spot. She was sitting on the front seat of the barouche alone. Her royal highness and lady Sheffield occupied the back seat, and were thrown out together. They went into the Swan inn, at Leatherhead. Sir Lucas Pepys, who lives in that neighbourhood, and had not left Leatherhead (where he had been to visit a patient) more than a quarter of an hour, was immediately followed, and brought back; and a servant was sent to Mr. Locke's, with an account of the accident. Mrs. L. arrived in her carriage with all possible expedition, and conducted the princess to Norbury Park, where sir Lucas Pepys attended her royal highness, and, as no surgeon was at hand, bled her himself. On the following day the princess returned to Blackheath. Her royal highness received no other injury than a slight cut on her nose, and a bruise on one of her arms. Lady Sheffield (wife of lord Sheffield), who was with her, did not receive the slightest injury.—An inquest was held on the 4th, before C. Jemmet, esq. coroner for Surrey, on the body of miss Cholmondeley, at the Swan inn, Leatherhead. It appeared, by the evidence of a Mr. Jarratt at Leatherhead, and of an ostler belonging to the inn, that the princess's carriage, drawn by four horses, with two postillions, while turning round a very acute angle of the road, was overturned. The drivers, through extreme caution, had taken too great a sweep in turning the corner, which brought the carriage on the rising ground, and occasioned its being upset. The carriage swung round a great tree before it

it fell. When the surgeon saw the princess of Wales, she most benevolently desired him to go up-stairs, as there was a lady who stood more in need of his assistance. The surgeon (Mr. Lawdell, of Great Bookham) then went to miss Cholmondeley, and found her totally deprived of life. There was a violent contusion on her left temple; and her death appeared to have been occasioned by the rupture of a blood-vessel. The jury returned a verdict of Accidental Death. Miss Cholmondeley was born in 1753, and was the daughter of the late hon. and rev. Robert Cholmondeley, rector of Hartingford-Bury, and St. Andrews, Hertford, who was son of the third earl of Cholmondeley, and uncle to the present earl. Her mother is living, and resides in Jermyn-street. On the 8th, at 12 o'clock, the remains of this unfortunate lady were interred in Leatherhead church, close to the spot where lady Thompson, wife of sir John Thompson, some years since lord mayor of London, is buried. The body was on the evening of the 6th removed from the Swan inn to an undertaker's near the church-yard, and was followed to the grave by her brother, George Cholmondeley, esq. one of the commissioners of excise; the hon. Augustus Phipps; William Locke, esq.; S. Gray, esq.; and several other gentlemen. The fatal spot where this amiable lady met her sudden death is still visited by crowds.

Admiralty-office, Oct. 4.

Letters from sir Charles Cotton, bart. dated on board H. M. S. San Josef, off Ushant, Sept. 30th, inclose the following:

Canopus, at sea, Sept. 29.

Sir,

I have to inform you with my falling-in with the French frigate Le President, of 34 guns, 330 men, commanded by Monsieur Gallier Labrosse, on the 27th inst. in lat. 47 deg. 17 min. N. long. 6 deg. 52 min. W.; and after a chase of 17 hours she struck to his majesty's squadron under my command. The President is one of the frigates that sailed from France with the Regulus, Sybille, and Surveillante corvette; separated in a gale of wind on the 20th of August, in lat. 22 deg. 26 min. N. and long. 55 deg. W.

THO. LOUIS.

Sir C. Cotton, &c.

Centaur, at sea, Sept. 26.

Sir,

Yesterday morning, about one o'clock, I had the good fortune of falling-in with a squadron of the enemy, standing to the westward; the squadron under my orders being then on the larboard tack, streching in for Chasseron light-house, six or seven leagues from us, the Revenge to windward and the Monarch to leeward, on the look-out, the latter ship first making the signal for an enemy, when I soon discovered seven sail to leeward of me; and considering them, in part, line-of-battle-ships, the signal was made to form the line, and shortly after I observed them bearing up, making all sail, and running to the S.S.W. The signal was instantly made for a general chase; and the Monarch, from her position and good sailing, was enabled to keep nearly within gun-shot, a mile and a half, or little more, ahead of the Centaur, and the Mars on the starboard bow. At daylight we made them

on

out five large French frigates, and two corvettes, one of which bearing a broad pendant; at five the Monarch fired a few chase shot; and at six the weather-most frigate hauled more to the westward, in pursuit of which I dispatched the Mars; and one frigate, with the two corvettes, edged away to the south-east; the remaining three frigates keeping in close order, indicating the intention of supporting each other. At a quarter past ten the Monarch opened her starboard guns on the enemy, when a heavy cannonading commenced, and by the enemy's management of a running fight, they succeeded, in some measure, in crippling the Monarch's sails and rigging before the Centaur could get up. At 11 we got within fair range of two, and opened our fire from the larboard guns, whilst the Monarch kept engaging the third ship, and about noon one of the two frigates struck, as did the one opposed to the Monarch shortly after. It was just before this I received a severe wound in my right arm, (since amputated, and doing well I hope,) which obliged me to leave the deck: the Mars, previous to this, had succeeded in capturing her chase, and, with her prize, hauled towards the Centaur, in chase of, and firing at, the French commodore's ship, and at three assisted in capturing her. Those ships of the enemy made an obstinate resistance; but the result was, as may well be supposed, attended with much slaughter, being crowded with troops, out of Rochefort the evening before. I cannot add too much praise to capt. Lee, of the Monarch, for his gallant and officer-like conduct; but I am sorry to find his loss has been rather severe, the swell of the sea preventing, at times, the opening of the lower deck ports. To capt. Lukin of the Mars I feel thankful for his steady conduct and attention; and I have also to express my satisfaction at the endeavours of captains Boyles, King, sir John Gore, and Masefield, in getting up with the enemy, although they could not succeed. The Revenge, from being well to windward, became considerably astern after bearing up. To lieut. Case, first of the Centaur, I have to add my approbation of his judicious conduct before and after my leaving the deck, and I also feel much pleased at the steady exertions of all my officers, seamen, and marines. I enclose herewith a return of the killed and wounded, and I also annex a list of the enemy's ships captured, and will make a return of their loss as soon as possible.

SAM. HOOD.

Sir C. Cotton, &c.

Return of the killed and wounded.

Centaur, 1 seaman and 2 marines, killed; capt. sir S. Hood, K. B. and 2 seamen wounded.—Monarch, Mr. Bidden, midshipman, and 5 seamen, killed; lieut. Anderson, Mr. Duffy boatswain, Mr. Geary midshipman, 3 petty officers, and 15 seamen, wounded; 1 serjeant, 2 corporals, and 4 private marines, wounded.—Total, 9 killed and 32 wounded.

List of the ships captured.

La Gloire, of 46 guns, commanded by M. Soleil, capitaine de vaisseau, carrying a broad pendant.—L'Infatigable, of 44 guns, commanded by M. Giradiers, capitaine de vaisseau.—La Minerve, of 44 guns, quite new, commanded by M. Colet, capitaine de frégate.—

frégate.—L'Armide, of 44 guns, two years old, commanded by M. Langlois, capitaine de frégate. Remarkably fine ships of large dimensions, mounting 28 French 18-pounders on their main decks, 30 pounder carronades on their quarter decks and forecastles, and about 650 men (including troops) in each ship, full of stores, arms, ammunition, and provisions, &c. La Themis, of 44 guns, old, escaped.—La Sylphe, of 18 guns, new, escaped.—La Lynx, of 18 guns, new, escaped.

[This Gazette also contains two orders in council, dated Oct. 1; the first confirming the reduction made by the commanders of the British forces at Buenos Ayres, in the duties chargeable on the exportation of hides, viz. from two to one real upon each ox hide, and from one real to half a real on each horse hide, provided they be exported in British bottoms, or by the natives of Buenos Ayres. The other authorises the governors of our trans-Atlantic possessions to allow live stock to be imported into the several settlements, under the conditions of the order of the 17th ult.]

Funeral of Mr. Fox.

11. Yesterday was the day appointed for the solemn interment of the remains of the right hon. C. J. Fox. It happened to be the twenty-sixth anniversary of his first election for the city of Westminster. By ten o'clock all was bustle and confusion at the west end of the town, the people crowding from every quarter to take their stations in the line through which the funeral procession of the much-lamented Mr. Fox was to pass. The windows and steps of the different houses in Pall-Mall, and all the other streets in the line, were by ten o'clock all occupied. At this hour a numerous body of horse guards arrived, and were distributed along the line, to prevent carriages from breaking into it. Indeed, every precaution had been previously taken to prevent this kind of disorder, as the different avenues leading to the Stable-yard were blocked up, and no carriages were allowed to enter, except those which carried company who were to attend the funeral.

The streets through which the procession was to pass, were gravelled over; the passages leading into Pall-Mall, Charing Cross, Parliament-street, &c. were fenced up by a temporary railing and gate-ways.

The royal Westminster, colonel Robertson; the loyal city of Westminster, the hon. colonel Eden; the St. James's, colonel lord Amherst; the royal York Mary-le-bone, colonel lord viscount Duncannon; the prince of Wales's, colonel M. P. Andrews; the loyal British artificers, colonel Burton; and several other corps of volunteers paraded at an early hour, and lined the streets. Eleven o'clock was the hour for assembling at his house in the Stable-yard. By his majesty's gracious order, the carriages after setting down were permitted to pass through St. James's park. The noblemen, members of the house of commons, dignitaries of the church, members of the whig club, electors of Westminster, and gentlemen from distant parts of the country, were shown into different apartments as they entered the house. Hundreds came dressed in scarves, and many of them were habited in cloaks. They were marshalled according to their several descriptions. Three or four

four bands of the best musicians in the metropolis, with the singing boys, were appointed to perform the Dead March in Saul, which, by its impressive power over the heart, disposes to a pious melancholy; but some of the friends of the deceased thought that this would have too much the air of spectacle, and therefore the bands did not march, but were stationed at intervals—one at St. James's palace, one at Carlton-house, one at the Admiralty, one at the entrance to the Abbey, besides the bands of all the volunteer corps, the muffled drums, &c.

It was nearly two o'clock before the procession was in motion. The most solemn and impressive silence prevailed among the people, and the populace were more orderly than could be expected in so vast a concourse of people. The procession moved on in the order we have already described to Westminster abbey.

The mourners in coaches were—

Lord Grenville,	Lord Ellenborough,
Earl Spencer,	Lord Henry Petty,
Mr. Windham,	Lord Sidmouth,
Mr. Grenville,	Mr. Plumer,
Earl Moira,	&c. &c. &c.

And there were above one hundred members of parliament on foot.

The hearse was entirely of a new construction. Instead of being a closely covered vehicle, as those dismal conveyances in general are, it was an open hearse, but the pillars were not seen, neither was any motion of the wheels to be perceived.—It was a magnificent hearse, of a simple and elegant form, richly covered with black velvet, which hung in draperies, trimmed with black fringe, surmounted with lofty plumes. It was lofty and large in all its dimensions, and the whole being in black velvet without any mixture of colour, gave it a simple and grand effect. On a sarcophagus, in the centre of the car, the coffin, ornamented with the arms of the deceased, and a simple inscription, was laid in open view.

On the procession arriving at the abbey, the loyal city of Westminster volunteers, commanded by the hon. colonel Eden, lined the entrance from Old Palace Yard, through St. Margaret's burial ground, to the west door, also in the Abbey, as far as the inner gate. The procession then moved in the following order on foot:—

Electors of Westminster.
A deputation of the Whig club.
Ten of the king's singing boys.
Seven minor canons.
Rev. Mr. Champneys, prebendary of the chapel.
Eight choristers.
Rev. Dr. Ireland, Dr. Parr, and Dr. Raine.
High bailiff and constable.
Fifteen extra choristers, in surplices.
Rev. Mr. Wheeler.
Two banners.
Crest and cushion borne by a gentleman.

Earl of Carlisle — Earl of Albemarle.

THE BODY.

Duke of Devonshire — Earl of Thanet.

Duke of Norfolk — Lord Chancellor.

LORD HOLLAND,
Supported by
Viscount Howick — Earl Fitzwilliam.
Mr. Trotter (the deceased's private secretary), lord Holland's train-bearer.
The procession was closed by the Whig club.

The anthems and music were the works of the celebrated Mr. Purcell and Dr. Croft.

Mr. Cooke and Mr. Smith (composer to his majesty) presided at the organ; and the service was read by Dr. Ireland.—During the funeral service lady Holland and three sons, with two other ladies, were in the gallery, which was hung with black.

The grave was raised by a platform, with a railing covered with black. At the head of the coffin, inside the railing, was lord Holland, surrounded by the pall-bearers. The grave eight feet deep, bricked and paved.

Besides twelve mourning coaches and six, and three mourning coaches and four, the carriages belonging to the following noblemen and gentlemen were in the procession.—After Mr. Fox's own, that of

Lord Holland—then those of
Lord Grenville.
Lord Henry Petty.
Earl Spencer.
The right hon. William Windham.
The right hon. Thomas Grenville.
The dukes of Norfolk and Devonshire.
Earls — Fitzwilliam, Cowper, Selkirk, Jersey, Cholmondeley, Moira, Barrymore, Besborough, Thanet, and Percy.
The Lord Chancellor.
Lords—Ellenborough, G. H. Cavendish, William Russell, and Petre.
The two countess dowagers of Buckinghamshire.
Sirs—R. Barclay and J. Aubrey.
The duchess of Leinster and Mr. Ogleby (her husband).
Messrs.—Langley, Beckley, Jervis, &c.

Every part of the ceremony was most solemn and impressive. And what particularly contributed to the effect was, the orderly demeanour and silence of the immense multitudes which were assembled in the streets. But such was the judicious arrangement made by the police magistrates on the one hand, by stationing their officers in the various divisions so

as

as to embrace every avenue, and the dispositions of the horse and foot guards, with the volunteers under the command of major-generals Ainslie and Calvert, that not the most trifling disorder occurred.

The body was removed on Thursday night from the private chamber to the saloon, which was previously lined with black cloth. The coffin was placed on tressels, with six wax candles, three on each side. Bannerols, and other of the usual insignia, were placed around in the usual form. The apartment was illuminated during the night.

Admiralty-office, Oct. 17.

A letter from sir J. Saumarez, bart. and K. B. rear-admiral of the red, to W. Marsden, esq. dated Guernsey, Oct. 15, 1806.

Sir,

I herewith inclose, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, a letter I have received from capt. Thicknesse of his majesty's sloop Sheldrake, giving an account of a gallant and spirited attack made by the Constance, Sheldrake, and Strenuous gun-brig, commanded by lieut. Nugent, on the French frigate La Salamandre, which they succeeded in capturing, after a close and severe action; the enemy's ship being supported by a strong battery from the shore, and numerous troops with field pieces and musketry. Whilst I sincerely lament the death of capt. Burrowes, with the other brave men who have fallen in this enterprise, I cannot too highly applaud, the persevering exertions made by capt. Thicknesse, the officers and men under his orders, to prevent the Constance, after she had taken the ground, from falling into the enemy's hands; and it is a satisfaction to know that their efforts so far prevailed, as to have rendered her totally useless to the enemy, having left her a perfect wreck under the battery. The Salamandre having also grounded, they succeeded in destroying by setting fire to her.

I am, &c. JAMES SAUMAREZ.

P. S. I inclose a return of the killed and wounded, as far as capt. Thicknesse has been enabled to collect the returns. The return of missing has not yet been transmitted to me. The number of French prisoners is 55, several of whom are wounded.

Sheldrake, St. Aubin's Bay, Jersey, Oct. 14.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that his majesty's ship Constance, in company with the Sheldrake, Strenuous, and Britannia hired cutter, weighed on the 12th inst. at six *a. m.* from the anchorage at Chausey, with the tide of ebb, and a light breeze at S. E.: on standing-in to reconnoitre St. Maloes, a sail was discovered off Cape Frehol, to which the squadron gave chase, employing their sweeps nearly the whole way. It was soon discovered by her manœuvres, the chase was an enemy, who about noon succeeded in getting into Bouche d'Arkie, hauling close in with the rocks, and carrying out bow and quarter springs, and otherwise preparing for an obstinate defence, covered by a strong battery of guns on the hill, as well as field-pieces and musquetry employed by the troops

brought down for that purpose: in this state they waited to receive us: their determined appearance only increased the ardour of the brave capt. Burrowes (who, I am sorry to add, fell gloriously by a grape-shot in the heat of action). The Sheldrake, by superior sailing, had the good fortune to lead into action, followed by the Strenuous, the squadron being anchored within pistol-shot of the enemy, with springs on their cables; at two *p. m.* a most spirited fire commenced on both sides, which was supported with great gallantry and obstinacy on the part of the enemy's ship, till four *p. m.* when it pleased God to give us the victory; I sent my first lieutenant to take possession of her, and the British colours were immediately hoisted. She proves to be the Salamandre, a French frigate-built ship, mounted with twenty-six long twelve and eighteen pounders, and manned, by their own account, with one hundred and fifty men, and was commanded by a lieut. de vaisseau, who was killed in the action; she was bound from St. Maloes to Brest, with ship timber. His majesty's ship Constance having taken the ground, and the prize also aground, every exertion was used to get both ships off, but, I am sorry to add, without success; the fire of the cannon and musketry from the shore becoming now so galling and tremendous, that the people could not show themselves on deck. The Constance having cut both cables during the action, and the warps which had been run out to heave her off, shot away; at the moment of her floating she drifted with the wind on shore, further on the rocks, which obliged the officers and crew to abandon her (without firing her), the decks being filled with wounded. Observing however, as the tide rose, she began to float, I was induced, great as the risk was, to make another attempt to save her, which also proved unsuccessful, those employed on this service being either killed or made prisoners. Night now closing on us, it became necessary to consult the safety of the Sheldrake and Strenuous (the latter with her foretop-mast shot away); at break of day I stood in to see if any thing further could be done, and was happy to observe the Constance was high and dry on the rocks under the battery, lying keel up, a perfect wreck. The prize, which had not drifted so far in, I succeeded in totally destroying by fire at low water; I have saved about 100 of the officers and crew of the Constance; of those missing, I hope most are made prisoners, though I fear some may have fallen in the second attempt to recover his majesty's ship. The lamented death of my respected friend capt. Burrowes (who, had he lived, would have given their lordships a more clear and detailed account than I am able to do of this affair) leaves me the duty of bearing testimony to the determined courage, coolness and ardour displayed by every officer and man in the squadron. I must particularly mention the assistance I received from my first lieutenant Richard Kevern, a most meritorious and old officer, whom I presume to recommend to their lordships' favourable notice. I must also bear testimony to the zeal and bravery of lieut. Nugent, commanding the Strenuous gun-brig, who on this as well as former occasions has ever shown himself a gallant and zealous officer. Lieut. William Lawrence, my second lieutenant, to whom I committed

mitted the service of destroying the prize, performed it very much to his own credit and my satisfaction. I am sorry to state that Mr. Henry Fraser, master of the Sheldrake, who volunteered in the most gallant manner to accompany Mr. Richards, first lieutenant of the Constance, in the second attempt to save the ship, is among the missing. I herewith have the honour to inclose as correct a list of the killed and wounded as, from circumstances, I have been able to obtain: as also a list of prisoners saved from the prize.

JOHN THICKNESSE.

P. S. As lieutenant Lawrence saw about thirty killed lying on the Salamander's decks, I conceive the slaughter on board her must have been very great. Numbers of her crew escaped in boats, and by swimming to the shore, on her striking. JOHN THICKNESSE.

Killed and wounded on board the Constance, Sheldrake, and Strenuous, on the 12th inst.

Constance:—Killed, capt. Burrowes; Ben. Leviston, serjeant of marines; W. Bunbridge, J. Charlotte, E. Ryan, seamen; J. M'Ireson, quarter-master; R. Robinson, boatswain's mate; J. Gillford, quarter-master; J. Wilson (2), quarter-master.—Since dead of their wounds: I. Coglan, seaman; T. M'Andrew, marine; J. Patterson, quarter-master; J. Giles, marine.—Slightly wounded: Mr. Richards, first lieutenant; J. Navy, J. Clark, T. Howe, T. Little, P. Murrow, E. Trout, J. Flynn, S. Breasur, R. Wallas, seamen.—Badly wounded: D. M'Cawley, boatswain; W. Morton, marine.

Sheldrake:—Killed, J. Brown, seaman.—Wounded, E. Hunt and J. Culbett, seamen.

Strenuous: — none killed. — Wounded, R. Bond, midshipman, slightly; J. Buttersley, marine, severely; H. Howard, seaman, J. Bale quarter-master, and J. Hawkins marine, slightly.

Salamander: Killed not known Wounded (now on board the Sheldrake) nine, two since dead.

JOHN THICKNESSE.

NOVEMBER.

Plymouth, Nov. 2.—Last night and this morning it blew a terrible gale of wind at S. W. with a heavy rolling sea in the Sound; in short, the most tremendous storm we have experienced this season: the men of war in the Sound, Cawsand bay and Hamoaze rode out the gale of wind very well; but last night, in the height of the hurricane, a fine West Indiaman from Honduras broke from her moorings in the Sound, and ran plump ashore on the rocks under the West Hoe, and went to pieces; the crew of her were all saved by the activity of the Glatton's boat, in which capt. Selcombe exerted himself so much as reflects the highest credit on him as an officer and a man. The pilot was the only person drowned. The cargo will, being solid, most probably be saved, or the greater part of it.

Plymouth, Nov. 5.—Letters from Exmouth state the melancholy news of the total loss of that fine privateer, belonging to this port, near the Bar of Exmouth, on the coast of Devon, the Thornborough, of 16 guns, capt. Crewte, and 50 men, in the tremendous hurricane of Sunday night; and we are sorry to add, that captain Crewte and seven men were unfortunately drowned; the rest got on shore on pieces of the wreck, and were providentially

vidently saved: she was one of the completest privateers fitted out from this port.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH,
Nov. 18.

The King v. A. Charles.

Mr. Garrow applied for leave to file a criminal information against this defendant, for a gross and scandalous libel, which he had published respecting lord Moira, imputing to that nobleman the most disgraceful practices; charging him with abusing his public station, for purposes of stock-jobbing; and with having participated in the emoluments others were enabled to make, by disclosing the secrets of government, which had been officially and confidentially intrusted to his lordship. The libel was contained in a private letter to lord Grenville, pointing out to him the necessity of taking steps, to guard against the malpractices imputed to lord Moira.

The learned counsel here read the libel. It commenced by observing, that its contents were of too important a nature to need any particular apology. The writer venerated the character of lord Grenville too much, not to separate his lordship from the odium which attached itself to two members of the cabinet, who would bring down disgrace and ruin on the whole administration. It stated that lord Moira lent his name to the most important disclosures, and Alexander Davison, as his broker, participated in the profit. Nay more, the defendant had seen one or two runners of newspapers, who had boasted of communications from lord Moira with the utmost confidence. A letter, too, he asserted, had been shown on Change from his lordship, which spoke of the expected arrival of a messenger from France. He next observed, that lord Moira always held himself too cheap; and the writer feared, that something like a sense of gratitude might lead his lordship beyond the strict line of his duty. After expressing the high respect the defendant entertained for the character and conduct of lord Grenville, he concluded by observing, that the communication was made in the most strict confidence; but that, if his lordship should require proof of the facts stated, the writer was prepared to adduce it.

Mr. Garrow then continued. He said that he had in his possession numerous affidavits from lord Grenville, lord Spencer, lord Moira, Mr. Alexander Davison, and Mr. John Battye, who was supposed to have shown the letter respecting the messenger from France, all of whom denied, in the most positive terms, every circumstance stated in the libellous communication. The learned counsel therefore trusted, that for the sake of the public tranquillity, as well as to rescue the character of the noble lord, which had been so grossly calumniated, the court would grant the object of this application.

The affidavits were then handed to the clerk of the court, and read.

The affidavit of William Christmas identified the hand-writing of the defendant to the libel, which he had himself acknowledged to lord Grenville.

The court inquired in what situation of life the defendant was, and was answered that he was a clerk in the bank of England.—Rule to show cause granted.

20. Late on Monday night, or early

early on Tuesday morning, the chapel belonging to Greenwich hospital was broke open. Upon the discovery being made on Wednesday morning, lord Hood, the governor of Greenwich hospital, sent information to Bow-street office. In consequence, Anthony was dispatched there. He examined the premises, and found the strong outer door had been broke open, also the inner one, which is made of solid mahogany, near four inches thick, and which, we understand, cost 500*l.*; the vestry door was likewise broke open, and the iron chest, in which the sacrament plate is deposited, had been attempted, in which act it was supposed the villains broke their iron crow, as part of one was found near it, and there is no doubt but the plate was their object; they however made off with two of the minister's surplices, the sacrament linen, the gold fringe belonging to the pulpit, &c.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH,
Monday, Nov. 24.

The King *v.* General Thomas Picton.

Our readers will recollect the trial of the defendant for inflicting torture, in the island of Trinidad, upon Louisa Calderon. The trial took place on the 24th of February last, and is to be found in this volume under that date. In the last term Mr. Dallas, as counsel for general Picton, had obtained a rule to show cause why a new trial should not be granted, on the ground of the misrepresentation of the contents of a certain book called the *Recopilacion*, containing the laws for the government of the Spanish West Indies, in the evidence of Peter Vargas, who had stated, that it contained no authority for the infliction of torture. The question, whether the new trial should be granted, came on this day to be argued.

Before the discussion commenced, and after the minutes of the trial had been read by lord Ellenborough,

Mr. Garrow said, that although he wished it to be distinctly understood that he did not oppose any indulgence the court might think fit to grant the defendant, yet he felt it his duty, as counsel for the prosecution, to apprize their lordships of one circumstance. To support the motion for a new trial general Picton had thought fit to file affidavits, made under the direction of the deputy governor of the island of Trinidad, without any authority from the court, and not under the mandamus formerly issued for the purpose of taking depositions. He therefore hoped, that at least, if the court did not entirely reject that testimony, it would allow the prosecutors time to answer it.

Mr. Dallas wished to owe nothing to the lenity of the counsel for the crown, though, if necessary, he might claim something from the indulgence of the court. The affidavits to which his learned friend had objected, were made under the following circumstances, and their lordships would judge if they were not sufficiently authenticated to be received as evidence. It would be in the recollection of those present at the trial, that a book had been produced, styled in the Spanish language *Recopilacion de Leyes*, or a collection of the laws for the government of the Spanish West Indies, with respect to which Mr. Peter Vargas had sworn, that it contained nothing authorizing the infliction

infliction of torture. This testimony was literally true, but substantially false: for although the book certainly contained nothing to warrant the infliction of torture in itself, yet in it was a passage, directing, that where that book should be silent, resort should be had to the laws of Old Spain. When, therefore, it was heard in Trinidad, that general Picton had been found guilty on the ground of torture not being authorized, the deputy governor for his own vindication, having made use of it, as well as for the justification of the defendant, immediately employed himself with several alcaldes to make affidavits, formed upon research, containing an explication of the laws which regulated the island. These were transmitted, as official documents, to the secretary of state; and the court would decide if these affidavits, viewed in that light, were not to be read as an exposition of the law, upon which the defendant must be supposed to have acted.

Lord Ellenborough, and the other judges, were decidedly of opinion, that testimony brought forward in this form was totally inadmissible. The deputy governor had undertaken to produce them, without any authority from the court, merely for the purpose of justifying his own acts. But supposing that they could be read, it would be absolutely necessary that the other side should have an opportunity of answering them.

Mr. Dallas observed, that among those documents, was the testimony of a person who swore to the application of torture a few years before the surrender to general Abercrombie, viz. in 1792.

The affidavit of Mr. Richard Walter Forbes, attorney for the defendant, was then read. It stated, that after diligent search in the various public libraries, it was not until a late period that any copy of the *Recopilacion de Leyes* could be procured; but that it had lately been discovered in the library of the London Institution.

Lord Ellenborough recommended, as the documents from Trinidad, of which the court could take no cognizance, might be of importance to the defence of general Picton, that a commission for taking depositions should be agreed to by the counsel for the prosecution.

To this suggestion Mr. Garrow readily consented.

Admiralty office, Nov. 25.

Copy of a letter from vice admiral the right hon. lord Collingwood, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean, to Wm. Marsden, esq. dated on board his majesty's ship the Ocean, off Cadiz, the 3d of November, 1806.

Sir,

When the convoy first appeared in the Streights, rear-admiral Purvis, who was at Gibraltar, sent out the ships and gun-boats which were there; one of the latter, commanded by lieut. Foote of the Queen, attempting to rescue a vessel which was taken, unfortunately found the one which had her in tow so superior, that, after a contest which was highly honourable to him and his men, and having lost in killed and wounded a great part of his boat's crew, he was obliged to surrender, and the gun-boat was taken. I inclose, to be laid before their lordships, lieut. Foote's letter, with a list of killed and wounded.

I am, &c.

COLLINGWOOD.

Tour

Town of Tarisso, Oct. 26, 1806.

Sir,

With heartfelt anguish I acquaint you of the capture of his majesty's gun-boat Hannah, yesterday forenoon, by a Spanish privateer of four guns, and seventy men; trusting, after a circumstantial account, which I feel it my duty to write you on this melancholy occasion, you will see the few brave fellows I commanded, did their duty, and that the British flag was not tarnished on this occasion.

Being off Cabaritta Point, I discovered a latine rigged vessel in the middle of the Gut, a few miles to leeward of me, towing a merchantman towards the Spanish coast; and conceiving it my duty to endeavour to regain her, I made all sail after him, and upon coming within gun-shot, I perceived she was a large three-masted Spanish privateer, of much superior force to the gun-boat; I therefore, after exchanging a few shot, and finding she knew her superiority, by casting off the tow and tacking after me, endeavoured to escape—she soon however got so close as to do execution with her grape: and our ammunition being nearly exhausted, I determined to try the event by boarding her; but on coming alongside, such a number of men jumped into us as obliged us to act on the defensive. After fighting on the deck about ten minutes, I looked around and saw scarce an Englishman standing, and another privateer coming up close to us; I therefore determined to save the lives of the few brave fellows that were left by striking the British flag. I send this with Mr. Spargo, midshipman, to whom I am indebted for writing this (being wounded in my left arm, for which the doctor has blooded me in the other), as well as for his bravery during the engagement, and I cannot finish without saying how much I owe to the bravery of young Mr. Millett, midshipman, and the whole of the crew. I herewith send you a list of killed and wounded,

and remain, sir, &c.

(Signed) JOHN FOOTE.

To John Child Purvis, esq. rear-admiral of the white, &c. &c. Gibraltar.

Killed.—Griffiths, cockswain of the gun-boat; William Marslin, seaman; Dennis Bulcure, ditto; Patrick Saul, ditto; and Matthew Sullivan, ditto.

Drowned.—James Robinson, seaman; and Thomas Price, ditto.

Wounded.—John Haddock, seaman, since dead; John Gustaff, seaman, badly; Alexander Dickey, seaman, ditto; Thomas Shepherd, seaman, badly in several places; Owen Morgan, seaman, badly; Samuel Paul, ditto, ditto; Daniel Carey, ditto, ditto; James Pollet, ditto, ditto; Peter Peterson, ditto, slightly; Noble Ducham, ditto, ditto; and Adam Davison, ditto, ditto.

Admiralty-office, Nov. 29.

Copies of letters and their inclosures, from vice-admiral Dacres, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at Jamaica, to Wm. Marsden, esq. dated Shark, Port Royal, Oct. 1, 1806.

Sir,

I am much gratified in transmitting you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, the copy of a letter I have just received from capt. Brisbane of the Arethusa, acquainting me of the capture of his catholic

majesty's

majesty's frigate Pomona, the destruction of twelve gun-boats, and the explosion of a castle mounting sixteen 36-pounders, by that ship and the Anson.—The success attending this bold enterprise, I trust, their lordships will agree with me, captain Brisbane was well entitled to, for the promptness and decision with which he anchored in such shoal water, to attack a force of such magnitude. The destruction of the gun-boats was occasioned by the Anson's well-directed fire. The conduct of all concerned will, I trust, be honoured by their lordships' approbation.

Yours, &c.
J. R. Dacres.

Arethusa, off the Havannah, August 23.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you of a successful attack having been made by his majesty's ships Arethusa and Anson on the enemy near Moro castle, in the island of Cuba, on the morning of the 23d instant. The result has been the capture of the Spanish frigate Pomona, of 38 guns, with a complement of three hundred and forty-seven men, and the destruction of twelve gun-boats, each carrying a 24-pounder, with a complement of a hundred men each, and the explosion of a castle mounting sixteen 36-pounders.—I trust you will excuse my entering into a detail of the service performed; in justice to the officers and men under my orders, I feel it right you should be made acquainted with the particulars.—On the morning of the 23d instant, I discovered the enemy within two miles of the Moro castle, rather to leeward, carrying all possible sail to get into the Havannah. I therefore made the signal to lay the enemy on board on coming up with her, but my design was frustrated by the Pomona bearing up, having been joined by twelve gun-boats from the Havannah, and anchoring within pistol shot of a castle mounting sixteen 36-pounders, in three fathoms and a half water. The gun-boats advanced from her in a line a-breast.

These boats were sent out expressly to protect the Pomona at her anchorage. This line of defence certainly appeared formidable, added to a lee shore; but difficulties with British seamen are easily got the better of; and well knowing the able and gallant support I should meet with from captain Lydiard, I decided instantly to attack the enemy in their strong position, and bore up for that purpose, having previously passed a bower cable through the stern port. In going down both ships suffered considerably in their sails and rigging from the raking fire of the gun-boats, the Pomona and castle reserving theirs until we anchored. At ten *a. m.* I anchored his majesty's ship Arethusa close alongside the Pomona, in one foot more water than the ship drew; the Anson on my larboard bow; when the action became general, but not of long duration. The Pomona having struck her colours in thirty-five minutes, three gun-boats blew up, six were sunk, and three driven on shore on the breakers. Notwithstanding the severe fire from the castle, the Pomona was instantly taken possession of by lieutenant Parish, first of the Arethusa, and followed by lieut. Sullivan, of the Anson. The castle had now commenced firing red-hot shot, which occasioned the Arethusa to be set on fire, but was soon extinguished by the

the very proper arrangements of lieutenants Higman and Griffith, commanding the main deck. Shortly after a melancholy and dreadful explosion took place in the castle, after which all firing ceased. It now becomes a pleasing part of my duty to recommend to your particular notice the steady and gallant conduct of captain Lydiard, the officers and men of both ships, all appearing to be animated with the same enthusiastic zeal.

I have &c.

(Signed) CHARLES BRISBANE.

Vice-admiral Dacres, &c. &c.

A list of killed and wounded.

Arethusa—2 killed and 32 wounded.

Anson—None killed or wounded.

Spanish frigate Pomona—Captain and 20 men killed; 2 lieutenants and 30 men wounded.

Gun-boats.—The loss of men must have been considerable, as very few of them reached the shore, from those boats which were blown up and sunk.

(Signed) CHARLES BRISBANE.

The Pomona was from Vera Cruz, bound to the Havannah, laden with specie and merchandize.—The money belonging to the king was landed at the castle by the governor of the Havannah, and the Spanish admiral, who had previously come out to place the Pomona in safety, as they considered her under the protection of the castle, and had only left her ten minutes before the action commenced. The freight belonging to the merchants, with plate and various kinds of merchandize, I have captured.

(Signed) CHARLES BRISBANE.

A list of the killed and wounded.

Killed.—Seamen—Jerem. Reed and John Sloane.

Wounded.—Capt. Brisbane, but did not quit the deck; lieutenant Higman, of the navy; lieutenant Fennell, of the marines.

Seamen—Lazarus Thornton, Robert Taylor, Matthew Homes, John Reid, John Smith, William Priddle, Henry Durand, George Walmer, Robt. Cobbie, Thomas Phillips, James Smith, Matthew May, John Prince, James Conway, Thomas Butler, Richard Oaks, William Campbell, Crawford Binsey, Joseph Powell, John Serrel, George Ferry, John Sheppard, John Eustus, William West, William Maunder, John Howard, and John Caulker.

Marines.—George Taylor, and William Spence.

Total.—2 killed, 32 wounded.

(Signed)

CHARLES BRISBANE, captain.
ROBERT MEGAN, surgeon.

His majesty's ship Shark, Port Royal, 4th October, 1806.

Sir,

I inclose for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty the copy of a letter I have received from captain James Richard Dacres, of the Bacchante, acquainting me of the boats of that ship having cut out, from the harbour of Santa Martha, an armed brig, and two armed feluccas, without loss.

I am, &c.

J. R. DACRES.

His majesty's ship Bacchante, off Cape Aguga, September 1, 1806.

Sir,

In reconnoitring the harbour of St. Martha I perceived lying there a brig and two feluccas, and judging it practicable to bring them out,

out, or at least destroy them, on the night of the 29th ult. I dispatched the boats under the command of lieut. Norton, whose abilities as an officer, and knowledge of the place, promised success (assisted by the officers named in the margin *). They arrived at the entrance of the harbour at one o'clock, and immediately dashed for the vessels under a tremendous fire from the forts, vessels, and the shore, the beach being lined with field-pieces and musquetry, the feluccas keeping up a heavy fire until the boats were alongside; the crews made a short resistance, and quitted them. Notwithstanding such a heavy fire, they succeeded in bringing out the brig and two feluccas, without the loss of a single man: two of the vessels having their sails unbent, they were obliged to be towed out, which detained them till near four o'clock; the whole of which time they were under the enemy's batteries.—Lieut. Norton informs me the coolness of the officers, seamen and marines under his command, and attention to the orders given, were such as merit the highest approbation, and that they in every respect behaved as became British seamen.

I beg leave to recommend to you for promotion Mr. Overhand, master's mate, who commanded one of the cutters, and who has passed his examination for lieutenant.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. R. DACRES, jun.

To James Richard Dacres, esq. vice-admiral of the white, &c.

Names of the vessels captured.

The San Antonio (letter of marque) of one gun and 30 men, from St. Sebastian, bound to Vera Cruz.

The Deseado (Spanish privateer) of one gun and 30 men, from a cruise, bound to St. Jago de Cuba.

Brig (name unknown) of four guns.

(Signed) J. R. DACRES, jun.

Shark, Port Royal, Oct. 4, 1806.

Sir,

Having received the letter, of which the inclosed is a copy, from captain Morris, of his majesty's sloop Elk, acquainting me of that sloop having destroyed the Alliance French privateer, of five guns and seventy-five men, belonging to Guadaloupe, I transmit it to you for their lordships' information.

I am, &c.

J. R. DACRES.

His majesty's brig Elk, at sea, Oct. 1, 1806, 11 *p. m.*

Sir,

I have to inform you, I this day at noon chased, per signal from his majesty's ship Elephant, a schooner in the N. N. W. which I came up with, after a hard run of nine hours, previous to which I had carried away my main-top-gallant mast, and sprung the top-mast. As I was fearful of the chace gaining the wind of me, I thought it most advisable, on coming up, to run her on board, that I might make certain of destroying her; in which she received so much damage as to occasion her sinking shortly after we had exchanged the prisoners. She proves the Alliance, French privateer, of five guns (one long 12-pounder, two

* Mr. Howard, gunner; Messrs. Overhand and Birch, master's-mates; Mr. Pitcher, lieutenant of marines; Mr. Leriche, purser; and Mr. Burnet, carpenter.

sixes, and two 12-pounder carronades), with a complement of 75 men, commanded by Alexander St. Holme, from Guadaloupe three months, had captured the English brig Neptune, from Jamaica to Exuma, and two American schooners.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEO. MORRIS.

To James Richard Dacres, esq. &c. &c. Jamaica.

Shark, Port Royal, Oct. 8, 1806.

Sir,

I have the honour to inclose, for the information of the right hon. the lords commissioners of the admiralty, the copy of a letter I have received from captain Chambers, of the Port Mahon, detailing the capture of the Spanish letter of marque, St. Joseph, by the boats of that sloop, under the command of lieutenant Marshall, by cutting her out of a harbour, in Cuba, (defended by a tower,) into which the sloop had chased her.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. R. DACRES.

His majesty's sloop Port Mahon, June 26, 1806.

Sir,

A Spanish armed brig was yesterday chased by his majesty's sloop Port Mahon under my command, into the intricate harbour of Banes, which is defended by a high tower mounted with two heavy guns. At nine in the evening the boats were dispatched under the command of lieutenant John Marshall, assisted by lieutenant Wray, and Mr. John Robson gunner, to get her out. This morning at one she was boarded under a heavy fire of great guns and small arms from the vessel and battery, (to which she was moored by a line,) and carried. Much difficulty attended getting her out, as she grounded within pistol-shot of the battery, from which several shots struck her. She proves to be the Spanish letter of marque, St. Joseph, armed with one long eighteen-pounder on a pivot amid-ships, four 12-pound carronades, and two 4-pounders, with swivels, pikes, and musquetry, and thirty men, who were on deck to receive our boats; from Havannah, bound to Campechy, with brandy, dry goods, &c. It is very gratifying for me to add, that although several of the oars were broken and boats damaged by shot while rowing to the attack, yet not a man was hurt. I hope, sir, you will conceive that the capture of this vessel, situated and defended as above recited, was fully adequate to the force employed, and that it reflects great credit on lieutenant Marshall, the officers and seamen employed.

I have the honour to be, &c.

SAMUEL CHAMBERS.

To James Richard Dacres, esq. vice admiral of the blue, &c. &c.

Veteran, Port Royal, Oct. 12, 1806.

Sir,

Information having been given me of a number of small vessels having been seen at Batabano, some of which I had reason to believe might be privateers, a number of them occasionally making that place and Trinidad their rendezvous, I dispatched on the 25th of August the vessels named in the margin*,

* Stork and Superieure sloops; Flying-Fish and Pike schooners.

to

to bring them out or destroy them with their boats, if it appeared practicable with little risk. On the 10th instant the Stork arrived with the pleasing intelligence of their having cut out and destroyed six armed vessels (one of which was a French-privateer of four guns) and six coasting vessels: also, that the Pike of four guns, had captured a Spanish schooner of ten guns and the Superieure, a Spanish letter of marque.—I inclose you a copy of captains Le Geyt and Rushworth's letters for their lordships' information.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. R. DACRES.

His majesty's sloop Stork, off the Isle of Pines, Sept. 9, 1806.

Sir,

Agreeable to your directions I put to sea from Port Royal on the 25th ultimo with the Superieure, and Flying-Fish and Pike schooners. On our arrival off the Isle of Pines, I had the mortification to learn from the pilot the Stork could not be carried within thirty leagues of the harbour of Batabano. I therefore directed captain Rushworth (to whose activity and exertions I feel highly indebted) to proceed with the Superieure and two schooners, after having reduced their draught of water as much as possible, and reinforced them with the boats and a party of seamen and marines from the Stork; and I have the pleasure to acquaint you, the object of your orders was effected in a very handsome style; for the particulars of which, and his subsequent capture of a Spanish letter of marque, I have the honour to refer you to the inclosed letter from captain Rushworth. I have also to inform you of the capture of a Spanish schooner of ten guns on the 30th ultimo, by the Pike, after a slight resistance.

I have the honour to be &c.

(Signed) GEO. LE GEYT.

To James Richard Dacres, esq. vice-admiral of the white, &c. &c.

His majesty's sloop Superieure, off the Isle of Pines, Sept. 9, 1806.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, after leaving his majesty's sloop Stork on the day of August off the Isle of Pines, it took us to the 2d of this month to get off Point Gondas. Distance N. W. 22 miles from Batabano, when I anchored with the Flying-Fish and Pike schooners; at midnight weighed and stood for Batabano, to be off that place before break of day, but owing to baffling winds it took us until day-light. I thought it expedient to land, which I accordingly did, with 18 men from the Stork, 35 from the Superieure, and 10 from the Flying-Fish, to guard the boats; but after landing two miles to windward of the battery, the marshy irregular ground so impeded our march, and the enemy perceiving it, sent a party of soldiers to way-lay us in the thick bushes; but the most forward of my party charged and completely put them to the rout, after leaving two killed and one badly wounded. At that period a general alarm had spread, the militia had joined the stationary regulars in the front, aided by the men from the shipping in the bay. Our retreat being thus cut off, we were obliged to rush forward to gain the fort, which I am happy to say was completely carried in three minutes; the enemy retreated in all directions, after

ter firing two guns and a volley of small arms, towards the path we were obliged to pass. The battery consisted of six long eighteen-pounders, mounted on travelling carriages, which we spiked, and then proceeded to take possession of the vessels, which consisted of one fellucca, pierced for 14 guns, having one 18-pounder and 12 blunderbusses on board; a schooner, pierced for 12; a French privateer of four, and three other Spanish vessels, with one gun each; six other smaller with cargoes, which were saved, and the vessels burnt, not having sufficient men to carry them out. The next morning came off a flag of truce; from them I learn their loss was considerable. I am happy to add, we had only one man badly wounded on the occasion. I also feel it my duty to state the great assistance I received from lieutenants Russell and Murray, and sub-lieutenants Blake and Brown. The seamen and marines under my command acted in a most gallant manner. Two days after I captured a Spanish armed schooner, St. John, of three guns, and 32 men, after a slight resistance.

I am, &c.

(Signed) EDW. RUSHWORTH.

George Le Geyt, esq. commander of his majesty's sloop Stork.

DECEMBER.

Admiralty-office, Dec. 2.

This gazette contains the following inclosure to lord Collingwood:

Renommée, off Majorca, Oct. 22.

My lord,

I have the honour to acquaint your lordship that, last night, the four cutters belonging to his majesty's ship Renommée, under my command, gallantly entered the port of Colon, in the island of Majorca; and, notwithstanding the fire from the vessels in the harbour, and also of that from the tower, they boarded and captured one tartan, mounting four guns and two settees, one of them mounting three guns, Spaniards, deeply laden with grain. The two settees were with great difficulty brought out of the port; but the tartan got on shore, was set fire to, and blew up. Lieut. sir W. Parker commanded the boats, and was assisted by acting lieut. W. Webster, lieut. Henry Murton of the royal marines, and Mr. Tim. Murray, boatswain; these officers, together with the petty officers, seamen, and marines, were volunteers; and I feel happy in reporting to your lordship their gallant and steady conduct did them the greatest credit, and merits every commendation. One seaman was wounded in the enterprise.

THOMAS LIVINGSTONE.

[Another letter to his lordship, from the same officer, dated off Majorca, Oct. 23, states, that the same party who cut out the vessels above-mentioned, brought, on the night of the 21st, from under the fire of the tower of Falconara, a Spanish settee, mounting two guns. In performing this service, our people were much annoyed by musquetry from behind the bushes, which wounded one man; on which sir W. Parker landed with a few marines and seamen, and having killed one Spaniard, and driven the rest off, rejoined the ship without any other loss.]

Admiralty-office, Dec. 13.

A letter from the earl of St. Vincent incloses the following:

Flora, at Sea, Nov. 26.

My lord,

I have the honour to inform you

that, this morning, 18 leagues to the westward of Oporto, we discovered an armed lugger a few miles distant, sweeping very fast from us. It falling calm, there was not a probability of the ship getting within gunshot of her, therefore I sent the boats under the command of lieut. Furber, first of the Flora, in chase of her; and I am happy to say, through the exertion of this gallant officer, the Spanish lugger privateer El Espedarte of Vigo, mounting six carriage guns, besides swivels, musketoons, and musketry, with 41 men, was captured, and only in sight of the ship from the mast-head.

L. O. BLAND.

Portsmouth, Dec. 17.

The Termagant, which arrived here this day, brought the melancholy intelligence of the total loss of the Athenienne, of 64 guns, on her passage to Malta, by striking on the Esquerries rocks, near Tunis, in a gale, on the 20th of October last. The following are the names of the persons, above the rank of sailors, who lost their lives: captain Raynsford; lieuts. Swinburne, M'Millan, and Salter; capt. Stains, and lieuts. Moss and Minden, of the marines; Mr. Griffin, surgeon; the boatswain, carpenter, and gunner; Messrs. Hennell, Rome, Morrison, Newman, Fitzgerald, and Blackburn, midshipmen, passengers: lieut. Barker, of the Melpomene; ensign Banker, of the 37th regiment; and the carpenter of La Bergere sloop.—Persons saved: lieuts. John and James Little, and —— Pym; Mr. Goodwin, purser; Messrs. Manning and Francis, midshipmen; Mr. Parker, master; Mr. Cannon, master's mate. Passengers: brigadier-general Campbell; Mr. Byron, surgeon of the Endymion; Mr. Dyer, to join the Juno; Messrs. G. Thorne, J. M'Lean, and S. Wells, of La Bergere. Seamen saved, 121; women ditto, 2—123, officers and seamen lost, 347.—The conduct of capt. Raynsford is spoken of in the highest terms. When the ship struck, he declared he would be the last to quit her. It was owing to his presence of mind, and the authority he employed, that so many lives were saved. The ship had on board 10,000*l.* in specie.

Admiralty-office, Dec. 20.

This gazette contains a letter from rear admiral sir A. Cochrane, dated Northumberland, Barbadoes, Nov. 4, which incloses two letters from captain Sayer, of the Galatea; one from capt. Briggs, of the Orpheus; and two from lieut. Dean, of the Dominica armed brig. Capt. Sayer's first letter states the capture of a Spanish privateer, by the barge of the Galatea, some miles up a river on the Spanish Main, near Porto Cavallo; but, it being impossible to get her out of the river, she was burnt. The second relates, that three boats of the Galatea, under the direction of the 1st lieutenant, had cut out four Spanish schooners from under the batteries of Barcelona, on the Spanish Main. Capt. Briggs relates the capture of a French privateer by the Orpheus; and lieutenant Dean, the capture of a French privateer, and the cutting out of two sloops, laden with sugar and rum, from under the batteries near St. Pierre's, Martinique.

Dec. 22.—A fire broke out in the dockyard at Portsmouth, which threatened alarming consequences. Between four and five o'clock, the flames were seen to burst from the house in which the rope is baked, and

and the twine tarred, for the use of the sail-makers. The wind was high, and blew directly towards the rigging and sail-lofts, between which and the fire was a quantity of light dry timber. Lieut. Smith, of the Audacious, hastened on shore with a party of sailors, to assist in extinguishing it; but no buckets were at hand: a supply was immediately procured from the Audacious; and by the exertions of the seamen, the fire was prevented from spreading further.

The same night the following dreadful accident happened to the driver of the mail-coach from Bristol to Birmingham, within a few miles of Thornbury: The coach was going at a brisk rate, when the guard observed the coachman to fall off his seat between the horses; he got down, and endeavoured to stop them, but in vain. He then succeeded in regaining his seat behind the coach, till the animals slackened their pace, when he drove the coach in safety to Thornbury, where he procured a horse, and returned to the coachman, whom he conveyed back. Surgical assistance was instantly procured; but it was fruitless, as one of the wheels had passed over his neck, and it is supposed killed him on the spot. He has left a wife and 2 children.

25. Nine dwellings, with numerous out-houses, corn-stacks, &c. were destroyed by accidental fire at Acomb, near Hexam.

26. This afternoon, about half past one, was one of the highest tides ever remembered. Boats were rowed into Palace and Little Scotland yards; and the water filled most of the cellars about the Horse-guards and Parliament street. A number of wharfs, cellars, and warehouses, from the top of Upper Thames street to the bottom of Lower Thames street, and in Bridge street, Blackfriars, were completely inundated; and also the lower apartments of several houses in Horsleydown. The injury sustained is considerable. The moon was at full, but the wind was westerly. Fifteen years have elapsed since those quarters experienced such a visitation.

The tide rose to such a height in Ipswich, that most of the streets were inundated. The water was two feet deep near St. Peter's church; and the common quay was nearly overflowed. At Hampton, Sunbury, Chertsey, and similar places near the banks of the Thames, the whole of the country was under water; and Kingston and Putney bridges were for a time nearly impassable.

The whole of the Scotch coast has suffered much during the last and preceding week, from the unusual height of the tide, both of the sea and the rivers. On the 20th inst. the river Stinchar, at the town of Ballantrae, rose to a prodigious height, and overflowed the highway for nearly 200 yards. About 11, while the 9th troop of the 1st dragoons, on their route from Hamilton for Ireland, attempted to pass the water, five of the horses with their riders were borne down by the rapidity of the current. The men, from the weight of their accoutrements, were some time before they could disengage themselves from the animals. The inhabitants plunged in to their assistance, and at the risk of their own lives succeeded in saving those of the soldiers.—At Rothesay the tide lately rose so high, that both the quays were covered with water, and many barrels of herrings washed over. The

water in the houses at this port was 48 inches deep.

27. This day the Thames again rose considerably higher than on the preceding day at Rotherhithe, Lambeth, and Milbank, as well as at the newly-embanked cut at the Isle of Dogs, where serious injury was occasioned by the inundation. Near Lambeth horse-ferry a sow and 12 pigs were drowned.

Admiralty-office, Dec. 30.

The following are copies of inclosures, transmitted by admiral Dacres:

A letter from capt. Inglefield, of the Hunter, dated off the Isle of Pines, Sept. 21, states that he captured that morning, after four hours chase, the Spanish schooner San Joseph y Animas letter of marque, from Truxillo, bound to Batabano, laden with indigo and sarsaparilla; she also was charged with dispatches, which were landed previous to her capture. She is armed with a long 8-pounder in midships, and 15 small arms; had only 13 men when taken.

A letter from lieut. Hall of the Diligent, dated Port Royal, October 24, mentions the capture, by his boats, of the French armed schooner Le Napoleon, mounting one brass long 9-pounder, with 14 men and passengers, bound to the city of St. Domingo, from Samana, where she was going to get a letter of marque, and her complement of men.

A letter from capt. Nicholas, of the Drake, mentions the capture, on the 24th October, of the French schooner privateer La Superbe, of 14 guns (two 9-pounders and twelve 6-pounders), and 94 men, commanded by M. Houx, by lieut. Fitton, in the schooner Pitt. "This officer," says capt. N. "meeting La Superbe off cape Nichola Mole on the 24th, after an arduous chase with sweeps, got within gun-shot, and commenced a running fight, which he continued with little intermission, and in almost every direction, until the 26th, when at nine A. M. Cape Maize bearing N.N.W. six leagues, they were discovered from the tops of the ship I commanded; and it was then that I witnessed, with the greatest satisfaction, a display of skill and bravery, supported for four hours and a half, which entitles the parties to the greatest praise. The two schooners within pistol-shot kept up a constant fire. La Superbe seeing us to leeward, made many manœuvres to escape, but was as often foiled, lieut. Fitton carefully preserving the weather-gauge; and it was not until after a desperate resistance, until she was in a sinking state, and, when our fortunate leeward position prevented further flight, that the Frenchman ran his vessel upon the rocks in Ocoa bay, and deserted her accompanied by those of his men who were not either killed or dangerously wounded in the action. In La Superbe's hold were found four men already dead of their wounds, and three whose state affords little hope. They allow that 14 fell in the action; and, from the appearance of the decks, much blood must have been shed. The Pitt has suffered in her sails and rigging, and had two men badly and six slightly wounded; and I am happy to add, that we succeeded in getting the prize off.

I am, &c. R. NICHOLAS."

Admiral Cochrane has transmitted accounts of the capture of the French privateer Guadaloupe packet by capt. Collier, of the Wolverine, on the 16th of October; and La Jeune Gabriella French

French schooner privateer, Auguste Boussard commander, of eight guns, (four of which were thrown overboard during the chase) and 75 men, by lieutenant Spear, of the Dart; and of three other enemy's privateers, of one gun each, by different cruizers.

☞ Having by some unaccountable accident omitted, in our Register for 1804, the gallant conduct of sir Nathaniel Dance, off *Pulo Auro*, we deem it but justice to him and the heroes who were with him, to insert his letter at the close of the occurrences for the present year.

East India House, Aug. 8, 1804.

For the information of the honourable court, I beg leave to acquaint you, that the Earl Camden was dispatched from Canton by the select committee the 31st of January last; and the ships noted in the margin * were put under my orders, as senior commander; also, the Rolla Botany Bay ship, and the country ships, as per margin †, were put under my charge, to convoy as far as our courses lay in the same direction. I was also ordered to take under my protection a Portuguese Europe ship, that was lying in Macao Roads, whose supercargo had solicited it from the select committee.

Our passage down the river was tedious, and the fleet much dispersed; the ships being under the directions of their several Chinese pilots, I could not keep them collected as I wished.

The Ganges, a fast-sailing brig, was put under my orders by the select committee, to employ in any manner that might tend to the safety or convenience of the fleet, till we had passed the Straits of Malacca. I was then to dispatch her to Bengal.

We passed Macao Roads on the night of the 5th of February, and I conceive the Rolla had anchored so near Macao, as not to see the fleet get under weigh and pass through; although at the time I had no idea that could be possible, especially as I saw the Ocean in shore of us getting under weigh, burning blue lights, and firing a gun; the Portuguese ship, I suppose, must have been in the same situation as the Rolla. During the night of the 5th of February I carried an easy sail, and on the following day hove-to for above two hours, hoping to see those ships; but there was no appearance of them, nor did they ever join the fleet.—On the 14th February, at day break, we saw Pulo Auro bear W. S. W. and at eight A. M. the Royal George made the signal for seeing four strange sail in the S. W.: I made the signal for the four ships noted in the margin ‡ to go down and examine them; and lieut. Fowler, of the royal navy, late commander of the Porpoise, and passenger with me, having handsomely offered to go in the Ganges brig, and inspect them nearly, I afterwards sent her down likewise, and from their signals I perceived it was an enemy's squa-

* Warley, Alfred, Royal George, Coutts, Wexford, Ganges, Exeter, Earl of Abergavenny, Henry Addington, Bombay Castle, Cumberland, Hope, Dorsetshire, Warren Hastings, Ocean.

† Lord Castlereagh, Carron, David Scott, Minerva, Ardasier, Charlotte, Friendship, Shaw Kissaroo, Jahaungeer, Gilwell, Neptune.

‡ Alfred, Royal George, Bombay Castle, Hope.

dron consisting of a line of battle ship, three frigates, and a brig.

At one P. M. I recalled the look-out ships by signal, and formed the line of battle in close order.

As soon as the enemy could fetch in our wake, they put about; we kept in our course under an easy sail. At near sunset, they were close up with our rear, and I was in momentary expectation of an attack there, and prepared to support them; but at the close of day we perceived them haul to windward. I sent lieut. Fowler in the Ganges brig, to station the country ships on our lee-bow, by which means we were between them and the enemy; and having done so, he returned with some volunteers from the country ships.

We laid-to in line of battle all night, our men at their quarters; at day-break of the 15th, we saw the enemy about three miles to windward, lying-to; we hoisted our colours, offering him battle, if he chose to come down. The enemy's four ships hoisted French colours, the line of battle ship carrying a rear admiral's flag; the brig was under Batavian colours.

At nine A. M. finding they would not come down, we formed the order of sailing, and steered our course under an easy sail; the enemy then filled their sails, and edged towards us.

At one P. M. finding they proposed to attack, and endeavour to cut off our rear, I made the signal to tack and bear down on him, and engage in succession, the Royal George being the leading ship, the Ganges next, and then the Earl Camden. This manœuvre was correctly performed, and we stood towards him under a press of sail. The enemy then formed in a very close line, and opened their fire on the headmost ships, which was not returned by us till we approached him nearer. The Royal George bore the brunt of the action, and got as near the enemy as he would permit him; the Ganges and Earl Camden opened their fire as soon as the guns could have effect; but, before any other ship could get into action, the enemy hauled their wind, and stood away to the eastward under all the sail they could set. At two P. M. I made the signal for a general chase, and we pursued them till four P. M. when, fearing a longer pursuit would carry us too far from the mouth of the Straits, and considering the immense property at stake, I made the signal to tack, and at eight P. M. we anchored in a situation to proceed for the entrance of the Straits in the morning. As long as we could distinguish the enemy, we perceived him steering to the Eastward under a press of sail. The Royal George had one man killed, and another wounded, many shot in her hull, and more in her sails; but few shot touched either the Camden or Ganges; and the fire of the enemy seemed to be ill directed, his shot either falling short, or passing over us. Capt. Timins carried the Royal George into action in the most gallant manner. In justice to my brother commanders, I must state that every ship was cleared and prepared for action; and, as I had communication with almost all of them during the two days we were in presence of the enemy, I found them unanimous in the determined resolution to defend the valuable property intrusted to their charge to the last extremity, with a full conviction of the successful event of their exertions; and this spirit was fully seconded by the gallant ardour of all our officers and ships' companies.

companies. From Malacca I dispatched lieut. Fowler, in the Ganges brig, to Pulo Pinang, with a packet from the select committee to the captain of any of his majesty's ships, soliciting their convoy to this very valuable fleet. On arrival at Malacca we were informed that the squadron we had engaged was that of admiral Linois, consisting of the Marengo, of 84 guns, the Belle Poule, and Semillante, heavy frigates, a corvette of 28, and the Batavian brig William of 18 guns. —The 28th February, in the Straits of Malacca lat. 40° 30′ N. we fell in with his majesty's ships Albion and Sceptre. I was then in a very poor state of health; and Mr. Lance went on board the Albion, and, by his very able representation to capt. Ferrier of the great national consequence of the hon. company's ships, he was induced to take charge of the fleet.—On the 3d of March I dispatched the Ganges brig with a letter to the right hon. the governor general, giving an account of our action, to be conveyed to the honourable court.—We arrived at St. Helena the 9th of June, under convoy of his majesty's ship Plantagenet with the addition of the Carmarthen, capt. Dobree, and five whalers. Accompanying this I send a chart of the entrance of the Straits of Malacca, with the situations of the fleet on the 14th and 15th February, which will, I trust, convey a more distinct idea of the action than any written description.

I am, &c.

N. DANCE.

Earl Camden, Aug. 6, 1804.

Names of the whalers.—William Fenning, Brook Watson, Thomas, or Young Tom, Betsey, Eliza, and the Blackhouse, from the Coast of Guinea, joined us at sea.

The LONDON GENERAL BILL of CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS from December 17, 1805, to December 16, 1806.

Christened { Males 10,452 / Females 9,928 } 20,380. Buried { Males 9,215 / Females 8,723 } 17,938.

Increased in Burials this Year 368.

Died under 2 years	5405	20 and 30 -	1329	60 and 70 -	1265	90 and 100	99
Between 2 and 5	2029	30 and 40 -	1782	70 and 80 -	859	100 - - - - -	2
5 and 10	822	40 and 50 -	1793	80 and 90 -	414	104 - - - - -	1
10 and 20	635	50 and 60 -	1503				

BIRTHS *in the year* 1806.

Jan. 4. Lady of Capt. Byng, R. N. a son.

5. Lady of Capt. Halkett, R. N. a daughter.

19. Countess of Banbury, a daughter.

21. Countess of Elgin, a daughter.

24. Lady of lieut. general Manningham, a daughter.

Feb. 2. Countess of Aylesford, a daughter.

6. Lady of sir Thomas Whichcote, bart. a son.

—. Lady of sir William Ramsay, bart. a son.

—. Lady Janet Buchanan, a daughter.

9. Lady of sir Henry Oxendon, bart. a daughter.

11. Countess of Loudon and Moira, a daughter.

11. Lady Dunboyne, a son.
20. Lady Holland, a daughter.
21. Countess of Mansfield, a son.
—. Lady Ogilby, a daughter.
23. Countess of Aboyne, a son.
25. Lady Mary Stopford, a daughter.
28. Hon. Mrs. Erskine, a daughter.

March 16. Lady of hon. general St. John, a daughter.
17. Viscountess Mahon, a son.
22. Lady C. Drummond, a son.
24. Lady Charlotte Duncombe, a son.

April. 2. Lady of sir Christ. Willoughby, bart. a daughter.
4. Lady Harriet Frampton, a daughter.
6. Hon. Mrs. Berkeley, a son.
8. Hon. Mrs. J. B. Simpson, a daughter.
9. Lady of sir George Prescott, bart. a daughter.
25. Lady Lovaine, a son.
—. Lady of sir Montague Cholmeley, bart. a daughter.

May 2. Lady King, a daughter.
10. Hon. Mrs. Boyle, a son.
11. Duchess of Beaufort, a daughter.
22. Lady Charlotte Hope, a daughter.
22. Lady Orde, a daughter.
28. Lady Boringdon, a son.
31. Countess Talbot, a son.

June. 1. Lady of colonel Gore Langton, M. P. a daughter.
2. Lady of rear admiral Sutton, a daughter.
4. Viscountess Arbuthnot, a son.
8. Lady Grantham, a daughter.
9. Lady of brigadier-general Monro, a daughter.
11. Hon. Mrs. E. J. Turnour, a daughter.
17. Lady E. Loftus, a son.
24. Countess of Chichester, a daughter.
26. Countess Cowper, an heir.
27. Hon. Mrs. Plunket, a son.
28. Hon. Mrs. H. Blackwood, a daughter.

July. 2. Hon. Mrs. Leighton, a son.
9. Hon. Mrs. E. Rice, a daughter.
13. Hon. Mrs. Erskine, of Cardross, a son.
15. Hon. Mrs. Paget, a son.
—. Countess of Albemarle, a daughter.
24. Hon. Mrs. Oliphant Murray, a daughter.
28. Hon. Mrs. F. Irby, a son.

Aug. 2. Lady of rt. hon. Maurice Fitzgerald a son.
3. Lady of hon. brigadier-general Steward, a son.
—. Hon. lady Cotton, a son and heir.
—. Lady of sir John Kennaway, bart. a daughter.
—. Countess Dalhousie, an heir.
4. Lady Loraine, a son.
6. Lady —— Riddell, a daughter.
7. Lady Macdonald Lockhart, a daughter.
22. Lady Henry Fitzroy, a daughter.
23. Lady Charlotte Howard, a son.
—. Viscountess Atcheson, an heir.
29. Lady Petre, two sons.

Sept. 5. Lady Charlotte Goold, a son.
11. Hon. Mrs. Ramsay, a daughter.
16. Countess of Corke, a daughter.
23. Lady Amelia Kaye, a daughter.
—. Lady Mary Talbot, a daughter.
26. Hon. Mrs. Montgomery Stewart, a son.
—. Lady Lambert, a son.
29. Lady of sir William Paxton, a son.

Oct.

Oct. 1. Lady of sir John Duntze, bart. an heir.

7. Lady of brigadier-general Nepean, a son.

9. Lady Catharine Graham, a daughter.

—. Princess of Hesse, a prince.

12. Lady of sir James Gordon, bart. a daughter.

14. Lady of right hon. col. Ward, a son.

15. Lady of sir Oswald Mosley, bart. a daughter.

15. Lady of sir Wm. Blackett, bart. a daughter.

26. Hon. Mrs. Laurence Dundas, a son.

Nov. 4. Lady of sir Hungerford Hoskins, bart. a daughter.

10. Hon. Mrs. Henry Ryder, a son.

24. Lady S. M. Stanley, an heir.

—. Marchioness of Winchester, a daughter.

—. Lady Henry Somerset, a son.

Dec. 2. Lady of sir Robt. Wigram, bart. a son.

3. Countess of Clonmell, a daughter.

8. Lady Mary Murray, a daughter.

9. Lady of sir Francis Burdett, bart. a daughter.

10. Lady Eliz. Norman, a daughter.

11. Hon. Mrs. Robert Dundas, a son.

20. Lady William Beauclerc, a daughter.

28. Lady Forbes, a son.

—. Lady Emily Wellesley, a daughter.

MARRIAGES *in the year* 1806.

Jan. 13. Sir Charles Grave Hudson, bart. to miss Holford.

23. William Sloane, esq. to lady Gertrude Howard.

23. Geo. Frake Evans, esq. to lady Carbery.

—. Clement Debbing, esq. to lady Charlotte Butler.

30. R. C. Graves, esq. to the hon. C. Twisleton.

Feb. 3. Rev. J. Foster, to hon. miss St. John.

7. Sir T. G. Carmichael, bart. to miss Janet Dundas.

March 11. Rear admiral Sotheby, to lady Mary Anne Bourke.

26. W. Watkins, esq. to the hon. C. Devereux.

27. S. Cassan, esq. to lady Lucy Hall.

April 10. Prince Bariatinski, to the hon. miss Dutton.

11. Sir S. R. Glynne, bart. to hon. Mary Neville.

17. Capt. Digby, R. N. to viscountess Andover.

20. Sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B. to miss Packenham.

May 1. Benjamin Linthorne, esq. to lady Lester.

—. Francis Savage, Esq. to lady Harriet Butler.

2. Lord Robt. Seymour, to hon. miss Chetwynd.

8. Lord Kinnaird, to lady C. O. Fitzgerald.

—. Willoughby Cotton, esq. to hon. miss Coventry.

17. Hon. William Herbert, to hon. L. Allen.

—. Hon. and rev. Pierce Butler, to miss M. S. Vernon.

19. Hon. Hugh Percy, to miss Manners Sutton.

June 10. Osborne Markham, esq. to lady Mary Thynne.

11. Lord Rollo, to miss A. Greig.

17. Viscount Fitzharris, to hon. miss Dashwood.

—. Col. Vansittart, to hon. miss Caroline Eden.

19. Sir W. P. Call, bart. to lady Louisa Forbes.

26. Andrew

26. Andrew Wedderburn, esq. to hon. Louisa Eden.

July 2. Hon. col. Bligh, to lady Sophia Stewart.

8. Viscount Milton, to hon. miss Dundas.

17. Hon. W. H. Hare, to miss Bough.

22. Hon. Mr. Bagot, to miss Pole.

—. Right hon. Nicholas Vansittart, to hon. Catherine Eden.

24. Hon. Henry Brand, to miss Pyne Crosbie.

28. Lord Ossulstone, to mademoiselle de Gramont.

28. Lord Walpole, to Mrs. Chamberlayne.

—. Viscount Monck, to lady Frances French.

31. Lord Elphinstone, to lady Carmichael.

Aug. 1. Sir James Montgomery, bart. to lady Elizabeth Douglas.

11. Hon. C. A. Pelham, to miss Simpson.

17. Lord Foley, to lady Cecilia Fitzgerald.

19. John Manners, esq. M. P. to the duchess of Roxburgh.

Sept. 1. Hon. capt. Herbert, to miss Head.

4. Hon. Gilbert Elliott, to miss Brydone.

9. Lord Marsham, to miss Pitt.

14. William Gosling, esq to hon. Charlotte Grey.

Oct. 3. Henry Carew, bart. to miss Palk.

26. John Allen, esq. to lady Frances Turnour.

Nov. 18. Sir Walter Brisco, bart. to miss Lester.

29. The eldest son of sir Henry Hawley, bart. to miss Shaw.

Dec. 1. Earl of Ancram, to lady Harriott Montague.

15. Hon. col. Lumley, to miss M. Tahourdin.

21. Hon. and rev. —— Bagot, to lady Harriet Villiers.

30. Sir Thomas Roberts, bart. to miss Walton.

DEATHS.

Oct. 5. 1805. Charles marquis Cornwallis.

Jan. 3. 1806. Lady Vandeput.

4. Sir William Oglander, bart.

5. Margrave of Anspach.

12. Sir Wolstan Dixie, bart.

16. Sir John Hales, bart.

21. Peter Perchard, esq. alderman of London.

23. Right hon. Wm. Pitt, first lord of the treasury, &c.

30. Thomas Skinner, Esq. alderman of London.

—. Lord Somers.

Feb. 4. Hon. col. Carleton.

19. Mrs. Carter, the poetess and Greek translator.

22. James Barry, esq. the celebrated painter.

26. Admiral sir Andrew Mitchell, K. B.

—. Hon. miss Orde Pawlett.

—. Viscount Pery.

March 4. Sir Lionel Copley, bart.

6. Dowager countess of Bradford.

—. Lady Georgiana Augusta Eliot.

19. Sir John Talbot Dillon, bart.

22. Marquis of Ely.

30. Duchess of Devonshire.

31. Earl Macartney.

April 1. Prince Frederick of Prussia.

9. Sir James Chatterton, bart.

—. His serene highness the Stadtholder.

17. Earl of Lanesborough.

19. Mr. John Russell, painter in crayons to his majesty.

May 3. Sir Richard Ford, knight, the Bow-street magistrate.

8. Ann Yearsley, the poetical milk-maid of Bristol.

19. Lord

19. Lord Monson.
21. Princess of Asturias.
23. Sir Arthur Clarke, bart.
24. Duke of Argyle.
30. Hon. Mrs. Paget.
June 4. Sir Charles Davers, bart.
7. Bishop of Limerick.
14. Sir Wilfred Lawson, bart.
15. Lady Charlotte Browne.
21. Lord Sondes.
—. Prince Francis Xavier, of Poland.
July 2 Hon. Mary Leigh.
5. Hon. Arthur Dillon, brother of Henry, the eleventh viscount Dillon of Ireland, archbishop and duke of Narbonne.
8. Sir Charles Playters, bart.
15. Lady Mary Duncan.
17. Sir Richard Sullivan, bart.
21. Sir John Musgrave, bart.
30 Earl of Landaff.
Aug. 3. Lady of sir M. W. Ridley, bart.
7. Hon. Mrs. Fred. Irby.
12. Dowager lady Dacre.
17. Countess of Mount Edgcumbe.
23. Hon. W. H. Bouverie.
28. General Campbell.
29. Lady Frances Hay.
Sept. 8. Mr. Patrick O'Brian, the well known Irish giant.
11. Rev. John Brand, secretary of the antiquarian society.
12. Lord Thurlow.
13. Right hon. Charles James Fox, secretary of state, &c.
20. The hereditary prince of Brunswick.
30. Earl of Clermont.
Oct. 2. Hon. miss Cholmondeley.
4. Samuel Horsley, LL. D. bishop of St. Asaph.
5. Lady Buckworth Heron.
9. Hon. Mrs. Hunter.
16. Countess of Kenmare.
19. Lady Amelia Gamon.
24. Lady Alva.
28. Mrs. Charlotte Smith, author of sonnets and other celebrated works.
Nov. 1. Baroness dowager Sandys.
5. Lord Ponsonby.
6. Lady of sir John Duntze, bart.
10. His serene highness the duke of Brunswick.
13. Earl of Galloway.
18. Sir John Mordaunt, bart.
23. Lady Muncaster.
24. Sir Roger Newdigate, bart.
25. Admiral sir Richard King, bart.
26. Rev. sir Richard Cope, bart.
Dec. 7. Right hon. sir Charles Morgan, bart. military judge advocate general.
—. Hon. George Lyon Bowes.
9. Duke of Saxe Cobourg.
20. Princess Wilhelmina of Nassau Dietz.
26. Lady Arabella Rawdon.

PROMOTIONS *in the year* 1806.

Downing-street, Jan. 21. Thomas Hislop, esq. brigadier-general of his majesty's forces serving in the leeward and windward Charibbee islands, appointed governor and commander in chief of the island of Trinidad.

Dublin Castle, Jan. 24. Rev. John Kearney, D. D. provost of Trinity college, Dublin, promoted to the bishoprick of Ossory, *vice* Hamilton, dec.—Rev. George Hall, D. D. to be provost of Trinity college, Dublin, *vice* Kearney.

Downing-street, Jan. 25. Hon. Lyndsay Burrell, appointed his majesty's secretary of legation at the court of Dresden.

Whitehall, Jan. 28. Rev. Hugh Cholmondeley, M. A. to be dean of

of the cathedral church of Chester, *vice* Cotton, dec.

Whitehall, Jan. 29. Right hon. William earl of Northesk, rear-admiral of the red, and sir Richard John Strachan, bart. rear-admiral of the blue, created knights of the Bath.—Thomas Masterman Hardy, esq. captain in the royal navy, created a baronet of the United Kingdom.

Downing-street, Feb. 1. Henry Bentinck, esq. to be lieutenant-governor of the settlements of Demerara and Essequibo.

Downing-street, Feb. 4. Sir Henry Russell, knt. to be chief justice, and sir William Burroughs, bart, to be one of the puisne judges, of the supreme court of judicature at Fort William, in Bengal.

Queen's-palace, Feb. 5. Henry viscount Sidmouth, sworn keeper of the privy seal, *vice* earl of Westmoreland.—Right hon. Francis earl of Moira; right hon. Richard Chandos earl Temple; right hon. Henry Petty, commonly called lord Henry Petty, chancellor and under-treasurer of his majesty's exchequer; right hon. Charles Grey; and right hon. Charles-James Fox; sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.—Right hon. George-John earl Spencer, K. G. and right hon. William Windham, sworn two of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, *vice* lords Hawkesbury and Castlereagh.—Right hon. William lord Auckland (and, in his absence, the right hon. Richard Chandos earl Temple), appointed president of the committee of council appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations, *vice* duke of Montrose and Mr. Rose.

Whitehall, Feb. 7. Right hon. Thomas Erskine, created baron Erskine, of Restormel castle, co. Cornwall.

Queen's-palace, Feb. 7. Right hon. George viscount Morpeth; right hon. John Townshend, commonly called lord John Townshend; right hon. Thomas lord Erskine; and right hon. Richard Brinsley Sheridan; sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.—Right hon. Thomas lord Erskine, sworn lord high chancellor of Great Britain, *vice* lord Eldon.—Right hon. Charles-James Fox, sworn one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, *vice* lord Mulgrave.

Carlton-house, Feb. 7. William Adam, esq. one of his majesty's counsel, and attorney-general to the prince of Wales, appointed chancellor and keeper of his royal highness's great seal, *vice* lord Erskine; and William Garrow, esq. one of his majesty's counsel, to be his royal highness's attorney-general, *vice* Adam.

Dublin-castle, Feb. 7. Arthur viscount Gosford, created earl Gosford, of Market-hill, co. Armagh; Laurence Parsons Harman, viscount Oxmantown, earl of Ross, with remainder to his nephew, the right hon. sir Laurence Parsons, bart.; Charles viscount Somerton, archbishop of Dublin, earl of Normanton, co. Kilkenny; and Charles William viscount Charleville, earl of Charleville, of Charleville forest, King's County.—Peter-Isaac Thellusson, esq. created baron Rendlesham, of Rendlesham.

Whitehall, Feb. 8. Gen. Francis earl of Moira, appointed master-general of his majesty's ordnance of the united kingdom, *vice* earl of Chatham.—Right hon. general Richard Fitzpatrick, to be his majesty's secretary at war, *vice* Mr. W. Dundas.

Whitehall, Feb. 11. Right hon. William

William Wyndham baron Grenville, *vice* Mr. Pitt; right hon. Henry Petty, commonly called lord Henry Petty, *vice* lord Louvaine; John-Charles Spencer, esq. commonly called viscount Althorpe, *vice* lord Fitzharris; right hon. William Wickham, *vice* Mr. Long; and John Courtenay, esq. *vice* marquis of Blandford; to be commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer.—Right hon. Henry Petty, commonly called lord Henry Petty, appointed chancellor and under-treasurer of his majesty's exchequer, *vice* Mr. Pitt.—Right hon. Charles Grey, *vice* lord Barham; sir Philip Stephens, bart. *vice* admiral Gambier; Jn. Markham, esq. rear-admiral of the white, *vice* sir Philip Stephens; sir Charles Morice Pole, bart. admiral of the blue, *vice* admiral Patten; sir Harry Neale, bart., *vice* sir E. Nepean; William Russell, esq. commonly called lord William Russell, *vice* Mr. Dickenson, jun.; and right hon. Wm. lord Kensington, of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, *vice* lord Garlies; to be his majesty's commissioners for executing the office of high admiral of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dominions, islands, and territories thereunto belonging.—Right hon. Gilbert baron Minto, *vice* lord Castlereagh; right hon. George John earl Spencer, K. G. *vice* lord Hawkesbury; right hon. William Windham, *vice* lord Mulgrave; right hon. Charles-James Fox, *vice* Mr. Pitt; right hon. William Wyndham baron Grenville, *vice* lord Glenbervie; right hon. Henry Petty, commonly called lord Henry Petty, *vice* Mr. Wallace; right hon. George Howard, commonly called viscount Morpeth, *vice* lord Dunlo; right hon. John Hiley Addington; and right hon. John Sullivan; to be his majesty's commissioners for the management of the affairs of India.—Right hon. Henry earl of Caernarvon, appointed master of the horse to his majesty, *vice* the marquis of Hertford.

Downing-street, Feb. 11. James Green, esq. to be his majesty's consul-general in all the dominions of the emperor of Morocco.

St. James's, Feb. 12. Arthur Piggott, esq. his majesty's attorney-general, *vice* Mr. Percival, and Samuel Romilly, esq. his majesty's solicitor-general, *vice* sir Vicary Gibbs, knighted.

Queen's-palace, Feb. 12. His grace John duke of Bedford, right hon. Henry earl of Caernarvon, right hon. John-Joshua earl of Carysfort, right hon. Charles-Augustus lord Ossulston, right hon. St. Andrew lord St. John, of Bletsoe, and right hon. William Elliott, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.—John duke of Bedford, declared lieutenant-general and general governor of Ireland, *vice* earl of Hardwicke.—Right hon. Edward earl of Derby, sworn chancellor of the duchy and county-palatine of Lancaster, *vice* lord Harrowby.—Right hon. Francis earl of Moira, sworn constable of his majesty's tower of London, and lord-lieutenant of the tower hamlets, *vice* marquis Cornwallis, dec.

Whitehall, Feb. 15. Right hon. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, appointed treasurer of his majesty's navy, *vice* Mr. Canning.—John Calcraft, esq. to be clerk of the ordnance of the united kingdom.—Right hon. Robert earl of Buckinghamshire, and right hon. John-Joshua earl of Carysfort, K. P. to be postmaster-general, *vice* duke of Montrose and lord C. Spencer.—

Right

Right hon. Richard Chandos earl Temple, and right hon. John Townshend, commonly called lord John Townshend, to be paymaster-general of his majesty's forces, *vice* Mr. Rose and lord C. Somerset.—Right hon. Charles Spencer, commonly called lord Charles Spencer, to be master and worker of the mint, *vice* earl Bathurst.—Alexander Davison, esq. to be treasurer of the ordnances of the united kingdom.—Thomas Anson, esq. created baron Soberton, of Soberton, co. Southampton, and viscount Anson, of Shugborough and Orgrave, co. Stafford.—John Dennis, marquis of Sligo, K. P. created baron Monteagle, of Westport, co. Mayo.—Right hon. Hugh earl of Eglinton, created baron Ardrossan, of Ardrossan, co. Ayr.—Right hon. James earl of Lauderdale, created baron Lauderdale, of Thirlestane, co. of Berwick.—Right hon. George earl of Granard, created baron Granard, of castle Donington, co. Leicester.—John Crewe, esq. created baron Crewe, of Crewe, co. of Chester.—William Lygon, esq. created baron Beauchamp, of Powyke, co. of Worcester.—Right hon. and rev. William Nelson, D. D. baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Hilborough, co. of Norfolk, viscount Merton and earl Nelson of Trafalgar and of Merton, co. Surrey, and his issue, permitted and authorised to bear the honourable augmentations to their armorial ensigns which were granted to his brother, Horatio late viscount and baron Nelson, with the crest, motto, supporters, &c.

Whitehall, Feb. 18. John M'Mahon, esq. appointed keeper of the stores, ordnance, and ammunition of war, of the united kingdom.—Right hon. Robert Spencer, commonly called lord Robert Spencer, to be surveyor-general of his majesty's woods, parks, forests, and chaces, *vice* lord Glenbervie.

Queen's palace, Feb. 19. William Wentworth earl Fitzwilliam, declared lord president of his majesty's most honourable privy council, *vice* earl Camden.—Thomas Stevens, esq. of Kinnerton, to be sheriff of the county of Radnor, *vice* John Whitaker, esq. of Cascob.

Whitehall, Feb. 19. Right hon. William-Charles earl of Albemarle, appointed master of his majesty's buck-hounds, *vice* earl of Sandwich.—Right hon. St. Andrew lord St. John, appointed captain of his majesty's band of pensioners, *vice* viscount Falmouth.

Whitehall, Feb. 25. Charles Hastings, esq. of Willesley-hall, co. of Leicester, lieut.-general of his majesty's forces; Montague Cholmeley, esq. of Easton, co. Lincoln; Thomas Sutton, esq. of Molesey, co. Surrey; and Bysche Shelley, esq. of Castle Goring, Sussex; created baronets.

Downing-street, March 1. Francis Gore, esq. appointed lieutenant-governor of the province of Upper Canada; and John Hodgson, esq. brigadier-general of his majesty's forces, governor of the Bermuda or Somers islands.

Queen's-palace, March 5. Right hon. George Ponsonby, sworn of his majesty's most honorable privy council.—William Wentworth earl Fitzwilliam, sworn custos rotulorum of the soke of Peterborough.—Thomas Jones, esq. of Dolgelly, to be sheriff of the county of Merioneth, *vice* Hugh Jones, sen. esq. of Dolgelly.

Whitehall, March 8. Right hon. Nathaniel Bond, appointed advocate-general or judge-marshal of his majesty's forces, *vice* right hon. sir Charles Morgan, bart. resigned.

ed.—Charles Hay, esq. to be a lord of session in Scotland, *vice* David Smyth, esq. dec.—Hon. Henry Erskine, advocate, to be his majesty's advocate in Scotland.—John Clerk, esq. advocate, to be his majesty's solicitor in Scotland.—Right hon. William Brabazbn Ponsonby, created baron Ponsonby, of Imokiliy, co. Cork.—Sir Francis Milman, bart. appointed physician in ordinary to his majesty, *vice* Dr. Thomas Gisborne, dec.

Queen's-palace, March 12. Right hon. sir John Newport, bart. chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

Whitehall, March 15. George Spencer, esq. commonly called marquis of Blandford, summoned to the house of peers, by the style and title of baron Spencer, of Wormleighton, co. Warwick.

Dublin-castle, March 25. Right hon. George Ponsonby, appointed chancellor and keeper of the great seal of Ireland.—*March* 28. Right hon. William Elliott, appointed by the lord lieutenant of Ireland his chief secretary.

War-office, March 29. Lieutenant gen. John lord Hutchinson, K. B. appointed governor of Londonderry and Culmore, in Ireland, *vice* Hale, dec.

Whitehall, April 1. Right hon. Charles viscount Newark, created earl of Manvers. — Right hon. Horatio baron Walpole, created earl of Orford, co. Suffolk.—Right hon. Charles lord Grey, of Howick, K. B. and general of his majesty's forces, created viscount Howick, co. Northumberland, and earl Grey.—Joseph Scott, esq. of Great Barr, co. Stafford; Alexander Macdonald Lockhart, esq. of Lee and Carnwath; John Morris, esq. of Clasemont, co. Glamorgan; Alexander Ramsay, esq. of Balmain, co. Kincardine; and John Lubbock, esq. of Lamas, co. Norfolk, created baronets.

Dublin-castle, April 21. Right hon. Richard Hely, earl of Donoughmore, and the right hon. Henry Fitzgerald, commonly called lord Henry Fitzgerald, appointed postmasters-general in Ireland.

Carlton-house, April 22. The marquis of Bute, the earl of Cassilis, the earl of Lauderdale, the earl of Breadalbane, and the earl of Moira; William Adam, esq. counsellor for the duchy of Cornwall; Adam Gillies, esq. advocate for the principality of Scotland; and D. Cathcart, esq. solicitor for the principality of Scotland; appointed (by the prince of Wales) state counsellors for the principality of Scotland.

Carlton house, May 1. The earl of Stair, appointed (by the prince of Wales) one of his state counsellors for the principality of Scotland.

Queen's-palace, May 7. Right hon. Richard Hely, earl of Donoughmore, sworn of his majesty's most hon. privy council.

St. James's, May 21. Charles Montagu Ormsby, esq. knighted.

Dublin castle, May 30. Cornelius baron Lismore, created viscount Lismore, of Shanbally, co. Tipperary; and Robert-Edward baron Erris, created viscount Lorton, of Boyle, co. Roscommon.

War-office, May 31. His royal highness William-Frederick duke of Gloucester, K. G. from the 6th foot, to be colonel of the 3d regiment of foot-guards, *vice* the duke of Argyll, dec.

Queen's-palace, June 11. Busick Harwood, esq. M. D. of Emanuel college, Cambridge, professor of anatomy

anatomy in that University, and of medicine in Downing-college, knighted.

Queen's palace, June 18. Right hon. Alexander marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

Whitehall, July 1. John Philpot Curran, esq. one of his majesty's counsel at law in Ireland, appointed keeper or master of the rolls and records of the court of chancery in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland.

Queen's-palace, July 2. Dupré earl of Caledon, sworn governor and commander in chief in and over the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, in South Africa, with its territories and dependencies.

Dublin-castle, July 7. Rev. Charles Warburton, D. D. dean of Clonmacnoise, promoted to the bishoprick of Limerick, with the united bishoprick of Ardfert and Aghadoe, *vice* Bernard, dec.—Wm. Fletcher, esq. appointed one of the judges of the court of common pleas in Dublin, *vice* Johnson, resigned.

Dublin-castle, July 8. Henry Fitzgerald, esq. (commonly called lord Henry Fitzgerald), sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council in Ireland.

St. James's, July 14. Henry Norton Willis, esq. appointed comptroller and paymaster to the establishment of her R. H. the princess Charlotte of Wales.

Whitehall, July 15. Right hon. Thomas Grenville *vice* lord Minto, and the right hon. John-Joshua earl of Carysfort, K. P. appointed and added to his majesty's commissioners for the management of the affairs of India.

Queen's-palace, July 21. Right hon. James earl of Lauderdale, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

Downing-street, July 21. Hon. David Erskine, appointed his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the United States of America.—Gen. the hon. Henry-Edward Fox, to be commander of his majesty's forces in the Mediterranean.—Major-gen. the hon. Henry-George Grey, to be lieutenant-governor of the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, and commander of his majesty's forces there.

Whitehall, July 29. Sir Rupert George, knt. Ambrose Serle, James Bowen, John Douglas, esqrs. John Harness, M. D. and George-Henry Toury, esq. appointed commissioners for conducting the transport service, for the cure of sick and wounded seamen, and for the care of prisoners of war.

Downing-street, Aug. 1. Appointment of Mr. Wm. Lagemann to be agent and consul at London for his serene highness the duke of Sleswick-Holstein-Oldenburg, approved by his majesty.

Dublin-castle, Aug. 9. Right hon. Henry Grattan, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council of Ireland.

Whitehall, Aug. 2. Right hon. William earl of Northesk, K. B. and rear-admiral of the red, in consideration of his distinguished services on various important occasions, and particularly in the glorious and decisive victory off Cape Trafalgar, permitted by his majesty to bear certain honourable augmentations to his armorial ensigns.

Downing-street, Aug. 20. Right hon. Henry-Richard lord Holland, and right hon. William lord Auckland, appointed joint commissioners and plenipotentiaries for arranging and finally settling the several matters

matters in discussion between his majesty's government and the government of the United States, with James Monroe and William Pinckney, esqrs. the commissioners appointed for similar purposes on the part of the said United States; and the hon. William-Frederick-Elliott Eden, and John Allen, esq. to be secretary and assistant-secretary to the said commission.

Queen's-palace, Aug. 7. Right hon. Henry-Richard lord Holland, sworn of his majesty's most hon. privy council.

St. James's, Aug. 30. Nathan-Egerton Garrick, esq. appointed lieutenant of the yeomen of the guard, *vice* Philip-John Ducarel, esq. resigned.—Philip Lake Godsal, esq. to be lieutenant of the hon. band of gentlemen pensioners, *vice* Roger-Elliot Roberts, resigned.

Whitehall, Sept. 13. Major-general sir John Stuart, knight, created a knight of the Bath.—Robert Anstruther, esq. appointed conjunct-clerk to the bills in the office of his majesty's registers and rolls in Scotland, *vice* sir Robert Anstruther, bart. dec.

Queen's-palace, Sept. 17. Stephen Sharp, esq. his majesty's consul-general in Russia, knighted.

Whitehall, Sept. 23. Major-general sir John Stuart, K. B. permitted to accept the title of count of Maida, in Calabria, conferred upon him by Ferdinand the Fourth, king of the two Sicilies.

Queen's-palace, Sept. 24. Right hon. Charles Grey, commonly called lord viscount Howick, appointed one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, *vice* Mr. Fox, dec.; and sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

Whitehall, Sept. 27. Right hon. Thomas Grenville, appointed first lord commissioner of the admiralty, *vice* right honourable lord viscount Howick.

Whitehall, Sept. 30. Right hon. George Tierney, appointed first commissioner for the management of the affairs of India, *vice* right hon. Thomas Grenville.

Whitehall, Oct. 6. The right hon. Charlotte baroness de Ros, wife of the right hon. Henry Fitzgerald, commonly called lord Henry Fitzgerald, and her issue, authorized, out of respect to the antient family in which the said barony originated, to assume the surname of De Ros, in addition to that of Fitzgerald, and bear the arms of De Ros, in addition to their paternal arms respectively.

Whitehall, Oct. 8. Henry viscount Sidmouth, declared lord president of his majesty's most honourable privy council, *vice* earl Camden, resigned.

Whitehall, Oct. 10. Wm. Mackworth Praed, serjeant at law, sir Charles-William-Rouse Boughton, bart. Francis-Percival Eliot, Richard Dawkins, Charles Moore, John Sargent, John Anstey, John Whishaw, Philip Deare, and Lewis Jenkins, esqrs. appointed commissioners for auditing the public accounts.

Whitehall, Oct. 11. Horatio Nelson Thompson, an infant, authorized to assume and use the surname of Nelson only, in compliance with an injunction contained in a codicil annexed to the last will and testament of the late lord viscount Nelson.

Carlton-house, Oct. 11. Gilbert Blane, of Cleveland-row, M. D. F. R. S. appointed (by the prince of Wales) one of his physicians in ordinary, *vice* Dr. Turton, dec.; and William Fraser, of Lower Grosvenor-street, M. D. and William Saunders, of Russell-square, M. D.

to be his royal highness's physicians extraordinary.

St. James's, Oct. 14. Edward Dawson, esq. appointed standard-bearer to his majesty's honourable band of gentlemen pensioners, *vice* Frederick, resigned.

Queen's-palace, Oct. 15. Right hon. Henry-Richard lord Holland, sworn keeper of the privy seal.

Whitehall, Oct. 15. Right rev. William Cleaver, D. D. bishop of Bangor, recommended, by *congé d'elire*, to be elected bishop of St. Asaph, *vice* Dr. Horsley, dec.—Augusta Murray (commonly called the right hon. lady Augusta Murray), second daughter of John earl of Dunmore, authorized, out of respect to her descent from the family of De Ameland, to take and use the surname of De Ameland, instead of her present surname of Murray.

Treasury-chambers, Oct. 24. Right hon. Charles Bathurst, appointed master and worker of the mint.

Whitehall, Oct. 25. Rev. John Martin, presented to the church and parish of Kirkaldy, in the presbytery of Kirkaldy, and county of Fife, *vice* rev. Dr. Thomas Freling, promoted to the church and parish of lady Yester's, in Edinburgh.

Whitehall, Oct. 25. Thomas Francis Fremantle, and William Frankland, esqrs. appointed lords commissioners of the admiralty, *vice* sir Philip Stephens and sir Charles Pole, resigned; the former on a pension, the latter to have a command in the channel fleet.

Whitehall, Oct. 29. Sir George Hilaro Barlow, bart. appointed one of the knights companions of the order of the Bath.

Queen's-palace, Oct. 29. Sir Philip Francis, invested with the order of the Bath.

Whitehall, Nov. 4. Right hon. Alexander Hamilton (commonly called marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale), summoned to the house of peers, by the style and title of the baron of Dutton, co. Chester. Right hon. Archibald earl of Cassilis, created baron Ailsa, of Ailsa, co. Ayr. Right hon. John earl of Breadalbane, created baron Breadalbane, of Taymouth castle, co. Perth.

Whitehall, Nov. 7. Right hon. and rev. William Nelson, D. D. baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Hilborough, co. Norfolk, viscount Merton, and earl Nelson of Trafalgar, and of Merton, co. Surrey, permitted to succeed to the title of duke of Bronte, in the kingdom of Further Sicily, granted by his Sicilian majesty to his late brother Horatio viscount and baron Nelson, duke of Bronte, &c. &c. dec.

Whitehall, Nov. 11. Wm. Fraser, esq. of Leadclune, co. Inverness, created a baronet; also, George Nugent, esq. of Waddesdon, co. Bucks, lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces; sir Thomas Boulden Thompson, knt. of Hartsbourne, Manor place, co. Herts, captain in the royal navy, and comptroller of the navy; sir Edward Berry, knt. of Catton, co. Norfolk, captain in the royal navy; James Sibbald, esq. of Sittwood park, co. Berks, with remainder to his nephew, David Scott, esq. of Dunninald, co. Forfar; and Hugh Bateman, esq. of Hartington-hall, co. Derby, with remainders severally to the first of every other son and sons successively of Catharine-Juliana Bateman, eldest daughter of the said Hugh Bateman, esq. and of Anne-Amelia Bateman, another of his daughters.

Whitehall, Nov. 15. Right hon. Alan lord Gardner, created baron Gardner, of Uttoxeter, co. Stafford.

Queen's-

Queen's-palace, Nov. 19. Right hon. sir John Anstruther, bart. sworn of his majesty's most hon. privy council.

Whitehall, Nov. 25. Dugald Stewart, esq. appointed his majesty's writer, printer, and publisher of the Edinburgh gazette.

Whitehall, Dec. 13. Right rev. John Randolph, D. D. bishop of Oxford, recommended, by *congé d'elire*, to be elected bishop of Bangor, *vice* Dr. Cleaver, translated to the see of St. Asaph.

Admiralty-office, Dec. 13. James Kempthorne, esq. Samson Edwards, esq. George Campbell, esq. Henry Frankland, esq. Arthur Phillip, esq. Sir William George Fairfax, knt. and sir James Saumarez, bart. and K. B. rear-admirals of the red, to be vice-admirals of the blue.

Whitehall, Dec. 20. Rev. Henry Fitzroy, commonly called lord Henry Fitzroy, M. A. to be a prebendary of the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, *vice* the rev. sir Richard Cope, bart. D. D. dec.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his majesty in council for the year* 1806.

Bedfordshire, Wm. Long, of Kempston, esq.

Berkshire, J. I. Libenrood, of Tilehurst, esq.

Bucks, Philip Hoddle Ward, of Tickford Abbey, esq.

Cambridge, and Huntingdonshire, L. Reynolds, of Sturtlow, esq.

Cheshire, Sir Henry Mainwaring Mainwaring, of Over Peover, bart.

Cumberland, J. B. D. Dykes, of Dovenby, esq.

Derbyshire, Francis Bradshaw, of Barton, esq.

Devonshire, Wm. Jackson, of Cowley, esq.

Dorsetshire, Edward Williams, of Herringstode, esq.

Essex, James Urmston, of Chigwell, esq.

Gloucestershire, W. Lawrence, of Shurdington, esq.

Herefordshire, Samuel Davies, of Wigmore, esq.

Hertfordshire, G. S. Martin, of Sandbridge Lodge, esq.

Kent, John Marrison, of Denne Hill, esq.

Lancashire, Le Gendre Pierce Starkie, of Huntroyd, esq.

Leicestershire, F. W. Wollaston, of Shenton, esq.

Lincolnshire, W. Reeve, of Long-leadenham, esq.

Monmouthshire, W. Phillips, of Whitson, esq.

Norfolk, Henry Lee Warner, of Walsingham, esq.

Northamptonshire, T. Carter, of Edgcott, esq.

Northumberland, W. Lynskill, of Tynemouth Lodge, esq.

Nottinghamshire, Sir T. W. White, of Wallingwells, esq.

Oxfordshire, G. F. Stratton, of Great Tew Park, esq.

Rutlandshire, T. Hotchkin, of Telover, esq.

Shropshire, W. Botfield, of Maylin Lee, esq.

Somersetshire, Clifton Wheaton, of Corse, esq.

Staffordshire, W. P. Inge, of Thorpe Constantine, esq.

Southampton, John Hanbury Beaufoy, of Upton Gray, esq.

Suffolk, M. W. Le Heup, of Bury St. Edmunds, esq.

Surrey, Kennard Smith, of Cheam, esq.

Sussex, W. Gorringe, of Kingston by the Sea, esq.

Worcestershire, Sir Thomas Edward

ward Winnington, of Stamford Court, bart.

Warwickshire, George Lloyd, of Wellcombe, esq.

Wilts, John Paul Paul, of Ashton Keynes, esq.

Yorkshire, J. B. S. Morrits, of Rokesby Park, esq.

SOUTH WALES.

Brecon, Osborn Yeates, of Llangattock Court, esq.

Carmarthen, G. P. Watkins, of Broadway, esq.

Cardigan, Lewis Bailey Wallis, of Peterwell, esq.

Glamorgan, Anthony Bacon, of Cyfartha, esq.

Pembroke, Hugh Webb Bowen, of Camross, esq.

Radnor, Thomas Stevens, of Kinnerton, esq.

NORTH WALES.

Anglesey, Sir Hugh Owen, of Bodewen, bart.

Caernarvon, William Williams, of Llangwstenin, esq.

Denbigh, R. Jones, of Bellam Place, esq.

Flint, Thomas Thomas, of Downing, esq.

Merioneth, Hugh Jones, sen. of Dolgelly, esq.

Montgomery, Wm. Owen, of Brynglwin, esq.

SHERIFF *appointed by his royal highness the prince of Wales, in council, for the year* 1806.

Cornwall, T. Graham, of Penquite, esq.

PUBLIC

PUBLIC PAPERS.

By the King. A PROCLAMATION

For a General Fast.

GEORGE R.

WE, taking into Our most serious consideration the just and necessary war in which We are engaged, and putting Our trust in Almighty God that He will graciously bless Our arms, both by sea and land, have resolved, and do, by and with the advice of Our privy council, hereby command, that a public day of fasting and humiliation be observed throughout those parts of Our united kingdom called England and Ireland, on Wednesday the 26th day of February next ensuing, that so both We and Our people may humble Ourselves before Almighty God, in order to obtain pardon of Our sins, and in the most devout and solemn manner send up Our prayers and supplications to the Divine Majesty, for averting those heavy judgments which Our manifold provocations have most justly deserved; and for imploring His blessing and assistance on Our arms, for the restoration of peace, and prosperity to Us and Our dominions: and We do strictly charge and command, that the said public fast be reverently and devoutly observed by all Our loving subjects in England and Ireland, as they tender the favour of Almighty God, and would avoid His wrath and indignation; and upon pain of such punishment as We may may justly inflict on all such as contemn and neglect the performance of so religious and necessary a duty: and for the better and more orderly solemnising the same, We have given directions to the most reverend the archbishops, and the right reverend the bishops of England and Ireland, to compose a form of prayer suitable to this occasion, to be used in all churches, chapels, and places of public worship, and to take care that the same be timely dispersed throughout their respective dioceses.

Given at Our court at the Queen's palace, this twentieth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and six, in the forty-sixth year of Our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

By the King. A PROCLAMATION

For dissolving this present parliament, and declaring the calling of another.

GEORGE R.

Whereas We think fit, by and

with the advice of Our privy council, to dissolve this present parliament, which stands prorogued to Wednesday the 29th day of this instant October, and which was to be further prorogued on the said 29th day of this instant October to Thursday the 27th day of November next: We do, therefore, publish this Our royal proclamation; and do hereby dissolve the said parliament accordingly; and the lords spiritual and temporal, and the knights, citizens, and burgesses, and the commissioners for shires and burghs, of the house of commons, are discharged from their meeting and attendance on the said Wednesday the 29th day of this instant October, and on the said Thursday the 27th day of November next. And We being desirous and resolved, as soon as may be, to meet Our people, and to have their advice in parliament, do hereby make known to all Our loving subjects Our royal will and pleasure to call a new parliament: and do hereby further declare, that, with the advice of Our privy council, We have this day given order that Our chancellor of that part of Our united kingdom called Great Britain and Our chancellor of Ireland, do respectively forthwith issue Our writs, in due form and according to law, for calling a new parliament. And We do hereby also, by this Our royal proclamation under Our great seal of Our united kingdom, require writs forthwith to be issued accordingly by Our said chancellors respectively, for causing the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, who are to serve in Our said parliament, to be duly returned to, and give their attendance in, Our said parliament; which writs are to be returnable on Monday, the 15th day of December next.

Given at Our court at the Queen's palace, the 24th day of October, 1806, and in the 46th year of Our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

HIS MAJESTY'S MESSAGE.

January 21.

The parliament was this day, in the absence of his majesty, opened by commission. The archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the earl of Dartmouth, earl Camden, and lord Auckland, sat as commissioners. The commons, with the speaker at their head, soon appeared at the bar. The royal commission was then read; after which, the lord chancellor delivered the following speech:

"My lords, and gentlemen,

"In pursuance of the authority given to us by his majesty's commission under the great seal, among other things, to declare the cause of his holding this parliament, his majesty has directed us particularly to call your attention to the most decisive success with which Providence has vouchsafed to bless his majesty's arms at sea, since you were last assembled in parliament.

"The activity and perseverance of his majesty's fleets have been conspicuously displayed in the pursuit and attack of the different squadrons of the enemy, and every encounter has terminated to the honour of the British flag, and the diminution of the naval force of the powers with whom his majesty is at war: but the victory obtained over the combined fleets of France and Spain off Cape Trafalgar has manifested, beyond any exploit recorded even in the annals of the British navy, the skill and enterprise

enterprise of his majesty's officers and seamen; and the destruction of so large a proportion of the naval strength of the enemy, has not only confirmed, in the most signal manner, the maritime superiority of this country, but has essentially contributed to the security of his majesty's dominions.

"His majesty most deeply regrets that the day of that memorable triumph should have been unhappily clouded by the fall of the heroic commander under whom it was achieved: and he is persuaded that you will feel that this lamented but glorious termination of a series of transcendant exploits claims a distinguished expression of the lasting gratitude of the country; and that you will therefore cheerfully concur in enabling his majesty to annex to those honours which he has conferred on the family of the late lord viscount Nelson, such a mark of national munificence, as may preserve to the latest posterity the memory of his name and services, and the benefit of his great example.

"His majesty has commanded us further to inform you, that, whilst the superiority of his arms at sea has been thus uniformly asserted and maintained, he has not been wanting in his endeavours to apply the means, which were so liberally placed at his disposal, in aid of such of the powers of the continent as evinced a determination to resist the formidable and growing encroachments of France. He has directed the several treaties entered into for this purpose to be laid before you; and though he cannot but deeply lament that the events of the war in Germany have disappointed his hopes, and led to an unfavourable issue, yet his majesty feels confident, that, upon a review of the steps which he has taken, you will be of opinion, that he has left nothing undone on his part to sustain the efforts of his allies; and that he has acted in strict conformity to the principles declared by him, and recognised by parliament as essential to the interest and security of his own dominions, as well as to the general safety of the continent.

"It is a great consolation to his majesty, and one in which he is persuaded you will participate, that although the emperor of Germany has felt himself compelled to withdraw from the contest, his majesty continues to receive from his august ally the emperor of Russia, the strongest assurances of unshaken adherence to that generous and enlightened policy by which he has hitherto been actuated; and his majesty has no doubt that you will be fully sensible of the important advantages to be derived from preserving at all times the closest and most intimate connection with that sovereign.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"His majesty has directed the estimates for the year to be laid before you, and he has commanded us to assure you that they are framed upon that scale of exertion which the present situation of the country renders indispensable. His majesty fully relies upon your granting him such supplies as, upon due deliberation, the public exigencies may appear to require. It is his earnest wish to contribute, by every means in his power, to alleviate the additional burthens which must necessarily be imposed upon his people; and with this view he has directed the sum of one million sterling, part of the

proceeds arising from the sale of such prizes made on the powers with which he is at war, as are by law vested in the crown, to be applied to the public service of the year.

"My lords, and gentlemen,

"His majesty is most fully persuaded, that whatever pride and confidence you may feel in common with him, in the success which has distinguished the British arms, in the course of the present contest, you will be sensible how much the events of the war on the continent, by which the predominant power and influence of France have been so unhappily extended, require the continuance of all possible vigilance and exertion. Under this impression, his majesty trusts that your attention will be invariably directed to the improvement of those means which are to be found in the bravery and discipline of his forces, in the zeal and loyalty of every class of his subjects, and in the unexhausted resources of his dominions, for rendering the British empire invincible at home, as well as formidable abroad; satisfied that by such efforts alone, the contest can be brought to a conclusion consistent with the safety and independence of the country, and with its rank amongst the nations of the world."

HIS MAJESTY'S MESSAGE.

Dec. 18.

After some peers had taken the oaths, the commons were ordered to attend, when the following speech was delivered by the lord chancellor in his majesty's name:

"My lords, and gentlemen,

"His majesty has commanded us to assure you, that, in the difficult and arduous circumstances under which you are now assembled, it is a great satisfaction to him to recur to the firmness and wisdom of his parliament, after so recent an opportunity of collecting the sense of his people.

"His majesty has ordered the papers which have been exchanged in the course of the late negotiation with France to be laid before you. His majesty has employed every effort for the restoration of general tranquillity on terms consistent with the interests and honour of his people, and with that inviolable good faith towards his allies, by which the conduct of this country has always been distinguished.

"The ambition and injustice of the enemy disappointed these endeavours, and in the same moment kindled a fresh war in Europe, the progress of which has been attended with the most calamitous events. After witnessing the subversion of the antient constitution of Germany, and the subjugation of a large proportion of its most considerable states, Prussia found herself still more nearly threatened by that danger which she had vainly hoped to avert by so many sacrifices. She was, therefore, at length compelled to adopt the resolution of openly resisting this unremitted system of aggrandizement and conquest. But neither this determination, nor the succeeding measures, were previously concerted with his majesty; nor had any disposition been shown to offer any adequate satisfaction for those aggressions which had placed the two countries in a state of mutual hostility.

"Yet, in this situation, his majesty did not hesitate to adopt, without delay, such measures as were best calculated to unite their councils

councils and interests against the common enemy. The rapid course of the calamities which ensued, opposed insurmountable difficulties to the execution of this purpose. In the midst of these disastrous events, and under the most trying circumstances, the good faith of his majesty's allies has remained unshaken. The conduct of the king of Sweden has been distinguished by the most honourable firmness. Between his majesty and the emperor of Russia the happiest union subsists—it has been cemented by reciprocal proofs of good faith and confidence; and his majesty doubts not that you will participate in his anxiety to cultivate and confirm an alliance which affords the best remaining hope of safety for the continent of Europe.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"His majesty looks with confidence to your assistance in those exertions which the honour and independence of your country demand. The necessity of adding to the public burthens will be painful to your feelings, and is deeply distressing to his majesty. In considering the estimates for the various branches of the public service, you will best consult his majesty's wishes by combining all practicable œconomy with those efforts which it is necessary to make against the formidable and increasing power of the enemy.

"My lords, and gentlemen,

"The long series of misfortune which has afflicted the continent of Europe could not fail to affect in some degree many important interests of this country. But, under every successive difficulty, his majesty has had the satisfaction of witnessing an increasing energy and firmness on the part of his people, whose uniform and determined resistance has been no less advantageous than honourable to themselves, and has exhibited the most striking example to the surrounding nations.

"The unconquerable valour and discipline of his majesty's fleets and armies continue to be displayed with undiminished lustre; the great sources of our prosperity and strength are unimpaired; nor has the British nation been at any time more united in sentiment and action, or more determined to maintain inviolate the independence of the empire, and the dignity of the national character.

"With these advantages, and with an humble reliance on the protection of the Divine Providence, his majesty is prepared to meet the exigencies of this great crisis, assured of receiving the fullest support from the wisdom of your deliberations, and from the tried affection, loyalty, and public spirit of his brave people."

At the court at the Queen's palace, the 5th of Feb. 1806, present the king's most excellent majesty in council.

His majesty having been pleased to deliver the custody of the privy seal to Henry viscount Sidmouth, the oath of keeper of the privy seal was this day administered to him, and his lordship took his place at the board accordingly.

This day the right hon. Francis earl of Moira; the right hon. Richard Chandos earl Temple; the right hon. Henry Petty, (commonly called lord Henry Petty,) chancellor and under treasurer of his majesty's exchequer; the right hon. Charles Grey; and the right hon. Charles James Fox, were, by his majesty's

majesty's command, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and took their respective places at the board accordingly.

His majesty having been pleased to appoint the right hon. George John earl Spencer, K. G. and the right hon. William Windham to be two of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, they were this day, by his majesty's command, sworn two of his majesty's principal secretaries of state accordingly.

His majesty, in council, was this day pleased to appoint the right hon. William lord Auckland, and, in his lordship's absence, the right hon. Richard Chandos earl Temple, president of the committee of council appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations.

At the court at the Queen's palace, the 7th of February, 1806, present, the king's most excellent majesty in council.

This day the right hon. George viscount Morpeth; the right hon. John Townshend, (commonly called lord John Townshend); the right hon. Thomas lord Erskine; and the right hon. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, were, by his majesty's command, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and took their respective places at the board accordingly.

His majesty, in council, was this day graciously pleased to deliver the great seal to the right hon. Thomas lord Erskine; whereupon the oath of lord high chancellor of Great Britain was, by his majesty's command, administered to his lordship, and his lordship took his place at the board accordingly.

His majesty having been pleased to appoint the right hon. Charles James Fox to be one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, he was this day, by his majesty's command, sworn one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state accordingly.

April 5. At the court at the Queen's palace, present, the king's most excellent majesty in council.

Whereas his majesty has received advice that his majesty the king of Prussia has taken possession of various parts of the electorate of Hanover, and other dominions belonging to his majesty, in a forcible and hostile manner; and has also notified that all British ships shall be excluded from the ports of the Prussian dominions, and from certain other ports in the north of Europe, and not suffered to enter or trade therewith, in violation of the just rights and interests of his majesty and his dominions, and contrary to the established law and practice of nations in amity with each other; his majesty, with the advice of his privy council, is thereupon pleased to order, as it is hereby ordered, that no ships or vessels belonging to any of his majesty's subjects be permitted to enter and clear out for any of the ports of Prussia until further order: and his majesty is further pleased to order, that a general embargo or stop be made of all Prussian ships and vessels whatsoever, now within, or which hereafter shall come into any of the ports, harbours, or roads within the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, together with all persons and effects on board the said ships and vessels; but that the utmost care be taken for the preservation of all and every part of

of the cargoes on board any of the said ships and vessels, so that no damage or embezzlement whatever be sustained:—and the right hon. the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and the lord warden of the Cinque ports, are to give the necessary directions herein, as to them may respectively appertain.

STEPHEN COTTRELL.

At the court at the Queen's palace, the 16th of April 1806, present the king's most excellent majesty in council.

Whereas his majesty has received advice, that his majesty the king of Prussia has taken possession of his majesty's electoral dominions in a forcible and hostile manner; and has caused it to be notified to his majesty's minister at the court of Berlin, that all British ships were thenceforth to be excluded from the ports of the Prussian dominions, and from certain other ports in the north of Europe, under the forcible control of Prussia, in violation of the just rights and interests of his majesty and his dominions, and contrary to the law and practice of nations in amity with each other: and whereas his majesty, by and with the advice of his privy council, has been pleased to cause an embargo to be laid upon vessels belonging to the subjects of Prussia now within, or which hereafter shall come into any of the ports of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, together with all persons and effects on board the said vessels: and whereas there is just reason to apprehend that the neutrality of the rivers Elbe, Weser, and Ems, and the free navigation thereof, will not, under these circumstances, be duly respected by his majesty's enemies, but will be rendered subject to the hostile measures above described; his majesty, by and with the advice of his privy council, is pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered, that a general embargo or stop be made in like manner, until further order from this board, of all ships and vessels belonging to persons residing in any ports or places situate upon the said rivers Elbe, Weser, and Ems, save and except vessels under the Danish flag, and also save and except that in respect to the goods and effects on board such ships and vessels which shall have been laden in, or are coming consigned to, any ports of the united kingdom, the same shall be forthwith liberated and delivered up to the said laders and consignees respectively; and it is hereby further ordered, that no property or freight money appearing to belong to any subject of Prussia, or to any persons residing as aforesaid, respecting which proceedings are now depending, or shall hereafter depend, in any of his majesty's courts of prize, shall be decreed to be restored, nor shall the proceeds of any property or freight money belonging as aforesaid, which hath already been decreed to be restored, be paid to or on behalf of the claimants, but the same shall be kept in safe custody until his majesty's further orders herein: and it is further ordered, that no person residing within his majesty's dominions do presume to pay any freight money due or payable to or on behalf of any person or persons, being subjects, or residing within the dominions of the king of Prussia, or in the ports or places aforesaid, for the freight of mer-

merchandize laden on board any ship which is detained under the said embargo, or which shall hereafter be brought into any of the ports of his majesty's dominions, but that such freight money shall be forthwith paid into the registry of the high court of admiralty, there to remain until his majesty's pleasure shall be further known, or until other provision shall be made by law: and whereas it has been represented to his majesty that the goods on board several of the Prussian vessels so detained, or to be detained by the embargo, are the property of his majesty's subjects, or the property of persons not being subjects of Prussia: it is further ordered, that all goods on board any vessels detained under the said embargo, which were laden in, or coming consigned to, ports of the united kingdom, shall be delivered to the disposal of the owners or their agents, upon affidavit being made and produced in the high court of admiralty, that the said goods were not, at the time of shipment, nor are now, the property of subjects of Prussia, and upon paying the freight due upon such goods, into the registry of the said court, and upon giving sufficient bail to abide adjudication in case any proceedings should be commenced against the said goods, within two months from the date of such delivery; and the right honourable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and lord warden of the Cinque ports, and the judge of the high court of admiralty, are to give the necessary directions herein, as to them may respectively appertain.

STEPHEN COTTRELL.

STATE PAPERS

Presented to parliament April 21, relative to the rupture between England and Prussia.

No. I.—Copy of a dispatch from Francis James Jackson, esq. to the right hon. lord Mulgrave, dated Berlin, Jan. 27, 1806.

My lord,

I have the honour of inclosing to your lordship a letter, which although dated yesterday, I have just received (four P. M.) from baron Hardenberg. I hasten to forward it by estafette to the agent at Cuxhaven, in the hopes of its arriving there in time for the Thursday's packet. I also send to lord Cathcart by estafette, a copy of the Prussian minister's letter to me. I shall simply acknowledge the receipt of it, and inform his excellency, that I have forwarded his communication to your lordship. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) FRANCIS JACKSON.

Right hon. lord Mulgrave, &c. &c.

(Translation of Inclosure No. 1.)

Sir, I hasten to fulfil the promise given to lord Harrowby on the 8th of this month, to communicate to you, sir, as soon as a final decision should be taken on the subject, the additional circumstances relating to the security of the north of Germany, and to the guarantee by the king of the safety of those British troops which are in that part of the continent.

A messenger from Munich has just brought his majesty intelligence of the consummation of the arrangements which the present conjuncture of affairs has induced him to enter into with France, in order to save those countries, and especially the states of Hanover, from the

the misfortunes of another ruinous war, and to insure their tranquillity. As these arrangements stipulate particularly the committing of that country to the exclusive guard of the Prussian troops, and to the administration of the king, until the conclusion of a peace between England and France; his majesty could not delay taking the necessary measures for the entry therein of a corps of his army, which will be under the orders of his excellency the general of cavalry, count Schulenberg Kehnert, to whom also the king has confided the administration of the country. His majesty, animated by the most lively desire to see the importance and the urgency of the motives which have induced him to take these steps, justly appreciated by his Britannic majesty, and his enlightened ministers, has directed baron Jacobi to give a detailed explanation thereof at London.

It would be superfluous to point out to your attention, how urgent and indispensable, in the present state of affairs, the re-embarkation of the English troops in the north of Germany is become; since the retreat of the foreign troops is the condition, upon which France has promised not to order her troops to re-enter Hanover, and since also it was upon this supposition alone, that the king guarantied their security. I presume, that lord Cathcart has already received, and is upon the point of executing, the orders of his court for the return of those troops, for which transports have been waiting for some time past. I have, however, to request, sir, that you would, for the purpose of still further dispatch, write to that commander in chief on the subject, and, acquainting him with the present circumstances, that you would induce him to hasten, as far as depends on him, a measure, which in these circumstances, and the approaching arrival of our troops, will not admit of any delay. I request you to accept the reiterated assurance of my high and perfect consideration.

(Signed) HARDENBERG.

Berlin, Jan. 26, 1805.

To Mr. Jackson, &c. &c.

No. II.—His Prussian majesty's proclamation on taking temporary possession of the electorate of Hanover.

We, Frederic William, king of Prussia, &c. &c. make known and declare as follows:—

After the events which have terminated in peace between Austria and France, all our endeavours have been directed to ward from these districts the flames of war, and its consequences, which momentarily threatened the north of Germany, and particularly the electorate of Brunswick. With this view, and as the only possible means to attain it, a convention has been concluded between us and the emperor of the French; in pursuance of which, the states of his Britannic majesty in Germany will not be again occupied by French or other troops combined with them; and, till the conclusion of a general peace, will be wholly occupied and governed by us: in pursuance of which, we have caused the Brunswick electoral countries to be occupied by the corps under the command of our general of cavalry, count von der Schulenberg Kehnert; to whom, till the peace, we intrust the administration of the said countries, &c. As by this measure we have in view the repose and tranquillity of the north of Germany

Germany and of the Brunswick states, so we have resolved to pay out of our treasury for the necessaries for our troops, according to the peace-establishment, leaving the extraordinary expenses of a state of war to be defrayed by the country; while we, on the other hand, shall take care in general, that its revenues, during our administration, after deducting the expenses of government, shall only be appropriated to its advantage.—We further promise, that our troops shall observe the strictest discipline; that attention shall be given to all just complaints; and in general, that every quiet and peaceable inhabitant shall be maintained in his property and rights, and, in case of need, be vigorously protected.

Given under our own hand, at Berlin, the 27th January, 1806.

L. S. FREDERIC WILLIAM.
VON HARDENBERG.

No. III.—Copy of a note from Mr. secretary Fox to baron Jacobi Kloest, dated 17th March, 1806.

The undersigned is commanded by his majesty to state to baron Jacobi Kloest, for the information of his court, the great anxiety felt by his majesty at the manner in which possession has been taken of the electorate of Hanover. If his Prussian majesty judged it expedient, in order to prevent French troops from approaching so near that part of his frontier, to take to himself the military occupation of the electorate, it does not appear to his majesty, that it was by any means necessary that the civil government of that unhappy country should be subverted, or that an army more numerous, and consequently more injurious to the inhabitants, than necessity required, should be maintained there. His majesty relies with the greatest confidence on his Prussian majesty's declaration, that the present occupation is merely temporary; but his majesty cannot but express a wish, that the declaration on this point were more solemnly made in the face of Europe. The honour of the court of Berlin, as well as the consideration mutually due to each other from two princes so nearly connected in blood and alliance, seem to call for a clear explanation on this important subject.

His majesty on his part desires to be equally as explicit, and to put an end to all hopes (if such indeed have been entertained by the court of Berlin) that any convenience of political arrangement, much less any offer of equivalent or indemnity, will ever induce his majesty so far to forget what is due to his own legitimate rights, as well as to the exemplary fidelity and attachment of his Hanoverian subjects, as to consent to the alienation of the electorate.

His majesty learns with concern, that it is in agitation to give up Anspach and other parts of his Prussian majesty's dominions in Bavaria, in consequence of a convention with France: but he does not pretend any right to interfere or to give any opinion with respect to the propriety of the measures, whatever they may be, which his Prussian majesty may deem eligible for the interest of his crown and people; at the same time it is to be observed, that his majesty, whether in his capacity of king of Great Britain, or in that of elector of Hanover, was in no wise a party to the convention alluded to, or responsible for its consequences. The cessions therefore which his Prussian majesty may make to his majesty's

majesty's enemies, can surely never be alleged as a justification of taking to himself his majesty's lawful inheritance.

His majesty therefore hopes, that his Prussian majesty will follow the honourable dictates of his own heart, and will demonstrate to the world, that whatever sacrifices the present circumstances may induce him to make with respect to his own territories, he will not set the dreadful example of indemnifying himself at the expense of a third party, whose sentiments and conduct towards his Prussian majesty and his subjects have been uniformly friendly and pacific.

No. IV.—Note verbale.

Until the explosion of the last continental war, his Prussian majesty had no other object in view, than to secure the tranquillity of his monarchy, and that of the neighbouring states.

He was then able to effect this upon terms which met the entire approbation of every court. He has been desirous of doing the same since the breaking out of the present war. But the choice of the means has no longer been in his power. France has considered Hanover as her conquest, and her troops were on the point of entering it for the purpose of disposing of it definitely according to the pleasure of the French emperor, without the possibility of his Britannic majesty's preventing it.

The occupation of that country by his Prussian majesty, and the shutting of the ports in the German seas, and that of Lubeck against the British flag (as was the case during the possession of Hanover by the French), were the indispensable conditions of an arrangement by which the country is secured against the entry of foreign troops, and the quiet of the north of Germany preserved.

This has not been obtained without painful sacrifices on his majesty's part. Those of the house of Hanover are in no degree to be attributed to the king's measures, but are the inevitable consequences of a war, which his conciliating policy has in vain endeavoured to prevent. This war might have produced still more serious consequences. The treaty between Prussia and France at least protects the northern states from further evils; and could every power but duly appreciate how much they are indebted to the system he has adopted, the king would with justice obtain the gratitude of all.

No. V.—Proclamation of count Schulenberg, announcing the shutting of the ports of the North Sea against the British ships and trade, dated Hanover, 28th of March 1806.

In a treaty, which has been concluded between his majesty the king of Prussia my most gracious sovereign, and his imperial majesty the emperor of France and king of Italy, it has been stipulated, that the ports of the North Sea, as well as all rivers running into it, shall be shut against the British ships and trade, in the same manner as when the French troops occupied the states of Hanover. In conformity to the orders I have received, I make this known to those whom it may concern, that they may guard against the consequences, as the troops of the king my master have received orders to warn off and not to admit such English ships as may endeavour to enter these ports and rivers, and as all necessary and proper measures will

will be adopted to prevent the introduction and transit of British goods.

(Signed) The comte de Schulenberg Kehnert, His Prussian majesty's general of cavalry, and commander in chief of the corps d'armée in Hanover.

No. VI.—Proclamation of his Prussian majesty for taking definitive possession of Hanover.

We, Frederic William, king of Prussia, &c. &c. make known and declare as follows:

The wish to secure our faithful subjects and the neighbouring states of the north of Germany during the war, and to preserve and confirm the duration of the blessings of peace, was at all times the intention of our indefatigable endeavours. These wholesome measures were made known, upon some recent occasions, as the object of our late patent, dated January 27, 1806, according to which the electoral states of Brunswick Lunenburg in Germany were taken possession of by our troops, when the administration of the same passed into our hands. But in consequence of the exchange of the electorate of Hanover, in consideration of the cession of three of the provinces of our monarchy, and for the permanent tranquillity of our subjects and the neighbouring states, we have found it indispensably necessary to enter into and conclude a convention with his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy; and as the electoral states of the house of Brunswick, situated in Germany, were obtained by the emperor Napoleon by *right of conquest*, we hereby declare, that the *rightful possession* of the territory of that house has passed over to us, in consideration of the cession of three of our provinces, and is now subject to our power only: consequently, from the present time, the government and the administration of these countries will be administered simply in our name alone, and under our supreme authority.

We therefore call upon all persons, whatever may have been the functions assigned them, to execute those functions only in our name, and under our authority.

Count Schulenberg Kehnert, and the commissioners who are attached to him, expect no less than that all the prelates, the burghers, and the inhabitants in general, will obediently conform themselves to the orders of things, which a new æra has rendered necessary for their tranquillity and well-being; and in so doing, they will afford his majesty a proof of their devotion to their country.

So, on our part, nothing shall be neglected to confirm them in the persuasion of our paternal affection, and our sincere wish to render them happy.

(Signed) Frederic William.
Schulenberg.
April 1, 1806. Haugwitz.

Message to the house on the 21st of April, respecting the present state of the relations of this country with Prussia.

"GEORGE R.

"His majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the house of commons, that he has found himself under the necessity of withdrawing his minister from the court of Berlin, and of adopting provisionally measures of just retaliation against the commerce

commerce and navigation of Prussia. His majesty deeply regrets this extension and aggravation of calamities already so severely felt by the nations of the continent, whose independence and prosperity he has never ceased to consider as intimately connected with those of his own people. But measures of direct hostility, deliberately adopted against him, have left him no alternative.

"In a moment of confidential intercourse, without even the pretence of any cause of complaint, forcible possession has been taken by Prussia of his majesty's electoral dominions. Deeply as this event affected the interests of this kingdom, his majesty chose, nevertheless, to forbear, on this painful occasion, all recourse to the tried and affectionate attachment of his British subjects. He remonstrated, by amicable negotiation, against the injury he had sustained, and rested his claim for reparation on the moderation of his conduct, on the justice of his representations, and on the common interest which Prussia herself must ultimately feel, to resist a system destructive of the security of all legitimate possession. But when, instead of receiving assurances conformable to this just expectation, his majesty was informed, that the determination had been taken of excluding by force the vessels and the commodities of this kingdom from ports and countries under the lawful dominion or forcible control of Prussia, his majesty could no longer delay to act, without neglecting the first duty which he owes to his people. The dignity of his crown and the interests of his subjects equally forbid his acquiescing in this open and unprovoked aggression. He has no doubt of the full support of his parliament in vindicating the honour of the British flag, and the freedom of the British navigation; and he will look with anxious expectation to that moment when a more dignified and enlightened policy, on the part of Prussia, shall remove every impediment to the renewal of peace and friendship with a power with whom his majesty has no other cause of difference than that now created by these hostile acts.

"G. R."

At the court at the Queen's palace, the 17th of September 1806, present, the king's most excellent majesty in council.

Whereas the capital city, town, and fortress of Buenos Ayres, and its dependencies, have been conquered by his majesty's forces, and the territory and forts of the same are delivered up to his majesty, his majesty is thereupon pleased to order and declare, that all his loving subjects may lawfully trade to and from the said capital city, town, and fortress of Buenos Ayres, and its dependencies, including therein all and every the territories belonging to, or forming a part of the government of the same, in British ships, owned by his majesty's subjects, and navigated according to law; or in ships *bonâ fide* belonging to any of the subjects or native inhabitants of the said city, town, or territories, such native inhabitants being peaceably resident within the same, and under the obedience of his majesty's government there; and that such trade shall be subject to the same duties, rules, regulations, conditions, restrictions, penalties, and forfeitures, to which the trade to and from his majesty's colonies,

plantations, and islands in the West Indies and South America is, or shall be subject by law, except as is hereinafter specified:

And his majesty is further pleased to order and declare, that all commodities, being of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said capital city, town, and fortress of Buenos Ayres, and its dependencies, including therein all and every the territories belonging to, or forming a part of the government of the same, or which have been usually exported therefrom, shall be permitted to be imported into any of the ports of the united kingdom in British ships, owned by his majesty's subjects, and navigated according to law; or in ships *bonâ fide* belonging to any of the subjects or native inhabitants of the said city, town, or territories, such native inhabitants being peaceably resident within the same, and under the obedience of his majesty's government there; and that such commodities shall be subject to the same duties, rules, regulations, restrictions, conditions, penalties, and forfeitures, as articles of the like sort are subject to coming from his majesty's colonies, plantations, or islands, in the West Indies or South America:

And whereas information has been received, that the commander of his majesty's forces, to whom the said city, town, and fortress have surrendered, has reduced the duties on importation into the same, from about thirty-four and a half per cent. *ad valorem*, to ten per cent. *ad valorem*, and two and a half per cent. for the consulate or municipal duties, making, in the whole, twelve and one-half per cent. on all articles imported into the said place and dependencies in British ships, owned by his majesty's subjects, and navigated according to law; or in ships *bonâ fide* belonging to any of the subjects or native inhabitants of the city, town, or territories, such native inhabitants being peaceably resident within the same, and under the obedience of his majesty's government there; his majesty is thereupon pleased to order and declare, that the said reduced duties shall continue to be levied, and no other, on all articles so imported, with the exception of German linens, which are to continue to be subject to the same duties as were paid thereon before the conquest of the said place by his majesty's arms, until his majesty's pleasure shall be further signified;—and it is hereby further ordered, that it shall not be lawful for any slave or slaves to be landed, or imported, or brought into the said city, town, and fortress of Buenos Ayres, and its dependencies, including therein all and every the territories belonging to, or forming a part of, the government of the same as aforesaid, upon pain that all slaves so landed, imported, or brought, together with the vessels bringing in the same, or from which the same shall be landed, and their cargoes shall become forfeited to his majesty, his heirs and successors:—provided always, that this prohibition shall not extend to the several cases of slaves *bonâ fide* employed in navigating any ships trading to or from the said place, or of slaves *bonâ fide* employed as domestic slaves, and coming into the said place with their masters; or of slaves in any manner employed in his majesty's naval or military service:—And the right honourable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, and the lords commissioners of the admiralty, are

are to give the necessary directions herein as to them may respectively appertain.

W. FAWKENER.

At the court at the Queen's palace, the 17th of September 1806, present, the king's most excellent majesty in council.

Whereas by an act made and passed in the last session of the present parliament, and in the present year of his majesty's reign, entitled, "An act for authorising his majesty in council to allow, during the present war, and for six months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, the importation and exportation of certain goods and commodities in neutral ships into, and from his majesty's territories in the West Indies and continent of South America;" It is enacted, that from and after the passing of the said act, it shall and may be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, by and with the advice of his and their privy council, to permit, or to authorise the governors of the islands and territories hereinafter mentioned, in such manner, and under such restrictions as to his majesty, by and with the advice of his privy council, shall seem fit to permit, when the necessity of the case shall appear to his majesty, with the advice of his privy council to require it, from time to time during the present war, and for six months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, the importation into, and the exportation from, any island in the West Indies (in which description the Bahama Islands and the Bermuda or Somer Islands are included), or any lands or territories on the continent of South America to his majesty belonging, of any such articles, goods, and commodities as shall be mentioned in such order of his majesty in council, in any ships or vessels belonging to the subjects of any state in amity with his majesty, in such manner as his majesty, his heirs and successors, by and with the advice aforesaid, shall direct; provided such ships or vessels shall duly enter into, report, and deliver their respective cargoes, and reload at such ports only, where regular custom-houses shall have been established:

And whereas it appears at present to be necessary to permit, for a limited time, subject to be sooner terminated, varied, or altered, as is hereinafter provided, the importation into, and exportation from the islands and territories of his majesty in the West Indies, (including the Bahama Islands and the Bermuda or Somer Islands,) and the lands and territories on the continent of South America to his majesty belonging, of certain articles, goods, and commodities hereinafter mentioned, in any ships or vessels belonging to the subjects of any state in amity with his majesty; his majesty is thereupon pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and doth hereby order, that the governors and lieutenant-governors of his majesty's islands and colonies in the West Indies, (in which description the Bahama Islands and the Bermuda or Somer Islands are included,) and of any lands or territories on the continent of South America to his majesty belonging, and each and every of such governors and lieutenant-governors shall be authorised, and they, and each, and every of them are hereby authorised to permit, for twelve months from the date hereof, sub-

ject to be sooner terminated, varied, or altered as is hereinafter provided, in any ships or vessels belonging to the subjects of any state in amity with his majesty, the importation into the said islands, colonies, lands and territories respectively, of staves and lumber, and also of every kind of provisions (beef, pork and butter always excepted), which are of the growth or produce of the country to which such ship or vessel importing the same shall belong; and also the exportation from the said islands, colonies, lands and territories respectively, into which such importation of staves, lumber, and provisions as aforesaid, shall be made, of rum and molasses, and of any other articles, goods, and commodities whatsoever, except sugar, indigo, cotton, wool, coffee, and cocoa; provided always, that such ships or vessels shall duly enter into, report, deliver their respective cargoes, and reload at such ports only where regular custom-houses shall have been established: And his majesty, by and with the advice of his said privy council, is further pleased to order, and doth hereby order, that notwithstanding any thing hereinbefore contained, the said permission and authority to import and export, shall cease and determine, or be varied and altered before the expiration of the above-mentioned period of twelve months, at the expiration of six months after notification in the London Gazette of any order of his majesty, by and with the advice of his privy council, for revoking, varying, or altering such permission or authority, or shall cease and determine at the expiration of six months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace.

W. FAWKENER.

At the court at the Queen's palace, the 1st of October 1806, present, the king's most excellent majesty in council,

Whereas it has been represented to his majesty, that, over and above the royal duties, and the consulate or municipal duties, payable upon divers articles exported from the city, town, and fortress of Buenos Ayres, and its dependencies, including therein all and every the territories belonging to, or forming a part of, the government of the same, a duty of two reals upon each ox hide, and of one real upon each horse hide, exported, was levied and paid during the time the said city, town, and fortress of Buenos Ayres, and its dependencies, were under the Spanish government: And whereas the commander of his majesty's forces, to whom the said city, town, and fortress have surrendered, has thought fit, until his majesty's pleasure should be known, to reduce the said additional duty to one real upon each ox hide, and to make a proportionate reduction of the duty payable upon each horse hide exported; his majesty is thereupon pleased to order and declare, that the said reduced duties, and no other, shall, until the further signification of his majesty's pleasure, continue to be paid upon each ox hide and horse hide exported as aforesaid, in British ships, owned by his majesty's subjects, and navigated according to law; or in ships *bonâ fide* belonging to any of the subjects or native inhabitants of the said city, town, and territories, such native inhabitants being peaceably resident within the same, and under the obedience of his majesty's government there: And the right honourable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury,

treasury, and the lords commissioners of the admiralty, are to give the necessary directions herein as to them may respectively appertain. W. FAWKENER.

At the court at the Queen's palace, the 1st of October 1806, present, the king's most excellent majesty in council.

It is this day ordered by his majesty, by and with the advice of his privy council, that horses, mules, asses, neat cattle, sheep, hogs, poultry, and every other species of live stock, and live provisions, be added to the articles which his majesty by his order in council of the 17th of last month, has authorised the governors, and lieutenant-governors of his majesty's islands and colonies in the West Indies, (in which description the Bahama Islands and the Bermuda or Somer Islands are included,) and of any lands or territories on the continent of South America to his majesty belonging, to permit to be imported into the said islands, colonies, lands and territories, respectively; and that the said additional articles be accordingly permitted to be so imported, in the manner, for the time, and under the terms and conditions mentioned in the said order.

W. FAWKENER.

DECLARATION.

George the Third, by the grace of God, of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, arch-treasurer and elector of the holy Roman empire, &c. &c.

The court of Prussia has avowed those hostile designs, which she thought to conceal by her friendly professions.

The note *verbale*, delivered on the 4th of April by the Prussian envoy, baron Jacobi Kloest, to the British ministry, announces that the electorate of Hanover has been taken possession of, and that the ports of the German Sea and of Lubeck have been closed against the British flag.

This declaration gives the lie to all those assurances by which the cabinet of Berlin has hitherto endeavoured to cloke its proceeding: to which it moreover adds the pretension that his Prussian majesty has acquired, by his system of policy, claims to the gratitude of all the Northern powers.

Thus actually dispossessed of the antient inheritance of my family, and insulted in my rights as a sovereign, I have ordered those measures to be taken which the honour of my crown require: but I still owe it to myself, to Europe, and to my subjects, to make a public declaration of my sentiments, as elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, upon the unjust usurpation of my German possessions.

It is not necessary to prove how contrary this act is to the rights of nations, or to the laws of the German empire. Their infraction is too evident to be required to be proved. It is the most sacred principles of good faith, of honour, and in fact of all the obligations upon which the reciprocal safety of different states amongst themselves, and of each civil society in itself, repose, which are trodden under foot in such a manner, that the world would have difficulty in believing it, if I did not cause the facts to be laid before them, which are authenticated in the narrative

which I have ordered to be prepared.

The proceedings of the court of Berlin, when the electorate was occupied by its troops in 1801,—its conduct, far from being friendly during the negotiation for the indemnities which followed the peace of Luneville,—the declaration which it made when France prepared to invade the electorate,—and, lastly, the burthensome conditions under which it endeavoured to cause it to be evacuated, to substitute her own troops instead of those of France, had given too many proofs to the government of Hanover, not to oblige it to endeavour to avoid all sort of intervention on the part of this power, even at the moment that it was on the point of engaging in a dispute with France. The events which retarded the arrival in Hanover of the expedition concerted between Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden, gave the Prussian troops an opportunity of anticipating them, after the French army had been obliged to evacuate the electorate.

This step was accompanied by the most friendly protestations on the part of Prussia. She invited the Hanoverian government to resume its functions in my name, and to collect the wreck of the army.

The country, already so unfortunate, doubly felt the weight of the numerous requisitions extorted by the Prussian corps, without the least regard to the situation in which the French left it.

After the unfortunate result of the campaign of the allies in the South of the empire, an attack in the North was to be expected. His imperial majesty of Russia, to obviate the dangers to which Prussia might be exposed, placed, in consequence of the convention of Potzdam, his troops under count de Tolstoy, and the corps of general Benningsen, under the orders of his Prussian majesty, and promised him, moreover, all the assistance for which he might have occasion. It was scarcely to be expected that Prussia would avail herself of this advantage, and of that which the promise of the subsidy she had asked of Great Britain gave her, to obtain from France terms contrary to the interests which these resources were intended to protect. This, notwithstanding, has actually happened. The secret treaty, the effects of which are beginning to appear, was signed by count Haugwitz and the French general Duroc, the 15th of December, 1805, the period fixed as the term when Prussia was to declare against France, in case that power should have rejected the propositions which count Haugwitz was to make to her in consequence of the convention of Potzdam.

Seven days after, December 22, the cabinet of Berlin proposed to the British ambassador the arrangements to be taken, in common with the Prussian generals, for the positions of the allied armies in Lower Saxony; and dispatched, in consequence, lieutenant-colonel baron de Krusemark, with a letter to the Hanoverian government, to induce it to furnish provisions for the French garrison at Hemeln.

It was necessary to concur in this arrangement, (which was only provisionally terminated the 4th of January,) because it was to prevent the French troops from undertaking any thing against Hanover during the negotiation.

Was the court of Berlin then ignorant in what manner count Haugwitz

witz had concluded this negotiation? Did it not know, before the signature of the treaty, what would be the end of it? Or, did that minister dispose as he pleased of the good faith of his master?

It was on the 27th of January that the cabinet of Berlin announced to the Hanoverian government, "that in consequence of a treaty signified and ratified by the two parties, my German possessions would no longer be occupied by the French troops, that they would be entirely evacuated by those who were still there, and delivered up, until a future peace between England and France should have decided their condition, to the protection of the troops of his Prussian majesty, and to his exclusive administration." The Hanoverian government was required, but to no purpose, to intimate to all the public officers, that they were, for the future, to consider themselves as finally responsible to the Prussian commission of administration, excluding all foreign reference.

The dispatch addressed the 25th of January to the Prussian minister, and intended to justify his proceedings, was signed with the king of Prussia's own hand. It ended with these words, "I think it unnecessary to observe how much the territories in question ought to be satisfied with this change of scene; and my wishes would be fulfilled if, in consequence of the disinterested views by which I am impelled, the administration I have taken upon me should turn out to the happiness of the country and its inhabitants; and by that means satisfactory to his Britannic majesty, to whom I desire nothing more than to give, in this instance, a fresh proof of all others, all the proofs of consideration, of deference, and of friendship, which circumstances may put in my power."

The experience of the past, and a well-founded apprehension of the future, did not allow me to hesitate about the part necessary to be taken; and my electoral government was instructed not to enter into any negotiation, the object of which might have been to avoid a new French invasion, by allowing the Prussians to occupy Hanover.

The protest made upon this occasion by my electoral minister of state, was ineffectual. The king of Prussia caused the greatest part of the country to be occupied at the moment that my troops re-embarked; and his measures were executed without the least regard.

It was too easy to foresee that count Haugwitz would find means at Paris to bring back the arrangement between Prussia and France, announced here as ratified by the contracting parties, to its original intention.

This was what took place; and the French troops took possession of Anspach, one of the objects of compensation according to the treaty of December 15, the very day that the marquis de Lucchesini could reach Berlin with intelligence that France required the execution of the articles agreed upon at Vienna.

The answer returned by the British cabinet to the communication of January 25, did not arrive at Berlin until after the minister of state, baron Hardenberg, had announced to the British envoy the hostile measures which have compelled me to suspend my relations with a court which could so far

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The Prussian note of April 4 can furnish no good arguments to establish an unjustifiable measure.

It begins by vaunting the pacific dispositions of Prussia. This disposition is no further sincere than as it has for its foundation the principles of a just neutrality. The note delivered by the cabinet of Berlin to the French minister on the 14th of October, at the very instant that Prussia appeared to feel the affront which she received by the violation of the territory of Anspach, acknowledges that the conduct which she had followed to that time had proved of advantage to France.

Her actions had much less pretensions to the character of impartiality. After having permitted the French troops who seized on the electorate of Hanover a passage through the Prussian territory, she declared herself ready to oppose, sword in hand, that which the emperor of Russia had demanded for his armies.

France herself forced the passage: she pretended to offer excuses for that step, but it was in a manner equally offensive.

She had seen too clearly where the resentment of Prussia would terminate, which in fact appeared to be stifled when his imperial majesty of Russia engaged in a personal communication with the king.

Prussia then demanded subsidies of Great Britain, which were promised to her, and she signed the convention of Potsdam, the conditions of which she would doubtless have been more disposed to fulfil, if I could have so far forgotten my duty as to consent to the proposition of ceding the electorate of Hanover for some Prussian province.

Prussia affirms, that from the events of the war, she has not had the choice of means to secure the safety of its monarchy, and of the states of the North. She wishes to make it appear, that she has been compelled to aggrandize herself, and to become the instrument, rather than the object, of the vengeance of my enemies.

Such an avowal does not become a great power. All Europe knows that it depended on Prussia, before the battle of Austerlitz, to give repose to Europe, if she had taken the part which her real interests and the outraged honour of her monarchy dictated to her. She can no longer be excused, after having missed such an opportunity; and even since the event of the 2d of December, did she not command an army of 250,000 men, who still remember the victories it obtained under the great Frederick, which was in the best dispositions, and supported by the whole Russian army, two corps of which were actually under the command of the king of Prussia?

She would, without doubt, have been subject to certain risks; but she found herself in a situation when every danger must be encountered to save the honour of the state. The prince who hesitates in making a choice, destroys the principle which serves as the basis of a military monarchy; and Prussia ought already to begin to feel the sacrifice she has made of her independence.

The note of April 4 affirms, "that France had considered the electorate as its conquest, and that its troops had been on the point of re-entering it, to make a definitive disposal of it."

The electorate of Hanover, as an

an integral part of the Germanic empire, is not concerned in the war between Great Britain and France; nevertheless, it has been unjustly invaded by that power, which has, notwithstanding, frequently indicated the object for which she was disposed to restore it.

France was at length compelled to abandon the country, and forty thousand of my troops, and those of my allies, were established there when the count de Haugwitz signed the treaty which disposes of my states. It is true, that the Russian corps was then at the disposal of his Prussian majesty; but its chief, with the genuine spirit of an honourable man, was not the less determined to fight, if the allies of his master were attacked: we shall not speak of the French garrison which remained at Hameln, insufficient in point of number, deprived of the means of defence, and on the point of being besieged, when the promises of Prussia caused the plan to be abandoned.

The intention of France to dispose definitively of the electorate, would have been contrary to the assertions she has so often made. It would, moreover, have been contrary to the usage of war, since even a conquest is not definitively disposed of before a peace; and particularly at a moment when a wish might exist to manifest a pacific disposition.

Prussia had no right to judge if Great Britain had the means of opposing the return of my enemies to the electorate. Her power furnishes her with the means of bringing the war to an honourable end, for the interests she defends; but it is difficult to conceive in what light Prussia pretends that her measures removed troops that are strangers to the electorate, and ensure the repose of the North. Her troops, in consequence of the treacherous conduct of her cabinet, will remain as much strangers to the electorate as the French troops.

Prussia should not speak of her sacrifices at the moment when her only aim is to aggrandize herself, unless she feels the loss of her independence to be such, and how much she has departed from her duty, in abandoning one of the oldest possessions of her house, and of subjects who implored, in vain, her assistance. Besides, her sacrifices have no connection with my system of policy, and confer no right on her to usurp the government of my German subjects, whose fidelity nothing has hitherto shaken, and which they will retain towards my person, and a family of princes who for many ages have only sought their happiness.

It is evident that the conduct of the court of Berlin is not the free expression of the will of its sovereign, but the consequence of the influence exercised by my enemies in the cabinet of that prince. All the courts, and all the states, however, who can judge of circumstances, and all that they owe to the system adopted by the court of Berlin, will agree that the act committed against a sovereign united to his Prussian majesty by the ties of blood, and until now by those of friendship, places the safety of Europe in greater danger than any act of hostility on the part of a power with which one might be at open war.

Convinced of the justice of my cause, I make my appeal to all the powers of Europe, who are interested in resisting the consolida-

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tion of a system, which, by threatening the political existence of an integral part of the German empire, brings into question the security of the whole. I demand, most earnestly, the constitutional aid which is due to me as elector, from the emperor, its august head, as well as Russia and Sweden, the powers who have guaranteed its constitution, and who have already manifested, and still continue to manifest, the most honourable disposition for the preservation of my states.

Lastly, I protest in the most solemn manner, for myself, and my heirs, against every encroachment on my rights in the electorate of Brunswick-Lunenburgh, and its dependencies; and I repeat, in quality of elector, the declaration made by the minister of my crown at the court of Berlin, that no advantage, arising from political arrangements, much less any offer whatever of an indemnity or equivalent, shall ever engage me to forget what I owe to my dignity, the attachment and exemplary fidelity of my Hanoverian subjects, so as to yield my consent to the alienation of my electorate.

Given at the palace of Windsor, the 25th day of April 1806, in the 46th year of my reign.

(L. S.) GEORGE R.

F. count de Munster.

DECLARATION OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY, OCT. 21.

The negotiations in which his majesty has been engaged with France having terminated unsuccessfully, his majesty thinks proper to make this public declaration to his subjects and to Europe, of the circumstances which have led to an issue which his majesty deeply regrets. He has no object nearer to his heart than the conclusion of a secure and permanent peace. He laments the continuance of a war affecting the happiness of so many nations, and which, even amidst all the successes that attend his arms, is so burthensome to his faithful and affectionate people. But he is confident that there can arise on this occasion no other sentiment, either in his own dominions, or in any part of Europe, than that of an increased conviction that the restoration of general tranquillity is retarded only by the injustice and ambition of the enemy.

The French government, unsatisfied with its immense acquisitions on the continent, still openly perseveres in a system destructive of the independence of every other power. War is pursued, not for security, but for conquest; and negotiations for peace appear to be entered into for no other object than that of deluding the neighbouring powers into a state of false security, while France is herself preparing, arranging, and executing her unremitted projects of encroachment and aggression.

Her conduct in the recent discussions has afforded but too many proofs of this disposition.

The negotiation originated in an offer made by the French government of treating for peace on the basis of actual possession, which was stated to admit of mutual compensation; and a distinct assurance was added, that his majesty's German dominions, which had been attacked without even the pretence of any cause of hostility, should be restored.

Such a proposal appeared to his majesty to afford a just foundation for

for negotiating: it was therefore accepted, with this reserve, that the negotiation should be conducted by his majesty in concert with his allies.

No sooner had this basis been mutually admitted, than it was departed from by the enemy, and that too in points of so great importance as to call for an immediate declaration on the part of his majesty, that unless the principles proposed by France herself were adhered to, the communications which had been opened between the two governments must at once be closed.

This produced new professions of the disposition of France to make considerable sacrifices for the attainment of peace, if the discussions were suffered to proceed; at the same time that a difficulty was started on account of the want of full powers in the person entrusted by his majesty with this communication. Steps were thereupon taken by his majesty for opening a regular negotiation by ministers duly authorised, in order to ascertain in a manner the most satisfactory and authentic, whether peace could be obtained on terms honourable to the king and his allies, and consistent with the general security of Europe.

During these proceedings, a minister sent by the emperor of Russia to treat for the same important object, in concert with his majesty's government, was induced by the artifices of the enemy to sign a separate treaty, on terms equally repugnant to the honour and interests of his imperial majesty.

Unmoved by this unexpected event, the king continued to negotiate precisely on the same principles as before. He relied, with confidence, which experience has amply justified, on the good faith and steadiness of an ally, in concert with whom he had begun to treat, and whose interests he had maintained throughout with the same firmness as his own.

The French government, on the contrary, elated by this advantage, of which it boasted as equal in importance to the most decisive victory, departed in every conference more and more widely from its own offers and engagements. Not only did it take upon itself to change at its own will the basis of the negotiation with Great Britain, but violated in points still more important, every principle of good faith with Russia. The chief inducement offered to that power as the price of all the sacrifices extorted from her minister, had been the preservation of Germany. Yet, before the decision of Russia on this treaty could be known, France had already annihilated the whole frame and constitution of the German empire; had reduced under her own yoke a large proportion of the states and provinces of Germany; and, not with this open contempt of obligations so recently contracted, had, at the same time, instigated the Porte to measures directly subversive of her subsisting engagements with Russia.

While such a conduct was pursued towards his majesty, towards his allies, and towards all independent powers, there appeared so little hope of any favourable issue to the negotiation, that his majesty's plenipotentiaries demanded their passports to return to England.

This demand was at first eluded by an unusual and unexplained delay, and the French government afterwards, by some material concessions, accompanied with intimations

mations that others of still greater consequence might be the result of further discussion, procured a renewal of the conferences, which were protracted from day to day, till at length it was announced at Paris that the emperor of Russia had indignantly rejected the unauthorised and separate treaty signed by his minister.

In consequence of this important event, the strongest assurances were given to his majesty's minister, that France was now prepared to make sacrifices to a great extent, in order, by securing peace with Great Britain, to re-establish the tranquillity of the world.

The objects of these assurances appeared, however, to be, that of engaging his majesty in a separate negotiation, to the exclusion of his allies; a proposal which his majesty had rejected in the outset, and which he could still less admit of at a time when the conduct of Russia had imposed on him an increased obligation not to separate his interest from those of so faithful an ally. To these insidious overtures his majesty steadily refused to listen; but he took the most effectual method to avoid all appearance of delay, and to accelerate, if possible, the favourable issue of the negotiation. The confidential intercourse which he had constantly maintained with Russia, enabled his majesty to specify the terms on which peace with that power might be obtained; and his minister was accordingly instructed to state to France, in addition to his own demands, those of his ally, to reduce them into distinct articles, and even to conclude on those grounds a provisional treaty; to take effect whenever Russia should signify her accession.

This form of negotiating was after some objection acceded to by France; terms were now offered to his majesty more nearly approaching than before to the original basis of negotiation; but these were still far short of what his majesty had uniformly insisted on, and was now more than ever entitled to expect; and the decisive rejection of the just demands of Russia, as well as of the conditions proposed by his majesty in behalf of his other allies, left to his majesty no other course than that of ordering his minister to terminate the discussion and return to England.

The foregoing short and simple exposition of facts stands in need of no comment. The first overtures which led to negotiation where made by the enemy, and they were accepted by his majesty in the sincerest spirit of peace. Every opening which seemed to afford the most distant prospect of accommodation has been anxiously embraced, nor was the negotiation finally broken off while any hope of a favourable issue could be entertained. His majesty's demands were uniformly just and reasonable; directed to no objects of personal aggrandisement, but to such only as were indispensably required by the honour of his crown, his engagements to his allies, and a due consideration of the general interests of Europe.

It is with heartfelt concern that his majesty contemplates the continuance of those evils always inseparable from a state of war; but it is with his enemies that this awful responsibility rests; and for the issue of the contest his majesty trusts with confidence, to the justice of his cause; to the resources and bravery of his people; to the fidelity of his allies; and above all,

to

to the protection and support of the Divine Providence.

In contributing to the great efforts which such a contest must unavoidably require, his faithful and affectionate subjects will not forget that all their dearest interests are at stake; that no sacrifices they can be called upon to make are to be compared with the certain disgrace and ruin of yielding to the injurious pretences of the enemy; that with the inviolable maintenance of the good faith and public honour of their country, its prosperity, its strength, and its independence, are essentially connected; and that in asserting the rights, and upholding the dignity of the British empire, they defend the most powerful bulwark of the liberties of mankind.

TREATIES, &c.

Presented by his majesty's command to both houses of parliament, January 28, 1806.

Treaty of concert between his majesty and the emperor of all the Russias, signed at St. Petersburgh, the 11th April, 1805.

In the name of The Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

His majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, animated with the desire of restoring to Europe the peace, independence, and happiness, of which it is deprived by the unbounded ambition of the French government, and the immoderate degree of influence which it is striving to arrogate to itself, have resolved to employ every means in their power to obtain this salutary end, and to prevent the renewal of similar disastrous circumstances; and they have named in consequence, for the purpose of fixing and agreeing upon those measures, which their magnanimous intentions may call for, viz. his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the lord Granville Leveson Gower, member of parliament of the said united kingdom, one of his majesty's privy councillors, and his ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his majesty the emperor of all the Russias; and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, the sieur Adam prince of Czartoryski, one of his privy councillors, member of the council of state, senator, adjunct minister for foreign affairs, member of the general direction of the schools, curator of the imperial university of Wilna and of its district, lieutenant of the grand prior of the sovereign order of St. John of Jerusalem, of the Russian catholic priory, and knight of the order of St. Anne, and commander of that of St. John of Jerusalem; and the sieur Nicolas of Novossilzoff, his present chamberlain, adjunct minister of justice, charged with the examination of the projects presented to his majesty, and with other special commissions, president of the academy of sciences, member of the general direction of the schools, curator of the university of St. Petersburgh and of its district, and knight of the order of St. Vladimir, who, after having verified and exchanged their full powers, which were found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. I. As the state of suffering in which Europe is placed demands speedy remedy, their majesties the king of the united king-

dom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the emperor of all the Russias, have mutually agreed to consult upon the means of putting a stop thereto, without waiting for further encroachments on the part of the French government. They have agreed in consequence to employ the most speedy and most efficacious means to form a general league of the states of Europe, and to engage them to accede to the present concert; and, in order to accomplish the end proposed, to collect together a force, which, independently of the succours furnished by his Britannic majesty, may amount to 500,000 effective men; and to employ the same with energy, in order either to induce or to compel the French government to agree to the re-establishment of peace and of the equilibrium of Europe.

Art. II. The object of this league will be to carry into effect what is proposed by the present concert, namely;

(*a.*) The evacuation of the country of Hanover and of the North of Germany.

(*b.*) The establishment of the independence of the republics of Holland and Switzerland.

(*c.*) The re-establishment of the king of Sardinia in Piedmont with as large an augmentation of territory as circumstances will permit.

(*d.*) The future security of the kingdom of Naples, and the complete evacuation of Italy, the island of Elba included, by the French forces.

(*e.*) The establishment of an order of things in Europe, which may effectually guarantee the security and independence of the different states, and present a solid barrier against future usurpations.

Art. III. His Britannic majesty, in order to concur efficaciously on his side to the happy effects of the present concert, engages to contribute to the common efforts, by employing his forces both by sea and land, as well as his vessels adapted for transporting troops, in such manner as shall be determined upon in the general plan of operations; his majesty will moreover assist the different powers who shall accede thereto by subsidies, the amount of which shall correspond to the respective forces which shall be employed; and in order that the said pecuniary succours may be proportioned in the manner most conducive to the general good, and to assist the powers in proportion to the exertions they may make to contribute to the common success, it is agreed, that these subsidies (barring particular arrangements), shall be furnished in the proportion of 1,250,000*l.* sterling, for each 100,000 men of regular troops, and so in proportion for a greater or smaller number, payable according to the conditions hereinafter specified.

Art. IV. The said subsidies shall be payable by instalments, from month to month, in proportion to the forces which each power shall employ in pursuance of its engagements, to combat the common enemy, and according to the official report of the armies employed at the opening of the campaign, and of the several reinforcements which may join them. An arrangement shall be made, in conformity with the plan of operations, which shall be forthwith regulated as to the period when these subsidies shall begin to be paid, and the mode and place of payment shall be settled, so as to suit the convenience of each of the belligerent parties. His Britannic majesty will likewise be prepared to advance

within the current year, a sum for putting the troops in motion. This sum shall be settled by particular arrangements to be entered into by each power, who shall take part in this concert; but his said majesty understands that the whole of the sums to be furnished to any power within the current year, as well on account of the said advance as for the monthly subsidies, is in no case to exceed the proportion of 1,250,000*l.* sterling, for every 100,000 men.

Art. V. The high contracting parties agree that the different members of the league shall respectively be permitted to retain accredited persons with the commanders in chief of the different armies, to carry on the correspondence, and to attend to the military operations.

Art. VI. Their majesties agree, that in the event of a league being formed, such as is pointed out in the first article, they will not make peace with France but by the common consent of all the powers who shall become parties in the said league; and also that the continental powers shall not recall their forces before the peace: moreover, his Britannic majesty engages to continue the payment of the subsidies during the continuance of the war.

Art. VII. The present concert, which is mutually acknowledged by the high contracting parties to be equally valid and binding as the most solemn treaty, shall be ratified by his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at St. Petersburgh within the space of ten weeks, or sooner if possible.

In testimony whereof the respective plenipotentiaries, have signed the same, and have thereunto affixed the seal of their arms. Done at St. Petersburgh, the 30th March—11th April, in the year 1805.

(L.S.) GRANVILLE LEV. GOWER.
(L.S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.
(L.S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOSSILZOFF.

First separate article of the treaty of concert between his majesty and the emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburgh, 30th March—11th April 1805.

His majesty the emperor of all the Russias, having made known to his Britannic majesty his arrangements with their majesties the emperor of Germany and the king of Sweden, his Britannic majesty engages to fulfil his stipulations of the present treaty of concert towards each of those powers, if, in the space of four months, reckoning from the day of the signature of the present instrument, both those powers, or one of them, shall have caused their forces to act against France, by virtue of the engagements they have taken with his majesty the emperor of all the Russias.

This separate article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms. Done at St. Petersburgh this 30th of March—11th April, in the year 1805.

(L.S.) GRANVILLE LEV. GOWER.
(L.S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.
(L.S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOSSILZOFF.

Fourth

Fourth separate article of the treaty of concert between his majesty and the emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburgh, 11th April—30th March, 1805.

The collecting of 500,000 effective men, mentioned in article I. of the treaty of concert signed this day, not being so easy as it is desirable, their majesties have agreed that it should be carried into execution as soon as it should be possible to oppose to France an active force of 400,000 men, composed in the following manner: Austria will supply 250,000 men, Russia not less than 115,000 men, independently of the levies made by her in Albania, in Greece, &c.: and the remainder of the 400,000 will be made up by the troops of Naples, Hanover, Sardinia, and others.

This separate article shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted, word for word, in the treaty of concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.

Done at St. Petersburgh, this 11th of April—30th March, in the year 1805.

(L.S.) GRANVILLE LEV. GOWER.
(L.S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.
(L.S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOSSILZOFF.

Fifth separate article of the treaty of concert between his majesty and the emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburgh, 11th April—30th March 1805.

His majesty the emperor of all the Russias engages also to march as soon as possible an army of not less than 60,000 men to the frontiers of Austria, and also another of not less than 80,000 men to the Prussian frontiers, to be ready to co-operate with the said courts in the proportion established by the treaty of concert signed this day, and to support them respectively in case they should be attacked by France, who might suppose them to be engaged in some negotiation tending towards an object contrary to her views; but it is understood, that independently of the 115,000 men, which his imperial majesty of all the Russias will cause to act against the French, he will keep bodies of reserve and observation upon his frontiers.

It is moreover agreed, that as the forces promised by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias shall all, or in part, quit the frontiers of his empire, his Britannic majesty will pay them the subsidies at the rate established by the present treaty of concert, until the return of the said forces to their homes; and, morever, the equivalent of three months of subsidy as a *premiere mise en campagne*.

The Russian troops already stationed at the Seven Islands, or which may be intended to be transported thither, will not enjoy the advantage of the subsidies and of the *premiere mise en campagne*, stipulated in the present article, before the day of their leaving the Seven Islands to commence their operations against the French.

This separate article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof we the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.

Done

Done at St. Petersburgh, the 11th April (30th March) 1805.
(L.S.) GRANVILLE LEV. GOWER.
(L.S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.
(L.S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOSSILZOFF.

Sixth separate Article of the treaty of concert between his majesty and the emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburgh, 11th April (30th March) 1805.

His majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, being disposed to form an energetic concert, with the sole view of insuring to Europe a lasting and solid peace, founded upon the principles of justice, equity, and the law of nations, by which they are constantly guided, are aware of the necessity of a mutual understanding at this time upon several principles, which they will evince in pursuance of a previous concert, as soon as the events of the war may render it necessary.

These principles are in no degree to control the public opinion in France, or in any other countries where the combined armies may carry on their operations, with respect to the form of government which it may be proper to adopt; nor to appropriate to themselves, till a peace should be concluded, any of the conquests made by one or the other of the belligerent parties; and to take possession of the towns and territories which may be wrested from the common enemy in the name of the country or state to which by acknowledged right they belong, and in all other cases, in the name of all the members of the league; and finally, to assemble, at the termination of the war, a general congress, to discuss and fix the provisions of the law of nations, on a more determined basis than unfortunately has hitherto been practicable; and to insure their observance by the establishment of a federative system calculated upon the situation of the different states of Europe.

This separate article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.

Done at St. Petersburgh, the 11th April (30th March) 1805.
(L.S.) GRANVILLE LEV. GOWER.
(L.S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.
(L.S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOSSILZOFF.

Eighth separate Article.

It being possible that the bias which the French government tries to give to the counsels of the different states of Europe, may determine one or other of those states to throw obstacles in the way of the attainment of the salutary effects which are the object of the present concert, and even to have recourse to hostile measures against one of the high contracting parties, in spite of their endeavours to establish an equitable and permanent order of things in Europe, his Britannic majesty and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias agree to make common cause against every power which, by the employment of its forces, or by too intimate an union with France, may pretend to raise essential obstacles to the development of those measures which the high contracting parties may have to take, in order to attain the object proposed by the present concert.

This separate article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.

Done at St. Petersburgh, the 11th April (30th March) 1805.

(L.S.) GRANVILLE LEV. GOWER.
(L.S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.
(L.S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOSSILZOFF.

Eleventh separate Article.

The high contracting parties, acknowledging the necessity of supporting the propositions of peace, which it is their intention to make to Bonaparte, by energetic demonstrations, have resolved to invite his imperial and royal apostolic majesty to put his armies in a state of readiness for action without delay, by completing their numbers, and by concentrating them in the neighbourhood of the borders of France.—His Britannic majesty, considering the extraordinary expenses which this measure will render necessary, promises and engages to furnish to his imperial and royal majesty, immediately after his accession to the present concert, the sum of 1,000,000*l.* sterling for *premiere mise en campagne*, which the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland will not reclaim, in case the negotiations for peace should be crowned with success, provided that, in a contrary event, Austria would take the field immediately.

This separate article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.

Done at St. Petersburgh, the 11th April (30th March) 1805.

(L.S.) GRANVILLE LEV. GOWER.
(L.S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.
(L.S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOSSILZOFF.

Separate and secret Article.

Although the high contracting parties have agreed by the first separate article of the treaty of concert, established this day between them, that Austria and Sweden shall not partake of the advantages of the said concert, but in the event of their bringing their forces into action against France four months after its signature, by virtue of their engagements with his majesty the emperor of all the Russias; yet his Britannic majesty, considering the advantage to the future security of Europe which results from an union similar to that formed by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias with their majesties the emperor of Germany and the king of Sweden, for the purpose of opposing the further enroachments of Bonaparte, promises to fulfil the stipulations of the present concert, in the same degree towards either of those powers, if, in the course of the year 1805, both or one of them should bring their forces into action against France, in virtue of their engagements with his majesty the emperor of all the Russias.

This separate and secret article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of concert signed

ed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, in virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate and secret article, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.

Done at St Petersburgh, the 11th April (30th March) 1805.

(L.S.) GRANVILLE LEV. GOWER.
(L.S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.
(L.S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOSSILZOFF.

Additional Article.

His majesty the emperor of all the Russias having, in pursuance of his sincere desire to insure success to the enterprise concerted against France, determined, in case the circumstances should require it, to augment the forces which he has promised to bring into action to 180,000 men, his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland promises and engages to pay, in that case, to his imperial majesty of all the Russias, for the troops which he may thus add to 115,000 already agreed upon, a subsidy and a *premiere mise en campagne*, at the same rate as is agreed by the fifth separate article of the treaty of concert established between his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, 30th March (11th April) 1805.

This additional article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the aforementioned concert, and shall be ratified by the two high contracting powers; and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of ten weeks, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed to it the seals of their arms.

Done at St. Petersburgh, the 10th May (28th April) 1805.

(L.S.) GRANVILLE LEV. GOWER.
(L.S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.
(L.S.) NICOLAS DE NOVOSSILZOFF.

Additional Article of the treaty of concert signed at St. Petersburgh, the 11th April, 1805.

His majesty the emperor of all the Russias, purposing to concert measures with the court of Vienna, by which considerable Russian armies may be approximated to the frontiers of France, by crossing the Austrian and Prussian territories, while it is declared that the objects of these movements is to obtain securities for the continent, promises and engages to his Britannic majesty, in his own name and in that of his allies, that, should even circumstances require, that at the moment when the Russian troops began their march, they should declare that this movement was in no way connected with an existing concert with his Britannic majesty, but that the powers of the continent reclaim the fulfilment by France of her immediate engagements with them, yet as soon as the war shall have broken out, they will no longer pursue a particular object, but that which has been determined by the concert of the 30th March (April 11) with all the clauses incorporated with it.

In return for this assurance, his Britannic majesty promises and engages, in the first place, to fulfil towards the emperor of all the Russias the stipulations of the abovementioned concert, in all their parts, as soon as the war shall have broken out between Russia and France, and especially to furnish for the Russian troops the subsidies agreed upon, payable from the

day on which they shall have quitted the frontiers of the empire, and moreover the three months stipulated subsidy under the name of *premiere mise en campagne*; with this condition nevertheless, that however long may be the term between the epoch of the departure of the Russian troops from their frontiers, and that of the commencement of hostilities, his Britannic majesty shall not be bound to pay to Russia for that interval more than six months subsidy at the most, the *premiere mise en campagne* being therein comprised.

In the second place, to fulfil, with regard to Austria, all the stipulations of the above-mentioned concert, and especially all that relates to the subsidies, as soon as the ambassador of his imperial and royal majesty shall have signed the act of accession of his court: and lastly, in the third place, to pay in the like manner to the other allies of Russia, who shall assist in this enterprise (except in case of special arrangements), the subsidies which have been allotted for them by the above-mentioned concert, and on the conditions therein specified.

This additional article shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted word for word in the above-mentioned concert, and shall be ratified by the two high contracting parties, and the ratifications exchanged at St. Petersburgh, in the space of six weeks, or sooner if possible.

In faith of which, the undersigned plenipotentiaries have signed it, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at St. Petersburgh the 12th July (24th July) 1805.

(Signed)

(L.S.) GRANVILLE LEV. GOWER.

(L.S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.

Preliminary declaration of count Stadion to Lord Granville Leveson Gower, dated at St. Petersburgh, 28th July (August 9) 1805.

The undersigned ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his imperial and royal apostolic majesty, by order of his august sovereign, after having invited his excellency the ambassador of Great Britain, to join with him in the preliminary declarations which he has exchanged this day with his excellency the prince of Czartoryski, has moreover declared as follows:

His imperial and royal apostolic majesty, in acceding to the treaty concluded on the 30th March (11th April) 1805, and subsequently ratified by the courts of London and St. Petersburgh, under the reservations, modifications, and demands, as announced in the above-mentioned preliminary declarations, limits the pecuniary succours, which he expects from his majesty the king of Great Britain for the current year, 1805, to 3,000,000*l.* sterling, of which sum one million and a half is to be considered as *premiere mise en campagne*, and, as such, is to be furnished with as little delay as possible; and the other million and a half as subsidies, to be paid in equal monthly payments, until the last day of the year. These subsidies, as well as one million of the sum appointed for *premiere mise en campagne*, are to be furnished to his imperial majesty, and shall remain in his possession even though the vigorous demonstrations in which his forces are actually employed should not terminate in hostilities, but should lead by the way of negotiation to the re-establishment of peace. Moreover, as these armed demonstrations afford the greatest and most efficacious

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aid for the promotion of the object of the concert, to which his imperial and royal apostolic majesty has acceded, he expects that, as long as they shall continue, the subsidy shall likewise continue to be paid, in the same manner as if his armies were employed in actual war; and that for the year 1806, and the subsequent years, in consideration of the great number of troops which he is opposing to the common enemy, the subsidy shall be increased to the sum of four millions sterling, payable in the same manner as is stated above, until the return of the regiments into the hereditary dominions.

His excellency the ambassador of Great Britain having declared that the instructions and precise orders of his court precluded him from acceding without restriction to the above-mentioned demands, and having engaged, by a preliminary act exchanged against the present, in the name of his Britannic majesty, to stipulations which differ from them considerably, as well with regard to the sum, as to the terms of the propositions made in the name of his imperial and royal apostolic majesty.

The undersigned accepts this act, given in by the ambassador of England: but he declares at the same time, that he does not consider the sums stipulated therein as sufficient, and that he expressly reserves for his court the power of reclaiming to this effect, and of effectuating the fulfilment of its demands.

In transmitting this preliminary declaration, which is to be in the place, and have the validity, of the most solemn treaty, to his excellency the ambassador of his majesty the king of Great Britain, he is authorised to declare to him at the same time, that he is ready to proceed immediately, on these same bases, to the conclusion of the formal act of accession of Austria to the concert of the 30th March (11th April.)

These presents shall be ratified by the respective courts in as short a time as possible.

In faith of which, the undersigned, by virtue of the full powers of his imperial and royal apostolic majesty, has signed the present preliminary declaration, and has affixed thereto the seal of his arms.

Done at St. Petersburgh the 28th of July (9th August) 1805.

(L. S.) J. PHILIPPE,
Compe de Stadion.

Declaration of count Stadion to prince Czartoryski, dated St. Petersburgh, 28th July (9th August) 1805.

The undersigned ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his imperial and royal apostolic majesty, being especially authorised by the emperor his august master, declares, in answer to the declaration which has been delivered to him by his excellency the prince Czartoryski, of this day's date, as follows:

I. His imperial and royal majesty, in accepting the different articles announced in this declaration, accedes to the concert concluded between the courts of St. Petersburgh and London the 30th March (11th April) of this year, as well as to the last plan, which the Russian ministry has caused to be presented at Vienna. His majesty promises to fulfil the engagements thereof, with the exception of the modifications, clauses, and demands included in the different official pieces to which his imperial

majesty of Russia has given his consent in the preliminary declaration, which will be taken as the basis of the concert of measures which Austria and Russia are to employ for the attainment of their object.

II. His imperial and royal majesty engages to execute without delay the military arrangement agreed upon at Vienna the 16th of July, as well for the armed demonstration which is to facilitate the negotiation, as for the operations against the enemy which may ensue; in the confidence and certain expectation that the present preliminary agreement shall be unexceptionably and literally fulfilled, and that the definitive agreement shall be concluded without delay, and on the same basis between the three powers.

III. His imperial and royal majesty engages, as soon as the whole or a part of the Russian troops shall have passed their frontiers, not to treat for peace but on the basis which his majesty has himself acknowledged to be indispensable for the safety of Europe; and if hostilities shall take place, to make neither a peace nor truce, but with the consent of the allies, according to the stipulations of the concert of the 30th March (11th April), of this year.

The undersigned, in delivering the present preliminary declaration, which is to be in the place and to have the validity of the most solemn act, to his excellency the prince Czartoryski, is authorised to announce to him at the same time, that he is ready to proceed immediately to the conclusion of the formal act of accession of the court of Vienna to the concert of the 30th March (11th April.)

The present declaration, and that delivered to the undersigned by his excellency the prince Czartoryski, shall be ratified by the respective sovereigns in the least possible time, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at St. Petersburgh.

In faith of which, the undersigned ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his imperial and royal apostolic majesty, has signed the present declaration, has caused to be affixed thereto the seal of his arms, and has exchanged it against the declaration signed this day by his excellency prince Czartoryski, joint minister for foreign affairs of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias.

Done at St. Petersburgh, the 9th August (28th July) 1805.

(Signed) J. PHILIPPE.
Count de Stadion.

Copy of the declaration delivered by prince Czartoryski to the ambassador count de Stadion, on the 28th July (9th August) 1805.

The undersigned minister for foreign affairs, being authorised to that effect by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, declares to his excellency the ambassador count de Stadion as follows:

I. The several observations and proposals announced by the court of Vienna, in the preliminary declaration delivered by the vice-chancellor of the court and state, count de Cobenzel, to the ambassador count de Razoumosky, on the 7th of July, are assumed by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, to serve as a basis for the concert of measures between the court of Russia and those of Vienna and of London. In like manner the modifications proposed therein by his imperial and royal majesty for the regulation of the affairs of the

the continent, are also adopted, in case of there being reason to hope that war may be avoided by means of negotiation.

II. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias confirms the military arrangements detailed in the portocol of conferences held between the general baron de Wintzinger on one side, and the prince de Schwarzenberg, and general Mack on the other, and which was signed the 16th of July. And his imperial majesty engages strictly to fulfil the whole of the measures therein arranged.

III. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias engages, moreover, to endeavour to prevail on his Britannic majesty to consent to the modifications and demands contained in the paper entitled, "Remarks on some particular objects of the convention signed between the courts of Petersburgh and London the 30th of March (11th of April) of this year."

IV. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias promises to use his best endeavours to engage his Britannic majesty to grant the total amount of the subsidiary demands made by the court of Vienna; with this condition nevertheless, that in case his imperial majesty, notwithstanding all his exertions, should fail in the attempt, this circumstance shall occasion no essential change in the measures concerted between Russia and Austria.

V. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias engages, as soon as the whole or part of the Russian troops shall have passed their frontiers, not to treat for peace but upon those bases which his imperial majesty has himself acknowledged to be indispensable for the safety of Europe; and when the war shall have broken out, to make neither peace nor a truce without the consent of the allies, according to the stipulations of the concert of the 30th March (11th April), of this year.

The undersigned, in delivering this preliminary declaration, which is to be in the place and have the validity of the most solemn act, to the ambassador of Austria, is authorised to announce to him at the same time, that she is ready to proceed immediately on these to the conclusion of the formal act of accession of the court of Vienna to the concert of the 30th March (11th April).

The present declaration, and that delivered in return by the ambassador count de Stadion, shall be ratified by the respective sovereigns in the shortest possible term, and the ratifications exchanged at St. Petersburgh.

In faith of which, the undersigned joint-minister for foreign affairs has signed the present declaration, has caused the seal of his arms to be affixed thereto, and has exchanged it against the declaration signed this day by his excellency the count de Stadion.

Done at St. Petersburgh the 28th July (9th Aug.) 1805.

(Signed)
(L.S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI.

Declaration of prince Czartoryski to lord G. L. Gower, dated St. Petersburgh, 28th July (9th Aug.) 1805.

The undersigned joint-minister for foreign affairs, being authorised to that effect by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, declares to his excellency the ambassador, lord Granville Leveson Gower, as follows:—

I. The undersigned has this day exchanged with his excellency the ambassador of Austria the declarations of which copies are hereto annexed.

II. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias expects that the ambassador of England will agree in the name of his court without reserve to their contents: and that if he do not consider himself sufficiently authorised thereto, he will express in a formal declaration the several points to which he can immediately assent.

III. The undersigned is authorised to exchange this declaration against that which shall be delivered to him by his excellency lord Granville Leveson Gower.

The present declaration, and that delivered in return by the ambassador of England, which are to be in the place and to have the validity of the most solemn act, shall be ratified by the respective sovereigns, and the ratifications exchanged at St. Petersburgh in the shortest possible term.

In faith of which, the undersigned joint-minister for foreign affairs has signed the present declaration, has caused to be affixed to it the seal of his arms, and has exchanged it against the declaration signed this day by his excellency the ambassador of England.

Done at St. Petersburgh, the 28th of July 1805.

(L.S.) ADAM PRINCE CZARTORYSKI

Declaration, signed by his majesty's ambassador at St. Petersburgh, and delivered to prince Czartoryski and to count de Stadion, 9th August 1805.

The undersigned ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, having been invited by his excellency the prince Czartoryski joint-minister for foreign affairs, and the count de Stadion ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his imperial royal apostolic majesty, to accede to the declarations reciprocally exchanged between the two imperial courts on this day, the 9th of August, in virtue of his full powers declares as follows:

The several observations and proposals expressed by the court of Vienna in the preliminary declaration delivered by the vice chancellor of the court and state, the count de Cobenzel, to the ambassador count Razoumosky, on the 7th of July, and in the *Memoire Raisonné* of the 21st of July, are assumed by his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. &c. to serve as a basis for the concert of measures between the three courts of London, Vienna, and Petersburgh, and the modifications proposed therein, for the regulation of the affairs of the continent, are in like manner adopted, in case there should be reason to hope that war may be avoided by the means of negotiation.

The British ambassador, while he declares that his positive instructions preclude him from acceding to the pecuniary demands of the court of Vienna, engages, in the name of his sovereign, that the monthly subsidies agreed to by the concert of the 30th March (11th April) shall be payable from the 1st of October 1805: he engages, likewise to advance, with the least possible delay, the equivalent of five months' subsidies, under the head of *premiere mise en campagne*, with this express condition, that his Britannic majesty may reclaim whatever payments shall have been made in

in favour of his imperial and royal majesty, beyond the million stipulated by the eleventh additional article of the above-mentioned treaty, whether as *premiere mise en campagne*, or as current subsidy, in case that the negotiations which are about to be set on foot with the French government do not terminate in war.

He declares, moreover, that if the said negotiations shall not be brought to a conclusion before the 31st day of December 1805, the expiration of the first three months shall be the term of the payments which are to be continued monthly, until the commencement of hostilities.

His imperial and royal majesty having engaged to embody an armed force of not less than 320,000 men, the undersigned consents, that the advances to be made, under the head of *premiere mise en campagne*, shall be paid according to this calculation, with this condition nevertheless, that if, contrary to all expectation, the Austrian armies do not amount to the force above specified, his Britannic majesty may deduct from this payment a sum proportionate to the numbers that are wanting.

The British ambassador cannot consent to the modifications and demands contained in the paper entitled "Remarks on some particular Objects of the Convention, signed between the courts of Petersburgh and of London, the 30th March (11th April)" of this year; as he has hitherto received no instructions from his court, which authorise him to accede to such demands.

The British ambassador accepts the accession of his majesty the emperor and king, under the conditions specified in the preliminary declarations exchanged this day between the plenipotentiaries of their imperial and royal majesties, with this formal reservation, that this acceptation shall be considered as valid, nor the above-mentioned engagements obligatory, unless the court of Vienna shall on their side conform themselves to the whole of the stipulations of the said act.

The undersigned, in delivering to his excellency prince Czartoryski and count de Stadion the present preliminary declaration, which is to be in the place and have the validity of the most solemn treaty, is authorised to announce to him at the same time, that he is ready to proceed immediately on these bases, to the conclusion of the formal act of accession of the court of Vienna to the concert of the 30th March—11th April.

These presents shall be ratified by the respective courts in the shortest possible term.

In witness whereof the undersigned, by virtue of the full powers of his Britannic majesty, has signed the present preliminary declaration, and affixed thereto the seal of his arms.

Done at St. Petersburgh the 28th July (9th August.)

(L.S.) GRANVILLE LEV. GOWER.

Treaty between his majesty and the king of Sweden, signed at Beckascog, 3d October 1805.

In the name of The Most Holy and Undivided Trinity!

His majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the king of Sweden, in pursuance of the ties of friendship and good understanding by which they are at present so happily united, desirous of establishing

tablishing a more direct communication upon every thing which relates to the present war, which the French government has excited against several powers, by measures equally unjust and offensive, and by conducting itself upon principles incompatible with the security and tranquillity of every independent state; their said majesties have judged proper to concert together upon the means of opposing a sufficient barrier to the misfortunes which menace the whole of Europe. In consequence they have chosen and named for their plenipotentiaries, videlicet, his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the honourable Henry Pierrepoint his envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to his Swedish majesty; and his majesty the king of Sweden, the sieur Christopher baron de Toll, a lord of the kingdom of Sweden, governor-general of the duchy of Scania, general of cavalry in his armies, chief of the regiment of Carbineers of Scania, knight and commander of his orders, and knight of all the Russian orders; who, after having communicated their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. I. There shall be a perfect understanding, friendship, and alliance between his Britannic majesty and his majesty the king of Sweden.

Art. II. The convention concluded between their said majesties on the 31st of August last, is hereby renewed, and shall remain in full force and validity, independent of the new stipulations contained in the present treaty.

Art. III. His majesty the king of Sweden, desirous of co-operating with effect towards the success of the general plan, engages to furnish a corps of troops destined to act against the common enemy, in concert with the allies, and especially with the troops of his imperial majesty of all the Russias, which shall be landed in Pomerania. The number of Swedish troops employed for this purpose shall be fixed in every case at twelve thousand men.

Art. IV. His Britannic majesty, in order to facilitate to his Swedish majesty the means of acting with vigour, and conformably to the sentiments of zeal and interest by which he is animated for the common cause, engages to furnish him an annual subsidy at the rate of 12*l.* 10*s.* sterling for every man; which subsidy shall be paid in equal proportions at the end of each month.

Art. V. His Britannic majesty moreover engages, as a compensation for the expenses of assembling, equipping, and conveying the said troops, to furnish, under the head of putting them in motion, a sum equal to five months subsidy, to be calculated according to the scale laid down in the preceding article, and payable immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.

Art. VI. The two high contracting parties engage not to lay down their arms, nor to conclude peace with the common enemy, but by mutual consent; but, on the contrary, to remain firmly and inseparably united, as long as the war lasts, and until the conclusion of a general pacification.

Art. VII. In pursuance of the engagements agreed upon between the two high contracting parties, by virtue of the preceding article, not to lay down their arms but by common consent, his Britannic majesty engages to continue the subsidies stipulated by the present treaty, until the end of the war.

Art. VIII.

Art. VIII. His Britannic majesty, in order as well to cover the expenses of the return of the Swedish army, as of all other objects connected therewith, engages to continue the subsidies stipulated by the present treaty, until three months after the peace.

Art. IX. His Britannic majesty, impressed with the importance of putting the fortress of Stralsund in the best possible state of defence, engages to place, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, at the disposal of his Swedish majesty, the additional sum of 50,000*l.* sterling for that purpose.

Art. X. The present treaty shall be ratified by the two high contracting parties, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged in six weeks, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, in virtue of our powers, have signed the present treaty, and have thereunto affixed the seals of our arms.

Done at Beckascog, the 3d October, 1805.

(was signed)

(L. S.) HENRY PIERREPOINT.
(L. S.) J. C. BARON DE TOLL.

TREATIES, &c.

Presented by his majesty's command to both houses of parliament, January 28th, 1806.

Preliminary and secret convention between his majesty and the king of Sweden, signed at Stockholm, 3d December, 1805.

His majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the king of Sweden, being animated with a mutual desire to strengthen and draw closer the ties of friendship and harmony which so happily exist between the two courts, having thought proper, with this view, to regulate, by a preliminary and secret convention, certain points of their natural interests relative to the present situation of affairs; their said majesties have named for that purpose, his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the sieur Henry Pierrepoint his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary; and his majesty the king of Sweden, the sieur Frederic d'Ehrenheim, president of his chancery and commander of his order of the polar star, who, after having reciprocally communicated their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:—

Art. I. His Britannic majesty, in order to enable his Swedish majesty more effectually to provide for the defence of Stralsund against any attack whatever on the part of the French, engages to pay, once for all, the sum of sixty thousand pounds sterling, which is to be appropriated solely to that purpose; this sum shall be remitted in three payments, at the interval of a month between each, the first of which is to become due upon the ratifications on this convention being exchanged.

Art. II. His majesty the king of Sweden engages, so long as the war between Sweden and France continues, or during the space of eighteen months for the least, to permit the establishment of a *dépôt* in Swedish Pomerania, either at Stralsund, or in the island of Rugen, or in both those places, for the corps of Hanoverians which his Britannic majesty shall be desirous of raising there.

Art. III. The officers appointed to raise the said levies, shall be allowed to clothe, arm, and victual them; to form them into battalions

lions, and to remove them out of Swedish Pomerania into such places, and in such proportions, as his Britanic majesty shall judge proper.

Art. IV. The stipulations of the two preceding articles being founded on the principle that Sweden is actually declared a belligerent party, it is understood that the said articles II. and III. are to be suspended in their operation until his Swedish majesty shall find himself, by the return of the open season, in a situation to send additional reinforcements into Pomerania, insomuch that no measure relative to these dispositions can be adopted before that time.

Art. V. His majesty the king of Sweden engages moreover to grant to the subjects of his Britannic majesty, during the continuation of the war between Great Britain and France, the right of an *entrepôt* at Stralsund, for all the articles of the growth, produce, and merchandise, as well of Great Britain as of her colonies, shipped in British or Swedish vessels. All such articles intended for re-exportation, whether by sea or land, shall only pay a duty of three quarters per cent. *ad valorem*; and those for consumption such duties only as are actually established at the port of Stralsund with respect to the most favoured nations. A more detailed arrangement of this branch of commerce, as likewise of other points, whereby the commercial interests of the two nations might be more closely connected, is to be reserved for a particular act.

Art. VI. His majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the king of Sweden, mutually engage to ratify the present act, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged in the space of six weeks, or sooner, if possible, to be computed from the day of its signature.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, furnished with the full powers of our respective sovereigns, have signed the present convention, and have thereunto affixed the seals of our arms.

Done at Stockholm this 3d December 1804.

(was signed)

(L. S.) HENRY PIERREPOINT.

(L. S.) F. D'EHRENHEIM.

Convention between his majesty and the king of Sweden, signed at Helsingborg, the 31st August 1805.

Art. I. The preliminary and secret convention concluded between the sovereigns on the 3d December 1804, is renewed, and shall continue in full force and validity during the period hereinafter specified in Art. VII.

Art. II. His majesty the king of Great Britain, conceiving that the object stated in the preamble cannot be more completely attained with respect to Swedish Pomerania, than by maintaining the fortress of Stralsund in a respectable state of defence, in order to preserve a rallying point and place of retreat for the forces of the allied powers, and especially for the troops of the emperor of all the Russias, in case his imperial majesty should be desirous of landing his forces at that place in order to co-operate in the general plan, engages to pay monthly the sum of one thousand eight hundred pounds sterling, for every thousand men of regular troops with which his Swedish majesty shall reinforce the usual garrison of the city of Stralsund.

Art. III. A garrison of eight thousand

thousand men in the whole, being deemed sufficient for the defence of this place, and the usual garrison, including the burgher militia, amounting to upwards of four thousand; it is understood that the reinforcement spoken of in the preceding article shall not exceed four thousand men of regular troops, so that the subsidies to be furnished by his majesty the king of Great Britain will amount to the sum of seven thousand two hundred pounds sterling per month.

Art. IV. The payment of the above-mentioned subsidies shall be made before the end of every month, and shall be computed from the first day of July last, for the Swedish troops, amounting to fifteen hundred men, actually in Stralsund, and for the reinforcements which may arrive there, from the day of their landing.

Art. V. The two high contracting parties not having been able to agree upon the expenses of transports, his majesty the king of Sweden, desirous of affording a convincing proof of his wish to contribute to the success of the common cause, engages to be at the sole charge of conveying to Pomerania the troops which are to be sent there in pursuance of the present convention, and not to require any thing for their return.

Art. VI. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias having signified his desire to land a part of his troops in Pomerania, his Swedish majesty engages, in consequence of the present convention, to afford every facility in his power to such disembarkation, and moreover to enter into particular stipulations with his imperial majesty on that head.

Art. VII. As the conditions of the obligations contained in articles II. and III. of the preliminary and secret convention, limit the enjoyment of the privileges therein granted to the king of Great Britain to the duration of the war between Sweden and France, or to the period of eighteen months for the least, and his Britannic majesty not having availed himself of the stipulations of the above-mentioned articles, his majesty the king of Sweden engages to extend them as long as the subsidies fixed by the present convention shall be discharged by Great Britain, and whilst that power shall continue the war against France, in conjunction with Russia.

Art. VIII. The ratifications of the present convention shall be exchanged at Stockholm within six weeks, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof we the undersigned, in virtue of our powers, have signed the present convention, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.

Done at Helsingborg the 31st of August 1805.

(Signed)

(L. S.) Henry Pierrepoint.

(L. S.) J. C. Baron De Toll.

Act of Guarantee by the emperor of Russia of the convention signed at Helsingborg on the 3d of December 1804.

A convention having been concluded this day, by the intervention of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, between his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and his majesty the king of Sweden, to provide for the reinforcement of the garrison of Stralsund, in pursuance of the secret and preliminary convention of the 3d of December 1804; the two high contracting

tracting parties have amicably requested his imperial majesty to consent to guarantee the execution of so desirable an object. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias has accordingly willingly agreed to a measure which tends solely to so salutary an end; and having thereunto furnished us with his full powers, we, the undersigned, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his imperial majesty, declare and assure by this present act, in virtue of our full powers, that his majesty the emperor of all the Russias guarantees the convention which has been signed this day between his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and his majesty the king of Sweden, in all its extent, as well with the two separate articles which are annexed to it, and which form part of the same, as of all the other conditions, clauses, and stipulations which are contained therein, in the best possible form; and that his imperial majesty will cause to be forwarded and delivered the particular ratifications of this act of guarantee.

In faith of which, we have signed the present act, and have caused the seal of our arms to be thereto affixed, and have exchanged it against the acts of acceptation; as shall be likewise exchanged the ratifications of the present act against the ratifications of the said acts of acceptation, in the space of six weeks, or sooner if possible.

Done at Helsingborg this 31st day of August 1805.

(L. S.) D. ALOPEUS.

[This is simply the acceptance by his majesty of the Russian guarantee to the treaty of Helsingborg, of 31st August, 1805.]

First separate article of the convention of Helsingborg, signed 31st August, 1805.

His majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the king of Sweden, having agreed by the present separate and additional article, that the subsidies fixed by the 2d and 3d articles of the convention signed this day, shall continue to be paid by Great Britain, during the continuance of the war between that power and France, conjointly with Russia, or as long as the state of affairs and the operations of the allies shall require that the fortress of Stralsund be kept in a respectable state of defence, unless the two high contracting parties shall mutually consent to the cessation of such subsidies. In both cases, if the term of their payment should happen, when the sea is innavigable, his Britannic majesty engages, nevertheless, to continue their payment, according to the same rate as heretofore, till the day of the return of the Swedish troops into Pomerania, which shall take place the earliest opportunity.

Second separate article of the convention of Helsingborg, signed the 31st of August 1805.

The Hanoverian troops, which (in pursuance of the stipulations of the second and third articles of the secret and preliminary convention of the 3d of December 1804, renewed by the seventh article of the present convention) may be hereafter assembled in Swedish Pomerania, shall continue, as long as they remain in that province, under the supreme orders of the commander in chief of the united forces,

forces, without any violation of the rights established in the three abovementioned articles.

This separate article shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted word for word in the convention signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In faith of which, we the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate article, and have caused the seal of our arms to be thereto affixed.

Done at Helsingborg, this 31st day of August 1805.

(Signed)

(L. S.) HENRY PIERREPOINT.
(L. S.) J. C. BARON DE TOLL.

PAPERS RELATIVE TO THE NEGOTIATION.

Laid before both houses of parliament, by his majesty's command.

TRANSLATION.

Extract from a letter from M. Talleyrand to Mr. secretary Fox, dated Paris, March 5, 1806.—Received March 19.

Paris, March 5, 1806.

It may be agreeable to you to receive news from this country.

I send you the emperor's speech to the legislative body. You will therein see that our wishes are still for peace. I do not ask what is the prevailing inclination with you; but if the advantages of peace are duly appreciated, you know upon what basis it may be discussed:

TRANSLATION.

Extract from a speech delivered by the chief of the French government to the legislative body on the 2d of March, 1806.

I desire peace with England. On my part, I shall never delay it for a moment. I shall always be ready to conclude it, taking for its basis the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens.

No. 12.

Communication made by the earl of Yarmouth to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated June 13, 1806.

A few days after my arrival at Paris from the *depôt* at Verdun, Mons. Talleyrand desired me to call upon him; having done so, he told me that the French government had been looking out for some means by which a secret and confidential communication might be made, explanatory of the sentiments and views of France, as well as the outlines of the terms on which peace might be restored between the two countries.

Having mentioned the extreme desire of making this communication in such a manner that no publicity might in any case ensue, should the object of it not be obtained, Monsieur Talleyrand proceeded to state, in a long argument, which it is useless to repeat, as it forms the substance of several of the French government's dispatches, the reasons which prevent their treating for a general peace jointly with Russia.

He said, that in a dispatch sent some weeks before to Mr. Fox, he had been ordered to name Lisle rather than Amiens for the negotiation of a definitive treaty, in order to remove all former discussions, and to facilitate to England the possession of Malta.

I then took the liberty of interrupting M. Talleyrand, to say that however flattering the confidence he was ordered to place in me might be, yet that, feeling as I did, the interests, and above all the honour of my country, it was impossible for me to be the bearer of a communication

munication having peace for its object, against which I should feel obliged to vote in parliament; and viewing the restoration of Hanover in this light, I could not receive any further communication till I had explicit declaration with regard to his majesty's German dominions.

M. Talleyrand then broke off the conversation, desiring me to return the third day after. At the expiration of this time I waited upon him again, when he informed me that, considering the extreme stress which appeared to be laid upon this point, Hanover should make no difficulty.

Authorised by the concession of that in which the honour of the king and that of the nation appeared most interested, I inquired whether the possession of Sicily would be demanded, it having been so said, "*Vous l'avez, nous ne vous la demandons pas; si vous la possedions elle pourroit augmenter de beaucoup les difficultes**." Considering this to be very positive both from the words and manner of delivering them, I conceived it improper to make further questions. "*Nous ne vous demandons rien*†" amounting to an admission of *uti possidetis* as applicable to his majesty's conquests.

M. Talleyrand mentioned strongly the recognition of the emperor and the different branches of his family as absolutely expected. On this I took occasion to state the solidity which the recognition of Great Britain would give to their establishment, and inquired whether the French government would guarantee the integrity of the Ottoman empire. The answer was yes, but it must be soon. "*Beaucoup se prepare mais rien n'est fait*‡," —Reverting to the first conversation, I desired to know whether a middle term might not be found at the same time to obtain the object desired by the French government, and that desired by Great Britain, of not treating in a manner unconnected with Russia. To this he answered that they were entirely ready to give every facility to the arrangement of the respective interests of the two powers, or that a British minister should, being authorised by the emperor Alexander, stipulate for both.

The last words of M. Talleyrand were, "*Les sentiments de la France sont entièrement changes; l'aigreur qui caracterisoit le commencement de cette guerre n'existe plus, et ce que nous desirons le plus c'est de pouvoir vivre en bonne intelligence avec une aussi grande puissance que la Grande Bretagne*‖."

(Signed) YARMOUTH.

No. 14.

Extract from a dispatch from the earl of Yarmouth to Mr. secretary Fox, dated Paris, June 19, 1806.—Received June 21st.

Paris, June 19, 1806.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you

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* You are in possession of it, we do not ask it of you; if we possessed it, it might very much augment our difficulties.

† We ask nothing from you.

‡ A great deal is in preparation, but nothing is yet done.

‖ The sentiments entertained in France are entirely different from what they were. The asperity which characterized the commencement of this war, no longer exists; and what we most desire is, to live in harmony with so great a power as Great Britain.

that,

that, in obedience to your orders, I made all the haste in my power to arrive at Paris as soon as possible; calm at sea however prevented my getting here till the afternoon of the 16th.

I immediately waited upon M. Talleyrand to deliver to him the dispatches you entrusted to my care, and requested to put off any conversation on the subject of my journey till next day. I intend employing this interval to endeavour to see M. d'Oubril, if at Paris, and communicate with him previously to the seeing again M. Talleyrand, or at any rate to obtain some knowledge of his motions.

Previous, however, to my leaving M. Talleyrand, he expressed to me that although the desire of peace was equally sincere now as it was when I quitted Paris, yet that some changes had taken place which he had hinted at the possibility of when I last saw him, alluding to the readiness of Russia to treat separately; and further mentioned that the emperor had received reports from his brother and the general officers under his orders, stating that Naples could not be held out without Sicily, and the probability they saw of gaining possession of that island. I answered him, that, being ordered to require the restoration of Naples to the king of Sicily as a necessary article of peace, there would be no question of their separation.

I conceive Sicily to be the great difficulty, though perhaps, were there no other, it might be got over. M. Talleyrand often and seriously stated the absolute determination of the emperor not to consent to our demands of Naples, Venice, Istria, and Dalmatia, or to alienate any part of his Italian states to form a provision for the king of Sardinia.

Against cessions in the West Indies or elsewhere I solemnly protested; nor do I think they care sufficiently about these objects to give any sufficient continental equivalent for them.

M. Talleyrand often repeated that the emperor had inquired whether I had any powers, adding, "*qu' en politique on ne peut parler la même langue, si on n'y est également autorisé**;" and as frequently said that they considered that Hanover for the honour of the crown, Malta for the honour of the navy, and the Cape of Good Hope for the honour of the British commerce, to be sufficient inducements to induce his majesty's ministers to make peace.

P. S. On Tuesday 16th June I waited upon M. Talleyrand, and began the conversation by alluding to the changes he had hinted at the night before, and desired leave to repeat the substance of what had passed at my former interviews with him, and which I had by his desire communicated. He agreed that the statement was accurate.

No. 15.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. secretary Fox to the earl of Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, June 26, 1806.

Downing-street, June 26, 1806.

My lord,—I had the honour on Saturday evening to receive your lordship's letters of the 19th, and should sooner have answered them,

* "That in politics it is impossible to hold the same language, unless both parties are equally authorized."

if I had not been for these three days past totally incapable of attending to business.

I am very happy to learn that M. Talleyrand acknowledges your accounts of former conversations to be accurately correct; but when he does acknowledge this, I have no conception on what ground he can recede from what he said so distinctly to your lordship before, upon the subject of Sicily: "*Vous l'avez, nous ne vous demandons rien*†," are the words that made the more impression on me, because those contained in the latter clause of the sentence had been used by his excellency in one of his letters to me. It was on the faith of the *uti possidetis* being to be strictly observed as the basis, and particularly Sicily, on which satisfaction had been given to your lordship, that his majesty was induced to authorise your lordship to hold further conferences with M. Talleyrand. Any tergiversation or cavil therefore on that article, would be a breach of the principle of the proposed basis in its most essential part. To say that Hanover is an exception to the principle is in vain, in as much as Hanover is to be yielded expressly in honour of the crown; while, on the other hand, the recognitions proposed with regard to the French empire and its dependants, are not only in honour of the crown of France, but tend substantially to establish the solidity of her power. With regard to the complaint of the want of full powers; to avoid all pretence of cavil on that account, I am commanded by his majesty to transmit to you the instrument accompanying this letter. But your lordship should fairly state to M. Talleyrand, that you are not authorised to make any use of them formally until M. Talleyrand returns to his former ground with respect to Sicily. Your lordship is directed further, to acquaint that minister, that, if Russia offers to treat separately, it is only in the way in which we do; that is to say, separately in form, but in substance, in concert with each other. And here you will recollect that this very circumstance was canvassed in your former conversations with M. Talleyrand, when that minister expressed himself clearly that there would be no objection on the part of France to such preconcert.

The result of what I have stated to your lordship is this: 1st, That Sicily is a *sine qua non*; on which subject, if the French minister recedes from his former answer, it is vain that any further discussion should take place. It is clearly within his first opinion delivered to your lordship: It is clearly within his last description of places which are reciprocally possessed by two countries, and cannot in all probability be recovered by war.

If, according to the hope conceived by your lordship, this matter should be arranged, you may open your full powers: stating at the same time, the determination of this court not to come to any final agreement without the consent of Russia. You will of course again mention the questions of Naples and Istria. If we could attain either of them it would be well; but if we cannot, your lordship will not state these points as conclusive reasons against agreeing on preliminary articles, provided

† You are in possession of it; we ask nothing from you.

such

such articles be considered as provisional, and subject to the approbation of Russia.

With regard to the mode of provisional agreement, two suggest themselves to my mind: the one to send the agreement we shall have entered into, either to Petersburgh, or to some authorised agent of the emperor Alexander, at Vienna, Paris, or elsewhere, for his approbation; the other, to copy the precedent adopted by lord Lansdowne and doctor Franklin in the year 1782. At that time a provisional treaty was signed by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and the United States of America, with the reservation, that the said treaty should not have effect till a peace should be agreed upon between France and England. Of these two modes I should prefer the latter.

It does not appear that there has been any conversation between your lordship and M. Talleyrand on a point which was mentioned to you, and which appears to be of considerable importance; I mean the future admission of Russia and Sweden to become parties in a definitive treaty. I do not say that this is a point that must be determined upon previous to your settling the basis proposed; but it is one which should not be lost sight of, but, on the contrary, urged as far as possible.

No. 16.

Extract from a dispatch from the earl of Yarmouth to Mr. secretary Fox, dated Paris, July 1, 1806.—Received July 4.

Paris, July 1, 1806.

Sir,—I had the honour to receive, on Saturday night, the full powers with which it has graciously pleased his majesty to entrust me, and your dispatch of the 26th of June.

I waited upon M. Talleyrand next morning, and stated to him, in the strongest manner, the impossibility of my conversing any further upon the general outlines of peace, until he should return to the former ground, and consider Sicily in its true and real situation, namely, a state not conquered by France, or likely to be so, and coming most strictly within the meaning of his own words; that it had been clearly expressed by him, and repeated to you in the first instance, that France did not intend to make Sicily an obstacle to peace. M. Talleyrand answered, that whilst the war continued, and till terms were actually agreed upon, change of circumstances were always to be considered as reasons for a partial change of terms; that Bonaparte had been but lately convinced of the facility of taking Sicily at some future period of the war; but that, above all, he felt more and more its absolute necessity to make Naples and the neighbouring territories tenable: that had any confidential overture been made three months ago, they would have been ready to settle the question of Naples in the manner most satisfactory to Great Britain; the same a month later with regard to Holland. Those subjects were now arranged, and the emperor would consider any retrograde measure as equivalent to abdication. I observed to that minister, that however much good faith may be necessary in every transaction of the world, yet that being more peculiarly so, when a communication is made secretly and verbally, I had a right to be doubly surprised at any change of ground. He defended himself by

his former argument about altered circumstances, and said, that when no change of disposition was manifested towards Great Britain herself,—as to the restoration of Hanover, or the possession of Malta and the Cape, he thought we might suffer them to possess themselves of a part of the states of their enemy, necessary to the tenure of the rest, which no consideration would now induce France to restore.

M. Talleyrand then asked, whether I had any powers. I told him that I must decline answering that question, until he should inform me that there would be no further discussion about Sicily; but that he might easily draw a conclusion that I had, from the honourable manner in which Great Britain endeavoured to remove every obstacle not in its own nature insurmountable.

The minister then mentioned his being obliged to go to St. Cloud, and asked, what I said. I answered, "That I was ordered to continue no conversation till I should be informed that this new demand, changing entirely the proposed basis, should be urged no more." He appointed next morning for me to receive an answer.

I accordingly returned to the office yesterday morning, when M. Talleyrand repeated the same demand, offering to desist from the recognition by Great Britain of any or all the new states, waiving this concession to the honour of the powers created by France, and setting Hanover against Sicily, and pleading that no such recognition being demanded, Hanover would then appear a fair equivalent for that island. He read the draft of an article to this effect: That Great Britain and France should not oppose each other's arms against such of the powers now at war, as should not be named in the preliminary articles.

To this I declined making any answer, repeating my orders not to converse further till he should abandon this proposition, and return to the former basis. I added that, unless he did so, I could expect nothing but your order to return to England.

M. Talleyrand wished to revert to the old topic, on which I repeated to him, that it was impossible for me to converse on any part of the subject, till he should entirely relinquish every mode of seeking for the possession of Sicily.

M. Talleyrand desired me to inform you, that on the 29th of June the French troops were to take possion of Cattaro.

No. 17.

Extract from a dispatch from the earl of Yarmouth to Mr. secretary Fox, dated Paris, July 1, 1806.—Received July 4th.

Paris, July 1, 1806.—Midnight.

Sir,—After closing the dispatch I had the honour to address you this morning, I went for the passport M. Talleyrand had promised to have prepared for the messenger's return.

Instead of giving me the passport, he made many excuses for its having escaped his memory, requesting me to wait till he should come back from St. Cloud.

When I returned, M. Talleyrand proposed to me to offer the Hanse Towns as an establishment for the king of Naples, and that the British troops should occupy them the same day they retake possession of Hanover. On a little further conversation, I had little doubt that, were England to provide

vide in any other manner for his Sicilian majesty, the king might add the Hanse Towns and their territories in full sovereignty to his German dominions.

The proposition about the Hanse Towns being entirely new, I promised to refer it without any comment to you for his majesty's consideration.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) YARMOUTH.

No. 18.

Extract from a dispatch from Mr. secretary Fox to the earl of Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, July 5th, 1806.

Downing-street, 5th July, 1806.

My lord,—Your lordship's dispatches of the 1st instant were received here early yesterday morning, and I lose no time in apprising you of his majesty's commands upon the present state of the discussion with the French government.

The abandonment of Sicily is a point on which it is impossible for his majesty to concede. Your lordship has already stated unanswerably to M. Talleyrand, that this demand is inconsistent with his express declarations, and with the whole principle on which the negotiation rests. It is, besides, a proposal in itself quite inadmissible. The king's troops occupy Sicily for its defence; but with no right to cede it to France. It is not easy to contend, that the possession of Sicily can be necessary to that of Naples; nor, if it were so, could that be assigned as a reason for his majesty's consenting to abandon that island, which he may justly hope his naval and military forces will be able to defend against all attacks. The Hanse Towns could not, in the present circumstances, answer the purpose of an equivalent for Sicily, even if there were not other obvious objections to such a proposal. Nor would it be possible that any solid basis for the public tranquillity of Europe could be established on the idea thrown out to you by M. Talleyrand, of leaving Great Britain and France at liberty to prosecute the war against the allies of each other; a state of things in which their respective fleets and armies would in fact be as much opposed to each other as they are now, and the peace between them would be merely nominal.

It is, therefore, to be hoped, that the French government will revert to its original proposals with which your lordship was charged by M. Talleyrand. To that basis of negotiation it must be your lordship's endeavour to recall him; and if, unfortunately, you should find this to be impracticable, nothing can remain but that you should state, in perfectly civil, but decided terms, that you are not at liberty to treat on any other ground, and must therefore desire your passports to return to England.

I have stated in my last letters the different ideas that had occurred here for combining our negotiation with that of Russia; providing, at the same time, for the safety of Sweden and Portugal.

Until we are informed what other proposal is made in this respect by M. Talleyrand, I can only desire that your lordship will keep this subject in view, so as not to admit of any thing inconsistent with the principle of good faith to which his majesty must in substance adhere,

but in such form as may best facilitate the great work of peace.

I am, &c.

No. 19.

Extract from a dispatch from the earl of Yarmouth to Mr. secretary Fox, dated Paris, July 9th, 1806.—Received July 12th.

Paris, July 9th, 1806.

Sir,—I had the honour to receive your dispatch of the 5th instant early yesterday morning, and as soon as possible after waited upon M. Talleyrand, to communicate to him the offer made by France was by no means admissible, and that I had no authority to listen to any proposals whatsoever for the restoration of peace till he should desist from all pretension to the island of Sicily.

M. Talleyrand not being willing to make any such declaration, I asked him to give me a passport to return to London:—he desired me to wait one day, till he should again have taken the emperor's orders.

I accordingly returned this morning, when he desired me to propose Dalmatia, Albania, and Ragusa, as an indemnity for the loss of Sicily to his Sicilian majesty:—to this I answered, that as the messenger was returning I should communicate this proposition, but that it by no means authorised me to expect an answer, and therefore I must beg leave to return to England.

Had M. d'Oubril not been here, I should immediately have insisted on passports.

I must now inform you that on Monday M. Talleyrand took me aside and told me that the telegraph announced the landing of Basilico, expressing at the same time a wish that the dispatches he would bring might lead to peace. I answered that I could expect no such result whilst France demanded Sicily; and added, that if I might believe public report, the emperor, so far from showing any pacific disposition, every day threw new obstacles in the way.

I then mentioned the changes in Germany. M. Talleyrand said that they were determined upon, but *should not* be published if peace took place. He has since repeated this to M. d'Oubril and myself, saying if peace was made, Germany should remain in its present state.

M. d'Oubril writes both to you and the comte de Strogonoff; his letters will probably contain more than mine, as I conversed very little with M. Talleyrand. I felt on very delicate ground. Had I entered sufficiently into the question of indemnities for the king of Sicily, to obtain a precise idea to what extent they could be carried, Monsieur de Talleyrand might have formed an opinion that I had some instructions, and was prepared to abandon Sicily whenever I was assured of sufficient compensation.

No. 20.

Extract from a dispatch from Mr. secretary Fox to the earl of Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, July 18, 1806.

Downing-street, July 18, 1806.

My lord,—Your lordship's last dispatches have been received, and considered with all the attention which their importance naturally demanded.

It is unnecessary for me to recall to your recollection that the demand of Sicily, in whatever shape it may be brought forward by France, is in express contradiction

to

to the offers originally made to your lordship by M. Talleyrand. But it is material that this topic should never be lost sight of in the course of these discussions; and that your lordship should observe to M. Talleyrand, that whatever difficulty now obstructs the conclusion of the negotiation, arises solely from this unexpected departure from the basis originally established.

An exchange is now offered for Sicily; and it is in that view, and not in that of an absolute and uncompensated cession, that the question is to be considered. In this shape of the business it is obvious that the value of that exchange must be to be judged of not only by this country and by Russia, but also by his Sicilian majesty; as the king, whose troops were admitted into Sicily for its defence and protection, naturally feels insuperable objections to any proposal for abandoning that island, unless with the free and full consent of its sovereign, and in consequence of such an arrangement as should provide for his interests by a compensation really satisfactory both in point of value and of security.

That plan of creating for him a new kingdom, to consist of Dalmatia, Ragusa, and Albania, does not appear likely to answer this description. Albania, which forms so large a part of this proposed sovereignty, is now a province of the Turkish empire; the dismemberment of which it is a principal object of the policy both of Great Britain and Russia to prevent: that province has indeed been frequently involved in the same sort of confusion which prevails in many other parts of that empire. But this circumstance only increases the difficulty of giving any consistency to a state to be formed of such materials. It does not lessen the other objections to such a plan.

There are in like manner many strong objections to that part of the proposal which respects Ragusa; an independent state whose territory has never been ceded to France by any treaty, and of which she can consequently have no right to dispose, her occupation of it being indeed of very recent date.

But even with Albania and Ragusa and much more without them, his majesty sees no hope that such a power could be formed in that quarter as would, either in extent of territory or amount of revenue, afford the means of opposing any barrier for Austria or Turkey, or even of maintaining its own independence.

What advantage then could be gained to the allies by creating a nominal kingdom, without any sufficient power either to reduce the countries of which it would be composed under any uniform system of government, or to defend itself against the first attack which may be made upon it from without?

If there could, with the consent of his Sicilian majesty, be any question of an exchange for Sicily, by the creation of a new state in that quarter, it is obvious that this could no otherwise be done than by annexing to Dalmatia not only the whole of Istria, but also a very large proportion, if not the whole, of the Venetian states, including, if possible, the city of Venice itself. In some such shape as this it is possible that the proposition might be rendered not wholly unacceptable to his Sicilian majesty. And although the interests of this country separately would be far less consulted by such a plan than by the

continued occupation of Sicily, yet the sense which the Russian minister at Paris appears to entertain of the advantage which might result from it to Austria and to Russia from the recovery of Dalmatia, if it were well combined with future arrangements of defence, might induce his majesty to accede to proposals of this description; on the supposition above-mentioned, of a *bonâ fide* consent on the part of his Sicilian majesty.

There appears, however, so little probability of inducing France so to extend her offer, that any further discussion of it might scarcely have been worth pursuing, had not M. d'Oubril so strongly expressed his wish, that this court might rather seek to temporize than abruptly to break off a negotiation now brought to a state which affords so little promise of success. It is only in compliance with that desire that his majesty has been pleased to direct your lordship to continue the conferences with M. Talleyrand, so as to ascertain whether any more practicable shape can be given to the proposal of an exchange for Sicily. If this cannot be done, your lordship's attention will then, of course, be directed to the object of recalling the French government to the basis on which the negotiation was originally placed by themselves, and on which his majesty is still ready to conclude it.

M. d'Oubril has stated to count Strogonoff the proposals which have been made to him for the conclusion of a separate peace, and the inducements which, he thinks, might lead his majesty to judge such an arrangement useful to the general interests of Europe. His majesty has undoubtedly been at all times ready to make great sacrifices for those interests; but very little expectation is entertained here, that Russia could, in such course, obtain any effectual security for them, at a time when so much new danger is to be apprehended, and in so many quarters, from the projects of France with respect to Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, the Porte, Spain, and Portugal.

In the present circumstances of Europe, the last hope of averting these dangers is to be found in the union of the only two powers on whom France has as yet made no impression, Great Britain and Russia.

And although the mutual good dispositions and confidence of those two powers should in fact remain (as his majesty trusts they would) unimpaired by the difference of the situation in which a separate peace would place them, yet it is obvious, that the enemy would build the most extensive hopes on that foundation, and would be more encouraged by that, than by any other circumstances that could be stated, to proceed in the execution of the plans already announced to your lordship and to M. d'Oubril.

His majesty, therefore, directs that you should express to that minister how material it is in every case that the two courts should continue to combine their measures both of peace and war, and that no expectation should be held out to the enemy of success in any endeavour to conclude a separate peace with either of the allies; a line to which, as your lordship will have informed M. d'Oubril, his majesty has, on his part, strictly adhered.

No. 21.

Extract from a dispatch from the earl of Yarmouth to Mr. secretary Fox,

Fox, dated Paris, July 19.—Received July 22d.

Paris, July 19, 1805.—12 o'clock at night.

Sir,—On the 10th, general Clarke was named plenipotentiary to treat with Monsieur d'Oubril: they have since had daily conferences of many hours, yesterday of fourteen. I hear every where that peace will be signed to-morrow, between Russia and France. On the 17th M. d'Oubril admitted to me, that he had produced his powers, and that if conditions, such as he should judge necessary to ensure the repose of the continent, could be obtained, he should sign a truce of ten months; and this night, on pressing him, and remonstrating both upon his conduct and the impropriety of disguising his intention, I drew from him these words, which I wrote down in his presence. "*Que voyant le danger immédiat de l'Autriche, s'il pouvoit la sauver, il croiroit de son devoir de le faire, même par une paix particulière**." All he now appears to claim is the return of the troops from Germany; and if he is willing to make peace on receiving an assurance that orders to that effect shall be sent, nobody can doubt but that it will be signed, and probably not a battalion make a retrograde movement of fifty miles.

M. Talleyrand says, that M. d'Oubril is willing to abandon Sicily and Dalmatia, and even to engage to solicit the junction of the former to Naples, &c.

I have used every argument to dissuade M. d'Oubril from so unadvised and unwise a measure, I hope, more than I believe, with success. Indeed, I feared, from the first hour I met him, that he was come determined to make a peace, good or bad, with or without Great Britain. I may perhaps gain a day, which may be a great deal, if that day should produce dispatches from M. de Strogonoff.

On the 17th, at night, the new arrangements for Germany were finally determined upon. The princes and the ministers who signed were scarce allowed time to read the deed.

There is a considerable army forming at Bayonne; thirty thousand men are there already. This army is ostensibly destined against Portugal, but will take Spain likewise. M. Herman, one of the secretaries of the foreign office, set off for Lisbon with a mission on the 13th.

All the officers of the army now in Germany received yesterday orders to join their regiments instantly. The court say, this is to have troops to occupy the states seized by the new confederacy. The public ascribe this measure to a desire to frighten the emperor of Germany; and myself, to a wish to hurry M. d'Oubril, who has shown so much anxiety for the evacuation of Germany.

M. d'Oubril and M. Talleyrand have, as I have learnt, fixed upon Majorca, Ivica, and Minorca, for his Sicilian majesty, if they can prevail upon us to evacuate Sicily.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

YARMOUTH.

No. 22.

Copy of a dispatch from the earl

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* "That being aware of the immediate danger of Austria, if it was in his power to save it, he should think it his duty to do so, even by a separate peace."

of

of Yarmouth to Mr. secretary Fox, dated Paris, July 20th, 1806.—Received July 24th.

Paris, July 20th, 1806.—11 at night.

Sir,—At nine this morning, having had the honour to receive your letters by Mr. Longuimoff, and written a few lines to you in addition to my dispatches of last night, I went to M. d'Oubril; and, as I am happy since to find, anticipated the contents of your dispatch of the 18th inst.

I used every argument and means to obtain delay; engaged to break off, if he did; and, finally, authorised him to hold out hopes, that I would listen to propositions of indemnity in lieu of Sicily for his Sicilian majesty, if proposed by him, and accompanied by a joint negotiation.

I begged he would do nothing till after Basilico should have arrived, as I had learned by the telegraph that he had landed last night.

I did not find him disposed to listen to me; and, not being willing to be too communicative towards him at that moment, I went away.

At twelve, I waited upon M. Talleyrand: he was not to be seen.

At four, I heard from good authority that peace was signed. At six, Basilico arrived. I then went to M. d'Oubril. He was said not to be at home; but, seeing his carriage, I forced my way. He admitted the fact, *peace is signed*; the conditions, the evacuation *instanter* of Germany by the French troops; the integrity, &c. of the Ottoman empire; no attempt to be made upon Swedish Pomerania; and by a secret article, Russia promises to obtain his Sicilian majesty's consent to an exchange of Sicily for Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica, Russia to use her good offices to restore peace between France and England.

I have not seen the treaty; but I believe it contains nothing else material.

M. d'Oubril sends a copy to M. Strogonoff, and goes himself to St. Petersburgh. I had no patience to listen to M. d'Oubril's defence of his conduct, so I did not claim his good offices. I must have asked him officially to stay, which I did not choose to do.—I have the honour to be, &c.

YARMOUTH.

No. 23.

Extract from a dispatch from the earl of Yarmouth to Mr. secretary Fox, dated Paris, July 21, 1806.—Received July 24.

Paris, July 21, 1806.

Sir,—I saw M. Talleyrand today. I can perceive that the terms of France are increased, but still not so much as the sudden defection of Russia had led me to apprehend. Hanover, Malta, the Cape, and India, remain pure and unsullied; and I took an opportunity in conversation to protest, that come what come might, these were points I never would suffer to be mentioned, but as points agreed upon.

M. Talleyrand demanded my powers. I did not think myself authorised, in the present circumstances, to withhold them.

General Clarke is named to treat with me.

No. 25.

Extract from a dispatch from the earl of Yarmouth to Mr. secretary Fox, dated Paris, July 24, 1806.—Received July 28.

Paris, July 24. 1806.

Sir,—I had the honour to send by

by M. de Longuinoff, dispatches acquainting you, for his majesty's information, of the peace signed between the Russian and French plenipotentiaries, and with as accurate a statement of the terms as I was able to obtain. M. d'Oubril himself set out for Petersburgh early on the morning of the 22d.

On the 22d I received the official notification of the appointment of gen. Clarke to treat on the part of France (a copy of which I have the honour to inclose marked A), preceded by a private communication from M. Talleyrand, saying, that the Russian peace being signed, and the season of the year favourable to the accomplishment of the ulterior views of France, no arrangement, which might remove for some weeks or even months a definitive treaty, could now take place.

I answered the official note (marked A) with one, a copy of which I inclose (marked B).

In the evening general Clarke proposed a conference for the following morning, at which we should mutually exchange our full powers. We accordingly did so; and I have the honour to inclose (marked C) a copy of those of general Clarke.

This conference began by an historical recapitulation of what had been previously passed, general Clarke saying, he had not yet received his final instructions on all the different points in discussion: it was therefore agreed to adjourn the conference to this day, when each should come prepared with a memorandum of the intentions of his government, founded on what had already passed; general Clarke at the same time declaring that a separate peace with Russia was to be considered equal or superior, in the present circumstances of the world, to any great success in war, and consequently as entitling France to terms much more advantageous than those to which she would have subscribed some days ago. This was accompanied by some animadversions upon the conduct of Russia, to which I could only answer, that I felt it my duty to abstain from any remark, and should, therefore, be entirely silent upon that subject; but that I could assure him, that if an intention existed of making any change in the great points upon which we have had such positive, though certainly not official, assurances, namely, his majesty's German dominions, Malta, and the Cape, I must consider the negotiation as stopped *in limine*, and that there would remain only for me to return to England, and acquaint the king that no peace, consistent with his majesty's honour or that of the country, could be made. General Clarke reverted to his want of full instructions, and promised to meet me properly prepared the next day.

At three o'clock this day I again met general Clarke, when I read a paper, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose (marked D), containing the abstract of what I had always stated to be the basis and terms on which his majesty could alone consent to treat. I did not, however, deliver it to him, considering it merely as the heads of past conversations.

General Clarke then said, that as it was impossible I could be prepared with the assent of his majesty to the arrangement proposed by Russia for his Sicilian majesty, on which the terms might much depend, I must consider the communication he made as not strictly official in point of form, but as depending

pending only on that circumstance to make it so.

General Clarke proceeded to state, that, in the situation France was in at this moment, the emperor would feel authorised to withhold some of the great points; but that having repeatedly said the contrary, though not in an official manner, he would abide by it.

General Clarke first conversed about his majesty's German dominions. On this subject, by secret articles, any thing his majesty thinks right may be stipulated: by the public article, the promise not to object to some acquisition of territory to be made by Prussia. I stopped general Clarke here, to say, that his majesty never could consent to the king of Prussia's obtaining the Hanse Towns. General Clarke said, it was Fulda, Hoya, and some other trifling principalities, over which it was proposed to extend the sovereignty of his Prussian majesty, but that the independence and present state of the Hanse Towns should not be meddled with.

On the subject of Malta—Malta, Gozo, and Coninoin full sovereignty to his majesty, with a clause in the article declaratory of the dissolution of the order, and that the two powers, "*n'en connoissent plus l'existence**." Some pensions for the chevaliers and others, having "*des droits reels dans l'isle*†;"—This not to extend to foreign commanderies of the order, or to any claim not local.

The Cape in equal full sovereignty;—as a condition it is desired, "*qu'il y soit etabli un port franc*‡" to all nations: either the port itself declared so, or a part appropriated to that purpose.

On the subject of the maintenance of the integrity of the territories and possessions of the sublime Porte, general Clarke proposed an article, a copy of which I have the honour to send (marked E). I told him the usual full clause would be sufficient: he persisted that I should send it for his majesty's consideration.

To the usual full clause of the integrity of the territories and possessions of his most faithful majesty, general Clarke weighed upon a proposed addition of the word "*par-tout*§;" and when asked for explanation, said, he thought his Britannic majesty might occupy some of his most faithful majesty's foreign possessions.

The integrity of his Swedish majesty's dominions in the usual manner.

Having dismissed these points, general Clarke stated the demands of France:—Pondicherry, St. Lucie, Tobago, Surinam, Goree, Demarara, Berbice, Essequibo.

The recognition in the usual words "*est reconnu*‖," of the different branches of the reigning family; of the electors of Bavaria and Wirtemberg as kings; of the new dukes of Cleves, Baden, and Darmstadt.

In discussing for many hours these demands, I never for an instant admitted the possibility of his

* No longer recognise the existence of it.
† Real rights in the island.
‡ That there should be established there a free port.
§ In every part of the world.
‖ Is recognised.

majesty

majesty consenting to the cessions required. I sought, however, to ascertain to what extent, and in what manner, they could be modified.

[The inclosures (A B C) relate to the appointment and powers of general Clarke to negotiate on the part of France.]

Fourth inclosure (D).—Translation.

Extract from a paper read to general Clarke by the earl of Yarmouth.

The situation in which the two belligerent powers are now placed by the course of the events of the war, leaving few points of immediate contact between them, or on which they may not, according to all appearance, come now to an understanding, his Britannic majesty, animated no less than the emperor of the French with a desire to put an end to the calamities of war, has authorised the undersigned (furnished with the full powers of his majesty) to discuss the basis, and to give full effect to this reciprocal desire.

The immense acquisitions made by France since the commencement of hostilities, and the direct and immediate influence which she has obtained, having entirely changed the political system of Europe, his Britannic majesty finds himself obliged to seek in the conquests he has made, and in the possession of Malta, a just and reasonable counterpoise. His majesty would consequently treat generally on the basis of the *uti possidetis*.

It is at the same time understood, that the German possessions of his Britannic majesty, of which he was deprived from motives foreign to the war between the two powers, shall be restored to him entire.

It is likewise understood, that the peace shall secure the integrity of the territories and possessions of the sublime Porte, of his Most Faithful Majesty, of his majesty the king of Sweden, and the present state of Switzerland.

Fifth inclosure (E).—Translation.

Copy of an article proposed by general Clarke to the earl of Yarmouth, for the maintenance of the Ottoman empire.

The two contracting powers reciprocally guarantee the entire and absolute integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire. They will mutually oppose the pretensions of any power to any thing contrary to the usages, the rights of sovereignty, and the possessions of the sublime Porte.

No. 26.

Extract from a dispatch from Mr. secretary Fox to the earl of Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, July 26, 1806.

Downing-street, July 26, 1806.

My lord,—Your lordship's dispatches, conveying the mortifying intelligence of the signature of a separate treaty between Russia and France, were received here yesterday; and his majesty's ministers have since had the opportunity of being acquainted with the precise terms of that treaty, which it appears had not in all respects been accurately represented to your lordship.

The king was most particularly struck with the great difference which was perceived between the actual arrangement made respecting

ing Sicily, and that which had been described to your lordship.

In writing to your lordship, it is not necessary to dwell on the humiliating conditions to which M. d'Oubril has thought proper to bind his sovereign. Of that minister's misconduct your lordship appears fully sensible; and I doubt not you exerted yourself to the utmost to prevent it. When this was found impracticable, your lordship was naturally placed in circumstances of considerable difficulty, and for which every allowance is to be made. But it is necessary for me to say, frankly, that it would on the whole have been more satisfactory to the king's servants if your lordship had waited to know the impression which this new event might create here before you had produced your full powers.

It was originally declared by your lordship to M. Talleyrand, that your full powers were not to be produced till the French government should have reverted to the basis of negotiation originally proposed by themselves; that of the *uti possidetis* universally, with the single exception of Hanover. By subsequent instructions, your lordship has indeed been acquainted that, in compliance with the wish so strongly expressed by the Russian negotiator at Paris, his majesty would not refuse to enter into the consideration of such proposals as might be made to him for a fair equivalent to be given to his Sicilian majesty in lieu of Sicily, with the full and free consent of that monarch. The proposal of such an equivalent, and its acceptance by his majesty's government, would have replaced the negotiation on its original footing, that of an *uti possidetis*, to be departed from only by mutual consent, in those cases where any exchange for a reasonable equivalent might meet the ideas of both parties; and the case for the production of your lordship's full powers would thus have arisen clearly and unequivocally. Even as the matter now stands, it does not certainly preclude discussion. But this might have been continued unofficially. And it is apprehended that, by producing your powers on the very day after the signature of the Russian treaty, an impression may have been created very unfavourable to the further progress of the negotiation.

In the situation to which the business is now brought, his majesty thinks it necessary to lose no time in taking every proper step for replacing the discussions between the two countries on their original footing.

The first proposals made by France were, that a plenipotentiary should be sent from hence with full powers to treat, and to conclude a separate peace with France and her allies. This was declined here, not from any unwillingness to enter into discussions for peace on just and honourable terms,—an object which his majesty has uniformly expressed himself desirous of accomplishing,—but because the king was bound by engagements to Russia which precluded him from treating otherwise than in concert with that power. Subsequently to this, a proposal was conveyed through your lordship for the conclusion of peace on the basis so often referred to; and the intermediate communication received from Russia enabled his majesty, consistently with good faith, to entertain those proposals, and to

express

express his disposition to accede to them, provided that, in the mode of treating and concluding, the most intimate concert should still be maintained with Russia.

The extraordinary step taken by M. d'Oubril has now removed all necessity of further reserve on this point.

His majesty, in this state of things, thinks it proper to combine together the two proposals which he has at different periods received from France; and, as the difficulty which before prevented the sending from this country a public minister, openly accredited, to treat for peace, now no longer subsists, and as an acceptable basis of negotiation has been proposed to him by the enemy, his majesty directs that your lordship should apply to M. Talleyrand for passports for a public minister so authorised and accredited, to whom it is his majesty's gracious intention to join your lordship, in the full powers to be granted by his majesty.

The great advantages which the king's service will derive from the employment of a person fully instructed as to the sentiments of his majesty's government on all the various points of discussion that may arise, cannot fail to strike your lordship in the same light in which they are seen here; and the king's servants entertain no doubt of your lordship's zealous and hearty co-operation in the execution of the joint instructions which such a person will bring with him. I have only therefore to add, that your lordship may assure M. Talleyrand, that as soon as the necessary passports are received, there shall not be an hour's delay in his setting out; and that his majesty's government continues ardently to wish for the conclusion of peace, provided it can be accomplished on the same grounds of national honour which have never been lost sight of here.

No. 27.

Extract from a dispatch from Mr. secretary Fox to the earl of Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, July 28, 1806.

My lord,—Your lordship's dispatch of the 24th instant was received here this morning, and, as it is probable that, in the course of this day, or to-morrow at furthest, your lordship will receive mine of the 26th instant, I do not think it necessary to do more at present, than to request that your lordship will assure M. Talleyrand, that, immediately on the receipt of the passports which you have been instructed to demand, the earl of Lauderdale, who has been humbly recommended to his majesty for this important trust, will be prepared to set out; and that he will, therefore, of course, be with your lordship in a very few days from this date. I need hardly observe to your lordship, that it is of the utmost importance, that, in the interim, your lordship should avoid taking any step, or even holding any language, which may tend in the smallest degree to commit the opinion of his majesty's government on any part of the matters now depending.

No. 28.

Copy of a dispatch from the earl of Yarmouth to Mr. secretary Fox, dated Paris, July 30, 1806.—Received August 1.

Sir,—I had the honour to receive your dispatch of the 25th instant, late at night, on the 26th, and next morning lost no time in asking

asking for blank passports for a person fully instructed with the sentiments of his majesty's government, whom it was their intention to join with me in the important commission of treating for peace. M. Talleyrand told me he must take the emperor's orders. I accordingly returned this day, when that minister informed me, that the emperor could consider this demand in no other light but that of unnecessary delay, because his majesty's secretary of state was actually in possession of a blank passport, which would enable any person or persons to come to Paris without the loss of time occasioned by this demand, but that *pour surcroit de facilités**," there could be no difficulty about giving more. I answered that I had no knowledge of this circumstance. M. Talleyrand said it was certain, because he had sent two entirely in blank, and that one only had been used, namely, that with which I returned.

It is unnecessary for me to add any thing to what I have already said to my former dispatches, relative to the signature of the Russian treaty; any inaccuracy in the statement of its contents, such as I was enabled to transmit them, may easily be accounted for by the circumstance of my not having seen the treaty itself, and by the unwillingness M. d'Oubril naturally felt to open himself to me on that subject: he informed me at the time that he should send a copy to M. De Strogonoff, who would communicate it to his majesty's ministers.

It is with pain, sir, proportioned to my zeal for his majesty's service, and to the fair and honest conviction of my having done nothing which the peculiar and trying circumstances of the moment did not require from me, that I have learnt by the same dispatch the expression of a wish that I had delayed the production of my full powers till I could know the impression which this event of the Russian treaty might produce in his majesty's councils, and the apprehension that by the producing them, so soon after the signature of the Russian treaty, an impression might be created unfavourable to the further progress of the negotiation.

If the question regarded only my own personal feelings, I should not think myself at liberty to allot to it so large a portion of a public dispatch; but it may not, I conceive, be unuseful, with a view to the conduct of the negotiation, that you should be apprised of some details which I have hitherto omitted dwelling upon, partly from the urgency of more important subjects, and partly from my desire not to trespass upon your attention to so great an extent. I trust, sir, that his majesty will see in these details wherewithal to justify my conduct in the difficult situation in which I was placed.

The fate of Holland and Naples were settled before I was honoured with his majesty's confidence. My conversation here with M. Talleyrand soon convinced me that these were only preludes to still greater changes in the system of Europe. I saw at the same time a great desire of negotiation, before the final execution of some of the emperor's schemes should have removed any hope of its being attended with success.

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* For still greater facility.

This

This opinion, not pre-conceived or lightly taken up, but gradually formed from a variety of circumstances, was confirmed by the nature of the offers held out; unofficially indeed, but in such clear and unequivocal terms, that it was impossible to entertain any doubt of the intention of this government to adhere to them.

The point which of all others was the most essential, and that on which satisfaction was due to the national honour and to that of his majesty, Hanover, would, I was assured, be given up without restriction; for I did not then know we should be asked to allow the king of Prussia to obtain the sovereignty of some of the lesser principalities.

I received similar assurances about Malta, and the Cape of Good Hope; nor have I any reason to doubt but that before Russia had made her peace separately, these terms might have been obtained, and the treaty have had solely for its basis the *uti possidetis*, with the sole exception in our favour of Hanover restored, and latterly indeed of some arrangements tolerable to all parties in exchange for Sicily.

M. Talleyrand held the same language to me, with respect to Russia, which he had before held with regard to the affairs of Germany. "You have now been here a month; we have been willing to converse with you, to give you an insight into our views, and to communicate them to the British government. We told you, that if you had the powers, and would enter into a negotiation, we would not sign the arrangement of Germany. A reasonable time was left for you to consult your government; we had no answer. The arrangement was signed, '*et nous n'en reviendrons jamais**.' We now ask you whether you will treat before Russia has signed, which will not pass two days."

It cannot be necessary to state my answer to such a proposition. I will only add, that the treaty with Russia was signed within the time mentioned, and then commenced the difficulty of my situation.

"Switzerland," I was told by the same authority, "is on the eve of undergoing a great change. This cannot be averted but by a peace with England; but still less can we alter, for any other consideration, our intention of invading Portugal. The army destined for that purpose is already assembling at Bayonne. This is for the determination of Great Britain."

But I confess the point of all others the most decisive in inducing me to produce my full powers, was the language held respecting Prussia.

"Prussia demands from us a declaration respecting Hanover: we cannot consent wantonly to lose the only ally France has had since the revolution; the declaration once made '*nous n'en pouvons nous retracter*†.' Would you have us break entirely with Prussia, when we cannot even say that Great Britain will negotiate with us? Are you here only with orders to delay our measures till the season of the year makes exertion impossible; or can you treat? If

* And we will never recede from it.
† We cannot retract.

so, is not the assurance we give you that Hanover, Malta, and the Cape, shall not be contested, sufficient to induce you to do so? Must we lay before the British government our exact terms, before they will even avow negotiation with so great a power as that of France? or shall we execute our other projects, as we did those in Holland and Naples?"

Undoubtedly, sir, conversations of this sort, confirmed even as they were by the events passing under my eyes, could never have induced me to commit his majesty's confidential servants upon any point upon which I had not received their instructions, and which left no time to receive them; but I did not think myself at liberty to shift from myself the responsibility thus thrown upon me, at the risk of seeing Portugal and Switzerland share the same fate which Germany has just experienced; and Hanover confirmed to Prussia, until such time as his majesty's arms should recover the possession of it.

The mode of proceeding of this government left me no alternative. Either to avow negotiation, or shut up every opening to it, was my only option.

I felt that I pledged his majesty to nothing except the fact of negotiation, already privately known to every court in Europe.

I carefully forbore giving any written paper, or admitting even the possibility of any other basis than that of *uti possidetis*.

I have ascertained the real extent of the pretensions of France; and I did consider myself to have prevented a great evil at small expense, by having given time to yourself and his majesty's other confidential servants, to provide, by the further instructions you might judge proper, for the interest of the powers, thus, for the moment at least, saved from the grasp of France.

I persuade myself that the motives here detailed, upon which I acted at the moment, will place in a stronger light the difficulties of my position, and will on further consideration obtain his majesty's gracious approbation of the conduct which I thought myself obliged to hold in consequence.

His majesty's ministers would have relieved me from much painful responsibility if they had commanded me to proceed no further, and wait the arrival of the person alluded to, and for whom I have the honour to enclose the necessary passport, which I have this moment received.

Mr. Goddard, whom a long residence in France, independent of his abilities and correct information on what has passed here, renders entirely able to give his majesty's ministers every explanation they may wish for, is so good as to take this dispatch with him to England, where he is returning at the end of his long captivity in this country.

I have the honour to be, sir, &c.

YARMOUTH.

No. 29.

Copy of a dispatch from Mr. secretary Fox to the earl of Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, Aug. 2, 1806.

Downing-street, Aug. 2, 1806.

My lord,—Mr. Goddard arrived here yesterday evening with your lordship's dispatch of the 30th July.

His majesty's servants always did justice to the motives which induced your lordship to produce your full powers, though the step is one of which it is not possible for them to

to express approbation, thinking it, as they do, likely to have given so much more countenance than was desirable to the new and increasing demands of France.

The full powers which lord Lauderdale carries with him, are drawn jointly in his name and your lordship's. In the present disposition of the French government, there is, I fear, little probability that peace can be concluded on such terms as are alone admissible. The trial should, however, be made with frankness and good faith; and it is with this view that his majesty has been pleased to direct that the earl of Lauderdale should proceed to Paris, notwithstanding the present unfavourable aspect of the negotiation. His instructions your lordship will consider as equally addressed to yourself, and as the rule of your conduct in any conferences which, in conjunction with him, you may have with monsieur Talleyrand or general Clarke; and, in any point of doubt that may occur, it is his majesty's pleasure that your lordship should be guided by lord Lauderdale's opinion, formed, as it will be, on the fullest knowledge of the sentiments and views of his majesty's government. I am, &c.

(Signed) C. J. Fox.

No. 30.

Copy of a dispatch from Mr. secretary Fox to the earl of Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, Aug. 3, 1806.

My lord,—I was unwilling to detain lord Lauderdale for the purpose of replying particularly to the unfounded allegations of M. Talleyrand, which you have recapitulated in your dispatch, of the 30th ult. But some points are there mentioned which cannot be left without an answer, such, indeed, as I trust your lordship has already given to them.

It is true, as stated by that minister, that when the demand was made for lord Lauderdale's passport, there still remained here a blank passport, one of the two sent here some time before your lordship's arrival, when it had been proposed to us to treat separately from Russia. That proposal having fallen to the ground, the circumstance of our being still in possession of the passport was overlooked; but, even if it had occurred, some doubt would probably have arisen, how far it might be proper, in so different a state of things, to make use of it for lord Lauderdale, without some previous communication of such an intention. This whole matter is, however, very immaterial. The principal point to which I feel it necessary to advert, is that part of M. Talleyrand's language which imputes to this country needless delays in the negotiation, and attributes to that cause the unjustifiable measures pursued by France in Germany and elsewhere.

In the instructions given to lord Lauderdale, the repeated tergiversations of France during the negotiation are detailed. It is from thence, alone, that delay has arisen.

Your lordship truly states, that the offers made through yourself were so clearly and unequivocally expressed, that the intention of the French government could not be doubted. But they were no sooner made than departed from. In the first conference after your lordship's return to France, Sicily was demanded. In the former offers, it had been distinctly disclaimed, "*Vous l'avez—nous ne vous la demandons*

mando s pas. Si nous la possédions elle pourroit augmenter de beaucoup les difficultés"* This demand, therefore, could not have been foreseen, being in contradiction to their own assurances; and your lordship could only take it *ad referendum*. This produced a delay attributable solely to France. Our answer was immediate and distinct. The new demand was declared to be a breach of the principle of the proposed basis in its most essential part. To obviate a cavil on the subject of full powers, they were sent to you; but with an express injunction not to use them, nor even to produce them formally, till the French government should return to its former ground respecting Sicily. Your lordship stated this to M. Talleyrand, and you received, in return, a proposal of giving to his majesty, or to the king of Naples, the Hanse Towns in lieu of Sicily. This being again a proposition entirely new, could only be referred for his majesty's consideration. On the very next day after it arrived, it was decidedly rejected here; and so little were we disposed to delay, that the same dispatch conveyed to you his majesty's orders, if the demand of Sicily should still be persisted in, to desire your passports, and return to England.

Of this order your lordship informed M. Talleyrand; and its execution was delayed only by a fresh proposal of exchanges brought forward by France, and supported by the Russian minister, as affording the means by which his majesty might prevent, amongst other things, the changes meditated in Germany. M. Talleyrand, it appears, now represents this communication in the following terms: —"We told you, that, *if you had powers*, and would enter *into negotiation*, we would not *sign* the arrangement in Germany." M. Talleyrand's real communication is to be found in your lordship's dispatch of the 9th July, in which he says, that those changes "*were determined upon*, but should not *be published* if *peace took place*."

That dispatch was received here on the 12th; and on the 17th, in direct violation of these assurances, in whichever form they were conveyed, the German treaties were both signed and published.

They must of course have been prepared at least one day before. What M. Talleyrand therefore calls a reasonable time allowed to your lordship to consult your government, was at the most 24 hours, even supposing the utmost possible expedition to be made by the messengers to and from England, and no accident or delay to occur by land or sea. These dates will undoubtedly not have escaped your lordship's attention, and will have enabled you to refute, in the most decisive manner, the unfounded pretences by which the French government seeks to attribute delays on our part, the results of its own injustice and repeated breach of promise.

The whole of our intercourse with France bears, indeed, so different a character from that of delay, and the whole of the king's conduct in this, as in every other

* You are in possession of it. We do not demand it of you. If we possessed it, the difficulties might be much increased.

instance,

instance, is marked by so many striking proofs of his desire to avert, even by the greatest sacrifices, such calamities as he is now accused of producing, that your lordship may perhaps have felt it less necessary to enter into a particular refutation of such a charge.

But after the experience which in this negotiation we have had of the conduct of the French government, it is of the highest consequence not to suffer such imputations to pass unnoticed, and, by disregard, to acquire strength and currency.

Of the subsequent proceedings, no explanation can be necessary.

It had not been decided here, that in the event of the signature of the Russian treaty, the negotiation on the part of this country should be pursued on any other basis but that of the strict *uti possidetis*, with the exception of Hanover. The resolution of admitting even the possibility of an equivalent for Sicily had been adopted only in consequence of M. d'Oubril's desire, and in order to maintain, if it had been possible, the union of council and measures between Great Britain and Russia.

But by the production of your lordship's full powers, his majesty was in some sort pledged to continue the negotiation. It was then judged proper that a fresh negotiator should be added to your lordship, and not an instant has been lost in giving effect to that determination; nor has any considerable delay occurred on this side the water, except in the single point respecting the passport, which I have explained in the outset of this dispatch. I am, &c.

(Signed) C. J. Fox.

No. 33.

Copy of a dispatch from the earl of Yarmouth to Mr. secretary Fox, dated Paris, Aug. 7. 1806. —Received Aug. 18.

Paris, August 7, 1806.

Sir,—I received in due time, and in their order, your several dispatches of the 28th ult. and 2d and 3d inst. As no messenger has been dispatched from hence since the receipt of them, I have been obliged to defer till now replying to their contents.

It was with great satisfaction that I learnt by your dispatch of the 2d instant, the intelligence of lord Lauderdale's departure from England; as, independently of the advantages I must derive from communicating with a person charged with the latest and fullest instructions from his majesty, his arrival here afforded me the opportunity of evincing, in the clearest manner, that I had in no instance thought myself at liberty to depart from the basis originally laid down as the only one on which his majesty's ministers could consent to treat with the French government.

It must be evident, that whatever delays have occurred in the negotiation are imputable to France, and to the perpetual variation of the terms proposed by her; and I had not failed before the receipt of your dispatch of the 3d instant, repeatedly to do justice to the conduct of his majesty's government in that respect.

As in the line of conduct which I thought it my duty to observe previous to the earl of Lauderdale's arrival, I had no other object in view than the fulfilling to

the best of my abilities the mission with which his majesty had been graciously pleased to charge me, I can, under the present circumstances, have no other ambition than that of co-operating with my best endeavours in the negotiation entrusted to us jointly upon the same basis on which I had originally placed it.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) YARMOUTH.

No. 35.

Copy of a dispatch from the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth to Mr. secretary Fox, dated Paris, August 9, 1806.—Received August 13.

Paris, August 9, 1806.

Sir—Thinking it unnecessary to send a courier to England with details of the mere matters of form which necessarily took place after lord Lauderdale's arrival, we have delayed writing till there appeared something of importance to communicate to you.

We have now to inform you, that lord Lauderdale, having exhibited his powers, and delivered a copy in the customary form, our first meeting with general Clarke, the plenipotentiary of the French government, took place at his house, on Thursday 7th August, at noon.

Our conversation commenced by general Clarke's observing that as lord Lauderdale had just arrived from London, with full instructions from his majesty, he had probably something new to communicate.

Lord Lauderdale in substance replied, that it was his wish, before intermeddling with the negotiation now pending, distinctly to recall to the recollection of general Clarke what had already passed between his majesty and the government of France, and at once precisely to state the only footing on which his majesty could consent to treat. To effect this object, he informed general Clarke that he had prepared a note (marked A.) which he begged to deliver to him as official.

General Clarke read the note twice with great attention, and afterwards placed it in his portfolio, saying that he must take it *ad referendum*.

Very little passed at this meeting sufficiently interesting to merit being detailed: the general objected to the practice he apprehended lord Lauderdale meant to introduce, of conducting the negotiation by writing; and said he was afraid the emperor would regard it as a means of endless delay, if a note was to be delivered upon every insignificant question which it might be necessary to discuss. The reply consisted merely in stating the distinction betwixt delivering a written note for the purpose of at once bringing to a point the basis on which the negotiation was to be conducted, and resorting on every trivial occasion to that practice. The first, it was contended, must accelerate; the latter, it was admitted, would delay the negotiation; and it would be therefore carefully avoided, as it was his majesty's wish that no delay should take place.

General Clarke, with something like an insinuation that an unfair advantage was taken by the government of Great Britain, announced, that as there had been two plenipotentiaries appointed by his majesty, it was the emperor's intention to do the same, and that the name

name of the person selected would be communicated to us.

It is proper to state, that in the course of this conversation lord Yarmouth recalled to general Clarke's recollection, that in all the interviews he had had with him, he uniformly stated the *uti possidetis* as the only basis upon which he could possibly treat. General Clarke in reply said, that he could make no answer to what lord Yarmouth stated, without alluding to conversations which he affected to consider as loose, calling them "*des romans politiques**;" at the same time by his silence he clearly admitted what lord Yarmouth most distinctly stated.

Our first interview terminated with an appointment to meet at lord Lauderdale's apartments on Friday the 8th, at twelve o'clock, the general observing that it might be perhaps necessary to put off the appointment, as he wished to have full time to consider the note which had been delivered, and as the new plenipotentiary might wish to have an opportunity carefully to read the correspondence that hitherto had taken place. He promised at the same time, if this was the case, to give us notice by writing in the morning.

On Friday the 8th, at eleven, the inclosures (marked B and C) were left at lord Lauderdale's apartments; and an answer was sent to general Clarke, stating that an appointment had been made by lords Lauderdale and Yarmouth to receive the Turkish ambassador at four o'clock, and requesting that the meeting should take place on Saturday the 9th, at noon.

General Clarke and monsieur de Champagny, minister of the interior, the newly appointed plenipotentiary, afterwards put off this meeting till four o'clock to-day, as the latter was obliged to attend the emperor's privy-council at St. Cloud.

Late on Friday night lord Yarmouth received the answer to the note delivered by lord Lauderdale, a copy of which (marked D) is inclosed, to which lord Lauderdale and lord Yarmouth immediately returned the answer, also inclosed, (marked E).

General Clarke and M. de Champagny came to the meeting appointed at four o'clock, and a conversation took place which lasted for upwards of two hours. Into the details of this it is impossible now to enter. The general object of it was to engage lord Lauderdale to depart from the basis which he had insisted should be recognised, to prevail upon him to consult his government, or to take ten or fifteen days for consideration; but it terminated by lord Lauderdale's declaring that the last note was to be considered as a prelude to his demanding passports, for which he should apply to M. Talleyrand in the course of the evening.

The letter, a copy of which (marked F) is inclosed, was dispatched to M. Talleyrand, half an hour after the departure of the plenipotentiaries, and it appears highly improbable that any proposition should be made which can alter our resolution of leaving France the moment the passports arrive.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.
YARMOUTH.

* Political romances.

First inclosure (A).—Copy of a note delivered by the earl Lauderdale to general Clarke, on the 7th of August, 1806. [Corresponds with No. 13 of the French account.]

[The inclosure B. merely relates to an alteration of the hour of meeting.]

[The inclosure C. is a note from Talleyrand announcing the appointment of M. de Champagny to treat conjointly with general Clarke.]

Fourth inclosure (D).—Copy of a note from general Clarke to the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, dated August 8, 1806.—Answers to No. 14 of the French account.

Fifth inclosure (E).—Copy of a note from the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth to general Clarke, dated August 9, 1806.—Answers to No. 15 in the French account.

Sixth inclosure (F).—Copy of a note from the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth to M. Talleyrand, dated Aug. 9, 1806.—Corresponds with No. 16 in the French account.

No. 36.

Extract from a dispatch from the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth to Mr. secretary Fox, dated Paris, August 11, 1806.—Received August 13.

Paris, Aug. 11, 1806.

Sir,—In our last dispatch, of the 9th instant, we had the honour of informing you, that on that evening we had applied for passports to return to England, and also for a passport for a courier we intended to have dispatched immediately. We have only now to mention that, on Sunday at eleven o'clock, we sent the inclosure (marked A), renewing our demand; and that this morning, having received no answer to either application, the inclosure (marked B) was sent to M. Talleyrand's house, Rue d'Anjou. The courier Basilico, who carried the note, returned soon after to inform us, that he was directed at M. Talleyrand's house to go to the Foreign Office, where he accordingly went, but was told that no communication would be received there till between twelve and one.

We then begged of Mr. Goddard to go himself to the Foreign Office, and deliver the letter: he found that the clerks had only just arrived, and that M. Talleyrand was gone to St. Cloud, not to return till four o'clock.

At half after five we received from Messrs. Clarke and de Champagny an official note (marked C). Immediately upon the receipt of this note, we wrote the inclosure (marked D) to M. Talleyrand, and received from him, at nine o'clock, an answer (marked E), which is also inclosed.

The inclosure (marked F) is the reply to the official note, which we intend to send the moment it can be copied.

Addition by the earl of Yarmouth.

As the French government has in every instance admitted the exactness of the communications made by me, I beg leave, in addition to this dispatch, to remark, that the intention expressed to me by the French government, as that which made them prefer communicating through my channel rather than on paper, was the expressing to his majesty's government their readiness to restore his majesty's German dominions *in statu*, but that for obvious reasons this could not be expressed on paper till every other condition of the treaty should be settled.

First

First inclosure (A).—Copy of a note from the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth to M. Talleyrand, dated August 10, 1806.—Given correctly in the Moniteur.

Second inclosure (B).—Copy of a note from the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth to M. Talleyrand, dated August 11, 1806.—Given correctly in the Moniteur.

Third inclosure (C).—Copy of a note from Messrs. Champagny and Clarke to the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, dated August 11, 1806.—Given correctly in the Moniteur.

Fourth inclosure (D).—Copy of a note from the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth to M. Talleyrand, dated August 11, 1806.—Correctly given in the Moniteur.

Fifth inclosure (E).—Copy of a note from M. Talleyrand to the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, dated August 11, 1806.—Correctly given in the Moniteur.

Sixth inclosure (F).—Copy of a note from the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth to Messrs. Champagny and Clarke, dated Aug. 11, 1806.—Correctly given in the Moniteur.

No. 37.

Extract from a dispatch from Mr. secretary Fox to the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, Aug. 14, 1806.

Downing-street, Aug. 14, 1806.

My lord,—The messenger, Basilico, arrived here early this morning, with the dispatches with which your lordships had charged him; and though it appears most probable that before he can again reach Paris your lordships will be no longer there, yet, as there is still a possibility, from the last note from the French plenipotentiaries, that the negotiation may proceed on the basis pointed out for it by your instructions, it has been judged proper that no time should be lost in re-dispatching him, in order that you may be apprised of his majesty's full approbation of the tenor of the different notes which have been delivered on your part since the earl of Lauderdale's arrival at Paris. As no other point but that of the general basis of negotiation has yet been brought into discussion, nothing need be added to the former instructions, by which the course of any further discussions that may take place is still to be entirely guided.

No. 38.

Copy of a dispatch from Mr. secretary Fox to the earls of Lauderdale and Yarmouth, dated Downing-street, Aug. 14, 1806.

Downing-street, Aug. 14, 1806.

My lords,—His majesty's servants have observed, from the dispatches received, that insinuations have been thrown out by the French government of a disposition on the part of this country to gain some unfair advantage by employing of two plenipotentiaries in the present discussions. That government has since taken the obvious mode of counteracting this advantage (if any such there was) by naming on its part also a second plenipotentiary. But the king's government is desirous, while it adheres steadily to the substance of those points which are thought fit to be insisted on for the honour and interest of his majesty's crown, to leave no pretence for cavils as to the form in which these discussions are carried on. The advantage which was to be looked to from the personal share which the earl of Yarmouth originally had in these transactions, as the bearer of the overtures

tures made by France, has now ceased; and, while his lordship has, on the one hand, properly recorded his decisive testimony as to the reality of these overtures, and as to the exact terms of peace so offered, the French government has, on the other hand, not only refused to adhere to those offers, but has expressly declared, that they never can even have entered into their thoughts. "*Jamais il n' a pu venir dans la pensée de sa majesté l'empereur des Français, roi d'Italie, de prendre pour base de la négociation l'* uti possidetis*."

In this state of things, the king's servants are not aware of any benefits that would be likely to result to his majesty's service from imposing on lord Yarmouth any further duty in this respect; nor do they wish that any such ground for cavil as I have before alluded to, however unfounded it would be, should be left to the enemy.

They have, therefore, submitted it as their humble address to his majesty, that, in case of the continuance of the negotiations, the French minister should be informed, that they will henceforth be conducted by the earl of Lauderdale alone, the earl of Yarmouth having obtained his majesty's gracious permission to return to England; but that his majesty does not, on his part, make any objection to lord Lauderdale's treating with both the persons who have been named by the French government for that trust:—A proof perfectly decisive, in all its parts, that no unfair advantage, such as the French government appears to apprehend, can have been in the king's contemplation. I am, &c.

C. J. Fox.

No. 39 is not material; it merely informs Mr. Fox that lord Lauderdale had not received answers to the notes he had transmitted.

No. 40.

Copy of a dispatch from the earl of Lauderdale to Mr. secretary Fox, dated Paris, Aug. 17, 1806. —Received August 22.

Paris, Aug. 17, 1806.

Sir,—I take the opportunity of lord Yarmouth's return to England, to inform you, that in consequence of his majesty's pleasure signified in your dispatch of the 14th instant, I this morning wrote to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, stating to him that lord Yarmouth had his majesty's permission to return to England; and that his majesty had been graciously pleased, in the event of the negotiation proceeding, to continue the future management solely to me.

About eleven o'clock M. de Champagny and general Clarke paid me a visit of ceremony; lord Yarmouth happened to be with me at the time; and we mentioned to them the change that had taken place, and showed them the note which I was just about to dispatch, a copy of which is enclosed.

The object of the visit was merely to ask the plenipotentiaries, and the gentlemen attached to the mission, to dine with M. de Champagny tomorrow.

Nothing whatever was said that related to the negotiation, and I

* It never could have entered into the thoughts of his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, to take for the basis of the negotiation, the *uti possidetis*.

believe

believe no answer will be given, either to the note of the 11th, or to the note sent to the minister for foreign affairs of the 14th, till the emperor's return from Rambouillet, which, they informed me to-day, was uncertain. The mode in which I have mentioned to the minister for foreign affairs his majesty's permission to lord Yarmouth to return to England, seemed to me calculated to afford as little opportunity as possible to the French government to cavil about a change of form in the mission.

I think it proper to add, that in doing this, every facility was afforded by lord Yarmouth, who in the handsomest manner desired me on this, as on other occasions, to consider only what I thought most advantageous for the public service.

I have the honour to be, &c.

LAUDERDALE.

Inclosure in No. 40.—Copy of a note from the earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated 17th Aug. 1806.—Given correctly in the Moniteur.

No. 41.

Extract from a dispatch form Mr. secretary Fox to the earl of Lauderdale, dated Downing-street, August 23d, 1806.

Downing-street, August 23d, 1806.

My lord,—The contents of your last dipatches do not appear to require any particular answer, and this messenger is sent back only that you may be enabled to keep us regularly informed (so long as you shall still continue at Paris) of the state of the negotiation there.

If, on the arrival of any intelligence of the decision of Russia not to ratify without the consent of this court, the French government should increase their offers, in order to separate his majesty from the emperor of Russia, your lordship is on all such occasions to observe, that it is M. d'Oubril's treaty alone that has released his majesty from the obligation not to separate in substance his treaty from that of Russia; an obligation to which his majesty had determined scrupulously to adhere, and from which, even in point of form, he had departed no further than he had learnt to be the wish of Russia herself.

Should, therefore, M. d'Oubril's treaty not be ratified, the two courts would revert to their former situation, with the additional bond of union which would result from the mutual proofs they would thus have afforded to each other of their resolution to adhere invariably to the spirit and principles of their alliance.

No. 42.

Copy of a dispatch from lord Lauderdale to Mr. secretary Fox, dated Paris, Aug. 25, 1806.—Received September 3.

Paris, August 25, 1806.

Sir,—In my dispatch of the 16th instant, I had the honour of transmitting to you a copy of a letter sent by lord Yarmouth and myself, on the 14th instant, to the minister of foreign affairs.

I have now to inform you, that my desire to combine with firmness the utmost degree of forbearance, that appeared to me consistent with the character with which his majesty has been pleased to invest me, induced me patiently to suffer the silence of the French government, without remark, from the 14th till the 22d, when I transmitted to the minister for foreign affairs a note, of which I have the honour to inclose you a copy, marked (A).

No

No notice having been taken of this note by his excellency, I have this morning sent a second note, of which I have also the honour to inclose a copy, marked (B).

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.

The right hon. C. J. Fox.

First inclosure (A).—Copy of a note from the earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated Aug. 22, 1806.—Given correctly in the Moniteur.

Second inclosure (B).—Copy of a note from the earl of Landerdale to M. Talleyrand, dated Aug. 23, 1806.—Given correctly in the Moniteur.

No. 43.

Copy of a dispatch from the earl of Lauderdale to Mr. secretary Fox, dated Aug. 29, 1806.—Received Sept. 3.

Paris, Aug. 29.

Sir,—In my last dispatch, dated Aug. 25, I had the honour of stating to you the detail of the negotiation till the afternoon of that day. At eleven o'clock at night, I received from the plenipotentiaries of France a note, intimating their desire of having a conference on the subject of a note written by lord Yarmouth and myself on the 11th of the month. Of this, as well as of the answer agreeing to the proposal, I have the honour to enclose copies, marked (A and B).

On the 26th, at the hour appointed, I went to the office of the minister of the interior, where I found M. de Champagny and general Clarke, the two plenipotentiaries of the French government. The general result of what passed impressed me with a conviction that the French plenipotentiaries no longer thought of making peace upon grounds which France was understood to desire it at the time of lord Yarmouth's communication; and I am confident that the part I bore in the discussion thoroughly satisfied them, that I was resolved firmly to adhere to the ground which I had taken in the note of the 11th, on which I was invited to hear their remarks.

The hour of dinner terminated our conference; the renewal of which, on any day I should name, was after dinner anxiously solicited by M. de Champagny. I objected to it, as apparently unnecessary, and only calculated to protract my stay in this country to no purpose; but, before I left him, expressed my willingness to comply once more with the wishes of the French plenipotentiaries, as a further mark of my anxiety to do any thing which even they could think had a tendency to produce that peace which his majesty was so anxious to accomplish on equitable terms; and another meeting was fixed to take place on Friday the 27th, at three o'clock.

On the 27th, after dinner, I had a very long conference with the minister for foreign affairs, the substance of which confirmed me in the opinion I had antecedently formed. In the course of this conference, the minister frequently alluded to the situation of Hanover, and stated, within eight and forty hours its fate must be determined for ever. He seemed much surprised that nothing appeared to make any impression on me, frequently repeating that in getting the Cape, Malta, and his majesty's Hanoverian dominions, I should make a glorious peace; and assuring me, that if this opportunity should be lost, he did not foresee any

any means by which peace could be attained, as the emperor was determined to make war all his life, rather than yield any part of the territory of France, the integrity of which he had sworn to maintain.

Our conversation ended by my assuring him, at the time I was about to retire, that while these sentiments continued to prevail in this country, it was impossible peace should be made; and that, with the knowledge I now possessed of the opinions entertained by the French government, I could not acquit myself of trifling, if I should remain any longer to carry on what I must consider as a farce.

After a full consideration of all that has taken place, I have therefore, this morning, resolved to bring things to a point, by delivering to the plenipotentiaries of France the detailed note of which I inclose a copy (marked D).

I am, &c.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.

First inclosure (A).—Copy of a note from Messrs. Champagny and Clarke to the earl of Lauderdale, dated Aug. 25, 1806.—Given in the Moniteur.

Second inclosure (B).—Copy of a note from the earl of Lauderdale to Messrs. Champagny and Clarke, dated Aug. 25.—Given in the Moniteur.

Third inclosure (C).—Copy of a note from the earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated Paris, August 27.—Merely states that his lordship agrees to have another conference.

Fourth inclosure (D).—Copy of a note from the earl of Lauderdale to Messrs. Champagny and Clarke, dated Aug. 29.—Given in the Moniteur.

No. 44.

Extract from a dispatch from the earl of Lauderdale to Mr. secretary Fox, dated Paris, August 30, 1806.—Received September 3.

Paris, Aug. 30, 1806.

Sir,—When I reflect on the contents of the dispatch I had the honour of making up for you yesterday, I cannot help anticipating the surprise with which you must receive the intelligence, that I am now, under an engagement to renew the conference with the plenipotentiaries of France, on Thursday the 4th of September.

On going yesterday, at three o'clock, to the office of the minister of the interior, I confess I did not foresee the possibility of any thing occurring that could prevent my executing the resolution I had formed, of demanding passports this morning, and of returning immediately to England. I trust I need scarcely assure you, that I have as strong an impression as any man can have, of the bad consequences that may attend exhibiting any thing which looks like versatility of conduct; and yet, under the circumstances in which I found myself placed, I am satisfied I had no choice, and that I could not refuse, with propriety, the solicitations of the French plenipotentiaries to renew the conference.

At the commencement of our interview, I perceived a disposition to greater cordiality than I had hitherto experienced. To M. de Champagny's inquiry, whether they had been fortunate enough by what they had said to induce me to deliver the project of a treaty, I answered by recalling to his recollection the reasons I had formerly

merly stated for declining such a proceeding, till the basis that had originally been proposed was again formally recognised; and I informed him, that, in order to give them an accurate view of my conception of the subject, I had prepared a note which I wished to submit to them, delivering to them the note, a copy of which I had the honour of inclosing in my dispatch of August 29.

After reading this note, and observing in general that they did not know whether, if we should come to a particular explanation, we might not arrive at a conclusion coincident in its effects with the object I had in view; when I insisted on the general principle, they entered into a detail with respect to the necessity of some immediate determination on the subject of Hanover, and afterwards stated their views as to the French possessions in the East Indies, the Dutch colonies, St. Lucie, and Tobago; on all of which, they talked in a style so perfectly different from any thing I had before heard, that I should not be more surprised if, at our next conference, they were to give them up, than I was at the change of tone manifested on this occasion.

A great deal more passed in the way of general conversation, all of which tended to show me, that, although they were still at a wide distance from such terms as I could accede to, they had wonderfully relaxed from the tone they had antecedently assumed.

M. de Champagny then invited me to name a day for resuming our conference. To this, I decidedly objected, admitting, at the same time, that they had made concessions in the course of our discussion; but adding, that they were still so far from agreeing to admit what the English government uniformly conceived the original proposition to have conveyed, that I could not yet indulge any hopes of our coming to an agreement, and should therefore feel it necessary to terminate my mission.

M. de Champagny asked me with some warmth, whether I wished for peace on the terms which I myself had stated? Whether I thought myself authorised, after the concessions they had just made, to refuse them time to consider how much further they might go? and whether I might not reasonably entertain hopes that, with a little time, the differences which appeared now to separate us, might vanish?

On receiving such a remonstrance, I thought it impossible not to agree to a renewal of the conference; and, after some conversation, Thursday was fixed for the day of our meeting.

No. 45.

Extract from a dispatch from earl Spencer to the earl of Lauderdale, dated Downing-street, September 4, 1806.

Downing-street, Sept. 4, 1806.

My lord,—I am commanded by his majesty to inform your lordship, that he is pleased to approve entirely the conduct you held in the circumstances detailed in your last dispatches, and to express his majesty's satisfaction in the good effect which appears to have resulted from it.

It is proper, however, to remark, that as the French plenipotentiaries have not bound themselves as yet by written note, nor have even in conversation agreed to replace the negotiation

negotiation upon its true basis, the present appearances of greater facility on their part, may probably arise only from their desire of keeping your lordship at Paris till the answer from Petersburgh shall be received; an object which your lordship's last note had shown them they could no longer accomplish, without some departure from the ground on which they have hitherto stood.

If the Russian treaty shall not be ratified, his majesty is then (as I have already observed to your lordship) replaced, with respect to the emperor of Russia, in the same situation as before the signature of M. d'Oubril's treaty; but with the additional tie which the two courts would in that case feel, from the fresh proofs each will have given to the other of a steady adherence to the system of alliance; and it will then be necessary that our peace shall be so far made dependant on that of Russia as is pointed out in the instructions originally given to lord Yarmouth.

Since the above was written, we have received the important intelligence contained in the indorsed papers*, copies of which I have thought it necessary to forward to you, without a moment's delay, for your information; the case is already provided for in this dispatch; and in the present state of our information on the subject, I have nothing to add to what is above stated. A few days will now probably put us in possession of the further views and intentions of Russia, to which reference must of course be had in every succeeding stage of the negotiation; and as I shall lose no time in transmitting to your lordship such fresh instructions as these may give rise to, so we shall be anxious to hear, as soon as possible, from you, what effect this event may produce on the disposition of the French government.

No. 46.

Extract from a dispatch from the earl of Lauderdale to Mr. secr. Fox, dated Paris, Sept. 4, 1806. Received Sept. 7.

Paris, Sept. 4, 1806.

Sir,—In my last dispatch I informed you, that in consequence of the solicitations of the plenipotentiaries of France, urged in the manner I there stated to you, I had consented to a renewal of the conference this day at three o'clock.

About half past two I received from M. Talleyrand a note, a copy of which, marked A, as well as of my answer, marked B, I now inclose.

On going to M. Talleyrand's office, I found him just returned from St. Cloud. He began by informing me, that till yesterday they had received no certain information from Petersburgh; but that the courier who arrived last night, had brought intelligence that the emperor had positively refused to ratify the treaty. He stated that he had the emperor's orders to say, that this change in circumstances would certainly induce him to make peace with England on more favourable terms than he would otherwise have at present consented to; and further to declare, that as he would find it necessary to give

* Intelligence of the refusal of the emperor of Russia to ratify M. d'Oubril's treaty.

to

to his plenipotentiaries new instructions, so he thought it proper to communicate this to me, that I might write to my court to receive also such further instructions as they might think proper to give.

In answer to a question which I asked,—whether there was any reason to expect the arrival of any minister to renew the negotiation on the part of Russia,—he said that no information on that subject had been received. On taking leave I assured M. Talleyrand that I should report to you the apparent openness with which the communication had been made, and that I should dispatch a courier this evening with the information.

First inclosure (A).—Copy of a note from M. Talleyrand to the earl of Lauderdale, dated September 4th, 1806.

Paris, 4th Sept. 1806.

The minister for foreign affairs has received the orders of his majesty the emperor and king, to hold a conference this day with his excellency lord Lauderdale. He has therefore the honour to propose to his excellency to call at the office for foreign affairs at half past two. He begs him to accept the assurance of his high consideration.

Second inclosure (B).—Copy of a note from the earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated Sept. 4, 1806.

Paris, Sept. 4, 1806.—Half past two, P. M.

Lord Lauderdale has this instant received the note dated the 4th September, by which his excellency the minister for foreign affairs proposes to lord Lauderdale a conference at his excellency's office this day at half past two o'clock.

This invitation was not delivered at lord Lauderdale's hotel till half past two, the time specified for the conference: but lord Lauderdale will have great pleasure in waiting upon his excellency in a quarter of an hour at furthest.

No. 47.

Extract from a dispatch from the earl of Lauderdale to Mr. secretary Fox, dated Paris, Sept. 7, 1806.—Received Sept. 11.—This merely requires fresh instructions.

No. 48.

Extract from a dispatch from Mr. secretary Windham to the earl of Lauderdale, dated Downing-street, Sept. 10, 1806.

Downing-street, Sept. 10, 1806.

My lord,—Your lordship's dispatch of Sept. 4, has not failed to engage his majesty's most serious attention. The language held by M. Talleyrand appears directed to the object of engaging his majesty in a separate negotiation, to the exclusion of Russia; but the interests both of this country and of Europe have always been considered here as essentially connected with the maintenance of the strictest union of councils and measures between his majesty and the emperor of Russia. It was with deep regret that his majesty saw the apparent violation of this principle in the separate treaty signed by M. d'Oubril; and he cannot but consider the steady and upright conduct of the emperor of Russia, on that trying occasion, as imposing on his majesty a fresh obligation not to separate his interests from those of so honourable and faithful [illegible].

Your lordship must therefore, in the first place, represent to the French government, that the refusal to ratify M. d'Oubril's treaty, has

has replaced the two courts in their former state of close and intimate alliance; and that any attempt on the part of France to separate them must henceforth be considered as hopeless.—She can now form no expectation that she can conclude peace with either of them, until the negotiation with the other shall be brought to the same conclusion.

With respect to the separate interests of Great Britain, his majesty adheres to the basis originally proposed to him by France, and on which your lordship had so often had occasion to insist, that of the *uti possidetis*, for the two powers and their allies in all parts of the world, with the single exception of Hanover, as having been originally attacked on grounds which cannot be defended.

This is the offer of France as originally made to his majesty; it is the demand on which his majesty still thought fit to insist, when apparently abandoned by Russia; and his majesty has no desire of increasing it under circumstances which, according to the avowal of France herself, entitle his majesty to expect more favourable conditions than France has lately been inclined to accede to. The *uti possidetis* thus described must, however, now necessarily include the kingdom of Sicily.

Every endeavour was made in the [illegible] negotiation to obtain [illegible] Naples to his Sicilian [illegible] grounds [illegible] was thought fit finally to desist from that claim on the part of [illegible] detailed in the correspondence of this office with lord Yarmouth and your lordship.

No. 49.

Extract of a dispatch from the earl of Lauderdale to earl Spencer, dated Paris, Sept. 18, 1806.—Received Sept. 22.

Paris, Sept. 18, 1806.

My lord,—I had the honour of receiving the dispatch, signed by Mr. secretary Windham, dated September 10, late in the evening of Friday last.

Unfortunately I had a slight degree of fever for four days preceding, and I was never more unfit than on Saturday morning to attend to business of such magnitude.

On considering the instructions contained in the dispatch with all the attention I could, they appeared to me to relate to two distinct subjects: first, to the form and manner in which his majesty thought proper that I should conduct the negotiation; secondly, to the terms which, under the present circumstances of the two countries, it is proper to ask.

To this distinction I conceive it to be the more necessary for me to attend, because I thought it regular and proper to address what I had to say on the first point to the minister of foreign affairs. Whereas the plenipotentiaries of France, should the government authorise them to proceed, seemed the proper channel of communication on the second.

In pursuance of this idea, I immediately wrote a note, a copy of which (marked A) I inclose, addressed to M. Talleyrand, which I sent by Mr. Goddard in the evening, as I was myself confined to bed.

On Monday, about five o'clock, M. Talleyrand called; and though I was very ill at the time, I resolved to admit him. He sat upwards of half an hour. The outline of his conversation consisted in his expressing a desire to have a full

full communication with me, in his assuring me that if the difficulties, in respect of form, could be got over, he did not think the objections to the terms would be material, and that, where peace was seriously in view, as it was with them, it figured as an object of such importance, as to give a disposition to accommodate about conditions:—in a word, that he had little doubt that he and I would arrange the business.

On my part, I stated, that I was afraid he proceeded on the supposition that I might give way in some of the points in question, which I thought it fair to assure him at once was impossible. I stated to him generally the demands I was to make on the part of England, which would no way vary from the terms we had originally understood to have been proposed; and that he must expect I would be as positive in relation to the conditions for Russia, with which he was acquainted, as I should be with respect to any point more peculiarly of British interest. I then thought it right to introduce the subject of my having no powers from Russia, observing, that although there might be some irregularity in the mode of proceeding, yet that, under all the circumstances of the present case, it seemed unavoidable, because the principles and feelings of his majesty would never permit him to think of treating, but in such a manner as might ensure to the court of Petersburgh an honourable peace, at the moment that peace should be concluded between England and France; and that unless I could be allowed to state the objects of Russia, this could hardly be effected.

He assured me that they would waive all objections with regard to form, and that they would be perfectly ready to hear me on the subject of a treaty of peace with Russia; his objection to my proposal being founded, not on the circumstance of my wanting powers from Russia, but on the very unusual proposal of concluding a treaty, which, when signed, was only to take place in a certain event. I mentioned to him that the same thing had been done at Paris in 1782, when Mr. Oswald concluded a treaty of peace with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams.

During the whole of this conversation, I had gone even out of my way to repeat to him the necessity of his laying his account with my adhering rigidly to the terms I had detailed; and yet he left me with such expressions as could not fail to create a belief that he intended to accede to my propositions.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.

First inclosure (A).

Copy of a note from the earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated Sept. 13, 1806.

Paris, Sept. 13, 1806.

The undersigned, plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, lost no time in transmitting to his court the communication which his excellency the minister for foreign affairs made to him on Thursday, the 4th instant; and he now hastens to reply to that communication, by informing his excellency of the line of conduct his majesty has thought proper to direct him to pursue under the present circumstances.

His Britannic majesty, ever anxious to maintain the intimate connection and alliance which subsist between his majesty and the emperor of all the Russias, naturally finds in the recent conduct of his illus-

illustrious ally, and in the proofs which he has lately afforded of the interest which he takes in the welfare of Great Britain and in the general happiness of Europe, additional motives not to separate, in any case, his interests from those of the court of St. Petersburgh.

It is not, however, the intention of his majesty to carry this principle further than the earl of Yarmouth was instructed to carry it by Mr. Fox, in his lordship's communications with the French government. There is nothing to prevent the interests of Great Britain and of France from being treated separately; only his majesty does not authorise the undersigned to sign any treaty except provisionally; such treaty not to have its full effect until peace shall have been concluded between that faithful ally of Great Britain and France. It is upon these conditions alone that the undersigned is at present authorised to negotiate.

The undersigned has orders to add, that his Britannic majesty, fully acquainted with the desire entertained by the court of St. Petersburgh for peace upon conditions reciprocally honourable and advantageous, and at the same time compatible with the interests of Europe, has authorised him to impart to the French plenipotentiaries the conditions upon which Russia (according to the full and perfect knowledge his Britannic majesty has of the intentions of that court) would be willing to negotiate with the French government; to reduce them into the form of a treaty, in the event of their being agreed to on both sides; and to insert an article in the provisional treaty between Great Britain and France, by which his Britannic majesty should engage to employ his mediation, for the purpose of obtaining the accession of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias to the said treaty.

Inclosures (B) and (C) — Are notes from lord Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, relating chiefly to his lordship's indisposition.

Fourth inclosure (D)—Copy of a note from M. Talleyrand to the earl of Lauderdale, dated September 17, 1806, merely mentioning the arrival of a messenger at Boulogne, with the account of the death of Mr. Fox, and of lord Spencer being provisionally appointed his successor.

Fifth inclosure (E)—A mere note from lord Lauderdale with respect to a proposed conference.

Sixth inclosure (F)—A short note of form from M. Talleyrand relative to lord Lauderdale's indisposition.

The undersigned is aware that he ought to make the official communication of the conditions to the French plenipotentiaries. In the mean time, and for the satisfaction of the minister for foreign affairs, he has no difficulty in telling him that they will be in substance the same as those which have already been communicated to his excellency by his excellency baron de Budberg.

The undersigned expects with great impatience the answer to this communication, which his excellency the minister for foreign affairs will have the goodness to send in writing. It is the more necessary for him to receive it in that form, as his court has remarked that the communications the undersigned has already made have frequently remained without a written answer.

The undersigned has the honour to renew to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.

No. 50.

Copy of a dispatch from the earl of Lauderdale to earl Spencer, dated Paris, Sept. 19, 1806.—Received Sept. 22.

Paris, Sept. 19, 1806.

My lord,—At one o'clock this day monsieur Talleyrand called on me, according to the appointment which I announced to your lordship in my last dispatch. I immediately perceived that his plan was to exhibit extreme civility, which no one knows better how to execute.

After some time spent in compliments, and in condolence on the great loss the world had sustained, he told me, that as I insisted on an answer in writing, one was prepared, which contained a declaration consonant to what he supposed me to wish on the two most material points. First, that the emperor was willing to admit of an article being introduced to answer the objects I had in view in relation to Russia, and to instruct his plenipotentiaries to hear me with respect to the interests of that power. Secondly, that France would be ready to make concessions for the purpose of obtaining peace.

After some conversation, all tending to impress me with the idea that peace was their main object, and that they were even ready to make any sacrifice to secure it, he produced the paper to which he had alluded (marked A.), and which I had at first understood he meant to transmit to me when he should go home.

Before he opened it, he looked at me, and said, that there was a mixture in it of what, perhaps, I should not like, but that I must take the evil with the good. He begged that I would allow him to read it through without interrupting him. When he had finished, I said that I should of course send such an answer as I thought becoming and proper. I told him, and I trust with perfect temper and seeming indifference, that the most important thing for me to know was, whether these concessions would be to the extent of allowing us to retain what they had originally proposed? He answered, that the emperor would leave every thing open to the plenipotentiaries.

On his going away, I felt myself so extremely fatigued, in consequence of the weak state in which my late illness has left me, that I was obliged to lie down and recruit my strength before I could turn my mind to the formation of what I conceived to be a proper answer to his note. I trust your lordship will approve of the answer I have sent, a copy of which I have the honour of inclosing (marked B). My object in framing it, was to facilitate as much as possible the immediate progress of the negotiation, and at the same time to let the government of France feel that I was alive to what, in point of dignity, belonged to the plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty.—I have, &c.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.

First Inclosure (A.)—Translation.

Copy of a note delivered by M. Talleyrand to the earl of Lauderdale, dated September 18, 1806.

Paris, September 18, 1806.

The undersigned, the minister for foreign affairs, has laid before his majesty the emperor, king of Italy,

Italy, the note which his excellency the earl of Lauderdale, minister plenipotentiary from his Britannic majesty, did him the honour to address to him on the 13th of this month.

His majesty the emperor and king sees with regret that the negotiation seems to take every day a retrograde course, and he is at a loss to discover what point the English government wish to attain.

In the first instance, obsolete forms were brought forward and urged for our acceptance, the text and the substance of which had never been admitted, nor even discussed, by the French government; and when this difficulty appeared to be removed, and the French plenipotentiaries held out a prospect of sacrifices which proved more and more the desire of the government for peace, points antecedent to the negotiation were recurred to, and a question was started again which had been three times decided; first, by the powers given to M. d'Oubril, with which his Britannic majesty's plenipotentiaries were acquainted; afterwards, by the powers given to the earl of Yarmouth; and lastly, for the third time, by those of the earl of Lauderdale. One might have supposed that a discussion, terminated before the first conference of the respective negotiators, and decided even by the very fact of their negotiation, would not again be brought forward.

His majesty the emperor wishing, however, to give a fresh proof of his uniform desire for the re-establishment of peace, adheres to the following proposal; that the negotiations between France and England shall continue; that the minister plenipotentiary of his majesty the king of Great Britain shall be at liberty to introduce into the treaty, either as a public or secret article, or in any other form which would answer the same end, whatever he may conceive would tend to reconcile the existing differences between France and Russia, and would procure for the latter a participation in the benefits of peace; it being well understood, that no proposals shall be admitted except such as are respectively honourable, and are not injurious to the real power and the dignity of the two empires; and that we shall not see again brought forward the extraordinary proposals which M. de Novosiltzoff was charged to make on the part of Russia, and which, having marked the origin of a coalition conquered and destroyed in its birth, ought equally to be forgotten with the coalition itself. There are proposals which, being only the result of blind confidence, and of a species of infatuation, and being founded neither on the real force of the parties, nor on their geographical situation, are deprived of a pacific character, and carry with them their own condemnation.

France ought neither to abandon the interests of the Ottoman empire, nor a position which enables her to sustain that empire against the aggressions with which she is openly menaced by Russia; but as all the objects destined to enter into the arrangements of the treaty must be reserved for discussion, the undersigned will not seek to anticipate the result which it may produce.

If, after the changes which have taken place in the cabinet of his Britannic majesty, peace is still wished for in England, peace may be made, and that without delay. The emperor will not hesitate to make some sacrifices in order to

accelerate it, and to render it durable; but if the dispositions for peace should have changed in London, if the wise and liberal views manifested in the first communications which took place with the illustrious minister, whom both nations lament, should no longer prevail, a vague discussion, immoderate pretensions, and ambiguous proposals, wide of that tone of frankness and dignity necessary to conduce to a real conciliation, would only have the effect of producing more irritation, and would be unworthy of both nations. France does not pretend to dictate either to Russia or to England, but she will be dictated to by neither of these powers. Let the conditions be equal, just, and moderate, and the peace is concluded; but if an imperious and exaggerating disposition is evinced, if pre-eminence is affected, if, in a word, it is meant to dictate peace, the emperor and the French people will not even notice these proposals. Confiding in themselves, they will say, as a nation of antiquity answered its enemies, "You demand our arms, come and take them."

The undersigned, minister for foreign affairs, has the honour to renew to his excellence the earl of Lauderdale the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed) C. M. TALLEYRAND, Prince of Benevento.

Second Inclosure (B.).

Copy of a note from lord Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated Sept. 19, 1806.

(Translation.)

Paris, Sept. 19, 1806.

The undersigned plenipotentiary of his majesty the king of Great Britain, in answering the official note of his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, dated the 18th instant, which has been received to-day, begins by remarking, that he purposely abstains as much as possible from all observation upon those points contained in it, which are foreign to the immediate object in question. By this means, he will avoid discussions of a nature to lead him to forget that tone of moderation which it is his duty to observe in the whole course of his mission. He will thus maintain the line of conduct which is conformable to that love of peace, which characterises all the proceedings of the king his master.

When the undersigned reflects, that he came to Paris, authorised to conclude peace upon terms understood to have been proposed by France; that notwithstanding the refusal of his imperial majesty of all the Russias to ratify the treaty signed by M. d'Oubril, and the splendid successes obtained by his majesty's arms in Spanish America, he was authorised to give assurance (as he had the honour of doing to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs) that the demands of his court in its own favour would not in consequence of these successes be materially increased; the undersigned had reason to be surprised at finding his government charged with manifesting "an imperious and exaggerating disposition." He is not less astonished, that his excellency, in replying to a note in which lord Lauderdale had the honour of explaining distinctly to him, that the conditions pointed out by his excellency baron de Budberg were in substance what would be insisted upon by Great Britain in favour of Russia, should have thought it necessary to reprobate so strongly conditions proposed by M. de Novosiltzoff under

under totally different circumstances, and of the nature of which the undersigned is entirely ignorant.

Nevertheless, after the explanations given by the undersigned to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, and the declaration made by him to his excellency, that the undersigned is not authorised to negotiate otherwise than so as to insure the conclusion of a peace with Great Britain and with Russia at the same moment; and, after having received, in the official note of yesterday's date, assurances that the French government does not refuse the admission of an article, the design of which shall be to provide for this indispensable object, the undersigned will make no difficulty in resuming the conferences with their excellencies the French plenipotentiaries, as soon as their excellencies shall be duly authorised for this purpose.

The undersigned has the honour to be,

LAUDERDALE.

No. 51.

Extract from a dispatch from the earl of Lauderdale to earl Spencer, dated Paris, September 26, 1806.—Received September 28.

Nothing material happened after the conference with M. Talleyrand which I detailed in my dispatch of the 19th instant, till the 22d, when I received from him a communication, informing me that the emperor having thought general Clarke's services near his person necessary in a journey he was about to undertake immediately, M. de Champagny would be instructed to conduct singly, on the part of France, the business of the negotiation in future.

This communication was made in a letter which I inclose (marked A.), together with a copy of my answer (marked B).

On the 23d, being anxious that the negotiation should proceed as soon as possible, I took the opportunity of M. de Champagny's sending to inquire after my health, to urge him, in writing, to renew the conferences without further loss of time. Your lordship will find a copy of my letter (marked C.), together with his answer (marked D.) inclosed.

On the 24th I received from M. Talleyrand an answer to the demand I had made for an explanation on the subject of passports, in my letter of the 22d. This communication (marked E.) I think it also proper to transmit to your lordship.

On the 25th, at one o'clock, M. de Champagny called on me, as had been previously agreed, for the purpose of renewing the conferences.

After the usual interchange of civilities, he proceeded to say, that, to secure peace, the emperor had determined to make great sacrifices.

1st, That Hanover with its dependencies should be restored to his majesty.

2d, That the possession of Malta should be confirmed to Great Britain.

3d, That France would interfere with Holland to confirm to his majesty the absolute possession of the Cape.

4th, That the emperor would confirm to his majesty the possession of Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Mahee, and the other dependent comptoirs.

5th, That as Tobago was originally settled by the English, it was

meant also to give that island to the crown of Great Britain.

To all this he added, that what he had now said proceeded on the supposition, that Sicily was to be ceded, and that the French government proposed that his Sicilian majesty should have as indemnity, not only the Balearic Islands, but should also receive an annuity from the court of Spain to enable him to support his dignity.

I here interrupted him, expressing my surprise, after the full explanation I had had with M. Talleyrand on that very point, that the possibility of our giving up Sicily should be mentioned again; that the guarantee of it to the king of the two Sicilies was as much an object with England as M. Talleyrand knew it to be with Russia; and that I was happy to take that opportunity of stating to him fairly, that I felt myself bound to consider the obtaining for Russia the arrangement which she desired, as an object more interesting if possible to England, than those points which might be considered as peculiarly connected with her own interests.

He informed me, that there was no clause in his instructions empowering him to hear me on the part of Russia; but that he had even seen M. Talleyrand's note to me; and being satisfied that this was an accidental omission, which would be forthwith remedied, he had no objection to proceed, as if such a clause had been inserted.

It was agreed that I should go to him to-day, at two o'clock, to renew the conference.

First inclosure (A.)—Is a copy of a note from M. Talleyrand to the earl of Lauderdale, dated Sept. 22, 1806, within alluded to.

Second inclosure (B.)—Is a copy of a note from the earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated Sept 22, 1806, in answer to the preceding.

Third inclosure (C.)—Copy of a note from the earl of Lauderdale to M. de Champagny, dated Sept. 23, 1806, within alluded to.

Fourth inclosure (D.)—Copy of a note from M. de Champagny to the earl of Lauderdale, dated Sept. 23, 1806.

No. 52.

Copy of a dispatch from the earl of Lauderdale to earl Spencer, dated at Paris, Sept. 16, 1806. —Received Sept. 28.

Paris, Sept. 16, 1806.

My lord,—In conformity with my engagement made yesterday, which I had the honour of mentioning to your lordship in my former dispatch of this date, I waited on M. de Champagny this afternoon at two o'clock.

He informed me that the accidental omission in his instructions had been remedied, and that he had now powers to talk with me on the interests of Russia, with a view to arrange the conditions on which France would make peace with that country: but he, at the same time, proposed, that we should, in the first instance, talk over the terms of peace between France and England.

I observed, that as the greatest difficulties in our last conference seemed to arise from the conditions that I had proposed as necessary to be granted to Russia; and as England was resolved not to make peace without obtaining for Russia all the objects on which she insisted, I thought the more natural order would be, to resume our conversation on these last topics.

A long discussion accordingly ensued, which ended in his informing me, that on the subject of concessions to Russia, he was authorised

rised to communicate to me, that the government of France was willing, in addition to the treaty made by M. d'Oubril, to cede to that power the full sovereignty of the island of Corfu: but that he had no authority to go any further.

I then informed him, that I was sorry to learn that the negotiation was at an end, for that my instructions were precise, and that I should feel it my duty, the moment I left him, to state to M. Talleyrand, that all hopes having vanished of bringing the negotiation to a favourable issue, I had only now to request passports for my return to England.

After strong expressions of mutual regard, he attended me to the outer room, where he again proposed a renewal of our conferences in case his government should give him new instructions.

My answer was, that I had no choice in immediately applying for passports; but that as long as I remained in this country, I never would refuse to see him; and that if, before my departure, he would come with powers to grant all the objects on which I had explained myself, I should feel the greatest satisfaction, though, at the moment, I thought my appointment perfectly unnecessary.

On my return home, I sent to M. Talleyrand a letter demanding my passports, a copy of which (marked A.) I inclose; and I understand from the courier Basilico, that he received it ten minutes before he got into his carriage to go to Mentz.

About six o'clock I received from M. de Champagny a note, of which, as well as of my answer, I inclose copies to your lordship (marked B. and C).

Whilst I am writing, I have received the note, which I inclose (marked D). I have, &c.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.

I open this dispatch to inclose a note (marked E.) I have this moment received from M. de Champagny.

First inclosure (A).

Copy of a note from the earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated Sept. 26th, 1806, demanding passports.

Second inclosure (B.) is a copy of a note from M. de Champagny to the earl of Lauderdale, dated September 26th, 1806, respecting another conference.

Third inclosure (C.) is a copy of a note from the earl of Lauderdale to M. de Champagny, dated Sept. 26th 1806, appointing the following Monday.

Fourth inclosure (D.) is a copy of a note from M. d'Hauterive to the earl of Lauderdale, dated Sept. 26th, 1806.

(Translation.)

Paris, Sept. 26, 1806.

My lord,—I have this moment received a letter from you for the prince of Benevento. He is this instant set out, and I embrace the opportunity offered by the departure of one of his suite, whose carriage will follow him immediately, to forward it to the prince of Benevento; it will probably reach him on the road, but at all events on his arrival at Mentz.

I beg your excellency will accept the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) HAUTERIVE.

(No. 53.)

Extract from a dispatch from viscount

count Howick to the earl of Lauderdale, dated Downing-street, Oct. 1, 1806.

Downing-street, Oct. 1, 1806.

My lord,—Your dispatches of the 26th ult. brought by the messenger Johnson, have been laid before the king.

His majesty has seen with great regret, that, after more than six months spent in negotiation, the French government still hesitates upon the admission of points constantly urged by his majesty as the only grounds on which he could consent to peace, and that in so unsatisfactory a state of things, the chief of that government, together with his principal minister, has suddenly left Paris *, creating thereby new obstacles to the progress of the negotiation.

Whatever views the French government may have in keeping up this state of suspense and uncertainty, his majesty feels that it is equally prejudicial to the interests of his subjects and to those of Europe. If the professions of France are sincere, there can be no reason why she should not give a plain and decisive answer to demands which have been so long under consideration; and the time is now come when such an answer must be required as indispensable to your continuance at Paris.

No. 54.

Extract from a dispatch from the earl of Lauderdale to viscount Howick, dated Paris, Oct. 4, 1806.—Received October 6.

Paris, October 4, 1806.

My lord,—Yesterday, at four o'clock, M. de Champagny sent me a note to announce the arrival of a courier at Boulogne, who reached Paris this morning at three o'clock.

On reading your lordship's dispatch, dated Oct. 1, it appeared to me that his majesty had been pleased to approve of the demand of passports which I had made.

Your lordship may depend on my pressing for them with the utmost possible earnestness and assiduity; but how soon I may be able to succeed, it is impossible for me, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, to prophesy.

No. 55.

Copy of a dispatch from the earl of Lauderdale to viscount Howick, dated Paris, October 6, 1806.—Received October 8.

My lord,—Late last night, M. de Champagny's principal secretary called upon me with a letter from him, inclosing a letter from M. Talleyrand, both of which I have the honour of transmitting to your lordship (marked A. and B).

From these your lordship will perceive, that the negotiation is now at an end, and that M. de Champagny has been authorised to give the passports I required.

I have this day accordingly renewed my demand to him in a letter, a copy of which I inclose (marked C).

On considering M. Talleyrand's note, it seemed to me necessary, that I should not take the step of asking my passports from M. de Champagny, without accompanying my demand with a reply to some of the observations made by

* The chief of the French government left Paris on the night of the 24th of September, and was followed by M. Talleyrand on the 26th.

the

the minister for foreign affairs. Your lordship will accordingly find inclosed a copy (marked D.) of an official note addressed by me to that minister.

I have sent the courier, Lyell, for the purpose of conveying this information, and I have given him a letter to admiral Holloway, desiring him instantly to announce by the telegraph, that I shall leave Paris on Thursday morning.

I have taken this step, because it occurred to me that government being thus in possession of the intelligence, that the negotiation is at an end, ten hours before it can reach London, they may have it in their power to take the most prudent means to make the fact public. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.

First inclosure, (A.)—(Translation.)

Copy of a note from M. de Champagny to the earl of Lauderdale, dated Oct. 5, 1806.

Paris, Oct. 5, 1806.

M. de Champagny has the honour to transmit to his excellency the earl of Lauderdale the accompanying dispatch addressed to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs. He is also charged to inform him, that he is now authorised to deliver to him the passports which he has demanded. This, of all the duties which he had to discharge towards his excellency, is the only one which will have appeared painful to him; and it will be greatly so. He waits to be informed of the further dispositions of his excellency.

M. de Champagny begs lord Lauderdale to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

CHAMPAGNY.

Second inclosure (B.)—(Translation).

Copy of a letter from M. Talleyrand to the earl of Lauderdale, dated Mentz, Oct. 1, 1806.

The undersigned, minister for foreign affairs, has laid before his majesty the emperor, king of Italy, the note which his excellency the earl of Lauderdale, minister plenipotentiary from his Britannic majesty, did him the honour to address to him on the 26th of this month.

His majesty, after having from a desire of peace listened to every proposition which could have rendered it durable, and of reciprocal advantage to the two contracting powers and to their allies, will see with pain the rupture of a negotiation, to which his own disposition had led him to hope a more favourable conclusion. If the English cabinet is resolved to forgo the prospect of a peace, and if his Britannic majesty's minister plenipotentiary must depart from France, his majesty still flatters himself that the English cabinet and lord Lauderdale will, when they shall measure the extent of the sacrifices which he was disposed to make, in order to facilitate the return of a sincere reconciliation, be convinced that his majesty, in order to promote the happiness of the world, would not hesitate between any advantages in comparison with those to be expected from peace, and that the desire to ensure its benefits to his people, could alone have determined his paternal heart to make sacrifices not only of self-love but of power, more considerable than even the opinion of the English nation could have pointed out in the midst of a war, in which he had obtained constant advantages without

without any mixture of reverse. If, however, it is the destiny of the emperor and of the French nation still to live in the midst of the wars and tumults which the policy and influence of England have raised, his majesty having done every thing to put a stop to the calamities of war, finding himself deceived in his dearest hopes, relies on the justice of his cause, on the courage, the affection, the power of his people. At the same time calling to mind the dispositions which he has ever expressed throughout the negotiation, his majesty cannot see but with regret, that England, who might have strengthened and confirmed her vast power by the blessings of peace, the want of which is felt by the present generation, and by the English people as well as all others, willingly suffers the most favourable opportunity of concluding it to pass by: the event will disclose whether a new coalition will be more disadvantageous to France than those which have preceded it. The event will also disclose, whether those who complain of the grandeur and ambition of France should not impute to their own hatred and injustice this very grandeur and ambition of which they accuse her. The power of France has only been increased by the reiterated efforts to oppress her. Nevertheless, whatever inferences for the future may be drawn from the examples of the past, his majesty will be ready, should the negotiations with England be broken off, to renew them in the midst of any events. He will be ready to replace them on the basis laid in concert with the illustrious minister whom England has lost, who, having nothing to add to his glory, except the reconciliation of the two nations, had conceived the hope of accomplishing it, but was snatched from the world in the midst of his work.

The undersigned has the honour to inform his excellency the earl of Lauderdale, that M. de Champagny has been authorised to deliver to him the passports which he has demanded.

The undersigned is desirous of renewing to his excellency the earl of Lauderdale, the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed) C. M. TALLEYRAND,
Prince of Benevento.

Third inclosure (C.) is a note from the earl of Lauderdale to M. Champagny, dated Oct. 6, 1806.

Fourth inclosure (D.) Translation.)

Copy of a note from the earl of Lauderdale to M. Talleyrand, dated Oct. 6, 1806.

Paris, 6th Oct. 1806.

The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, received late last night the note which his excellency the minister for foreign affairs did him the honour to address to him on the first of this month.

The undersigned, learning that his excellency M. de Champagny is authorised to grant him the passports which he has demanded, and which he is on the point of receiving, cannot refrain from observing to his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, in answer to his note, that he has some difficulty in imagining from what circumstances his excellency has been able to infer, "that the British government have resolved to forgo the prospect of peace."

The undersigned was sent to France to negotiate a peace, at a time when the illustrious minister to whom his excellency has paid so just a tribute of praise, presided over the

department for foreign affairs. This great man then acted under the full conviction, that he had received from France an offer of peace on the basis of *uti possidetis*, with the sole exception of Hanover and of its dependencies in favour of his Britannic majesty. And notwithstanding the success of the arms of his Britannic majesty as well in Italy as on the continent of South America, and the refusal of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias to ratify that treaty, which in the eyes of the French government was equivalent to the most splendid victory, not one new proposition has been advanced on the part of his majesty, incompatible with the principle which was at first proposed by the French government, through the channel of the earl of Yarmouth, as the basis of the negotiation. It is not surely from such conduct that the inference can be drawn, "that the British government have resolved to forgo the prospect of a peace."

Are the conditions which the undersigned was ordered to propose as the basis of a peace between his majesty the emperor of all the Russias and the French government more of a nature to have given rise to this suspicion? Quite the reverse. If a solid and durable peace was the object of the two powers, these were such conditions as justice and expediency demanded: justice, because certainly nothing could be more equitable than to grant to his Sicilian majesty and to the king of Sardinia a compensation for their immense losses on the continent: expediency, because in order to ensure the duration of peace, such an arrangement of boundaries as may prevent disputes must always be preferable to that which furnishes to one of the parties the means and the advantages of attack. It was on this principle that the proposed evacuation of Dalmatia and Albania, by the French troops, naturally suggested itself.

If, therefore, the undersigned has received orders to demand his passports, and to depart from France, it is certainly not because his sovereign wishes to renounce peace, but because his majesty finds himself obliged to do so; the French government not having consented to all the conditions which were comprised in the proposals originally made to them by his Britannic majesty, and having moreover rejected, as the basis for the treaty with Russia, the just and reasonable conditions which the undersigned was authorised to propose.

The undersigned has received with real satisfaction the general assurance of the disposition of the French government to renew the negotiation at a future period, as expressed in the official note of his excellency the minister for foreign affairs. He has seen with no less pleasure, that the tone and the moderation observed in this communication correspond with the sentiments which accompany them. On this subject his excellency may rest assured, that the French government could not in any way express a stronger desire to see an end put to the calamities of war, than that which his Britannic majesty will invariably feel, whenever peace can be concluded on conditions compatible with the honour of his crown and the interests of his subjects.

The undersigned ought here to conclude the official answer which he has thought necessary to make to the note of his excellency the minister for foreign affairs. But he can not pass over in silence

one part of this note, where his excellency wishes to convey the idea that the British government seems no longer disposed to act on the same principles which directed the conduct of the great man whom England has lately lost. The undersigned without being authorised to mention this subject, nor even to introduce it in an official paper, trusts in the known goodness and indulgence of his sovereign, when he allows himself to make the following observations on this subject.

During twenty-six years of uninterrupted connection with Mr. Fox, the undersigned, as much as any one, has had an opportunity of confidentially learning the sentiments of that celebrated man. From his knowledge of them he is impressed with the strongest conviction, that no minister could give to the instructions of which he was to be the organ a more perfect assent, or concur more effectually in their execution, than Mr. Fox would have done, in giving to the undersigned, on the part of his Britannic majesty, such orders as the undersigned has in fact received, under circumstances in which peace (on the just and equitable conditions which had been proposed to that minister) would have appeared to him impracticable.

How much would this opinion have been strengthened in the mind of that minister, on perceiving the French government refuse the just demands of that illustrious ally, who, by his fidelity to his Britannic majesty, has deserved on the part of the king, that his interests should be as dear to him as his own.

The undersigned has the honour to acquaint his excellency the minister for foreign affairs, that he this morning applied to his excellency M. de Champagny for his passports. At the same time he requests him to accept the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed) LAUDERDALE.

No. 56.

Extract from a dispatch from Mr. Arbuthnot to Mr. secretary Fox, dated Bayukdere, August 25th, 1806. Received September 29th. This relates to the recall of the Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia, contrary to the convention with Russia. This was done by the influence of the French minister to the Porte, M. Sebastiani.

Speech of the speaker of the house of commons.

In the house of commons, May 23, the secretary at war, after paying many compliments to the zeal and ability of the managers of lord Melville's impeachment, moved that the thanks of the house be given to them, for their upright conduct.—The motion was carried with *one* dissentient voice.

The speaker then rose, and addressed the managers as follows:

"Gentlemen,

"This house, upon the result of grave and important inquiries into the administration of the public expenditure, came to the resolution of entering upon the most solemn of all its functions; and of resorting to that transcendent power, by which it can bring to judgment all misdeeds done by the highest servants of the crown, and most effectually avenge all inroads made, or attempted to be made, upon the liberties of the people.

"The

"The conduct and management of that power it delegated to you; to prepare and arrange the proofs of complex and intricate facts; and to make good the charge of high crimes and misdemeanors against a noble person, whose elevated and splendid situations in the state rendered his actions of signal example, for good or for evil, to all persons intrusted with the public treasure.

"Throughout the progress of the trial so undertaken, we have seen with peculiar satisfaction, its proceedings conducted with an exemplary diligence and dispatch, which have rescued impeachments from the disgrace into which they had nearly fallen, and have restored them to their antient strength and honour. Upon your part we have also witnessed that unwearied industry, and singular sagacity, with which you have pursued and established the proofs;—that boldness so properly belonging to the commons, with which you have maintained the charge; and that powerful display of argument and learned eloquence which have spread the light of day over dark, secret, and criminal transactions.

"The issue of the whole is now with the lords; and, whether that be of condemnation or acquittal, it rests with a tribunal, which, so far as depends upon human institutions, promises the fairest hopes of ultimate justice.

"But, be that issue what it may, your part is accomplished. In the discharge of your duty, you have satisfied the expectation of the commons; you have obtained the high reward of their approbation and thanks; and, in obedience to their commands, I am now to acquaint you with their resolution;

"'That the thanks of this house 'be given to the members, who 'were appointed the managers of 'the impeachment against Henry 'lord viscount Melville, for their 'faithful management in their dis-'charge of the trust reposed in 'them.'"

To the king's most excellent majesty.

The humble, loyal, and dutiful address of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London in common council assembled.—Presented Feb. 19, 1806.

"Most gracious sovereign,

"We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, most humbly approach your majesty with the warmest sentiments of loyalty and attachment to your majesty's sacred person and family.

"We beg to assure your majesty, that while we contemplate with the deepest concern and disappointment the late disastrous events, which have led in so rapid and extraordinary a manner to the defeat and humiliation of the Austrian power, we cannot refrain from offering to your majesty our sincere thanks and congratulations on the formation of an administration combining men of the highest consideration and talents; affording, amidst these adverse events, the cheering prospect, that by such an union of wisdom and energy in your majesty's councils, a system of vigour, vigilance, and œconomy will be adopted which may support our public affairs, preserve and strengthen our national security, and prove most conducive to the honour and dignity of your majesty's

jesty's crown, and the happiness and liberties of your people.

"Viewing the high and distinguished characters composing your majesty's present government, we have perfect confidence, that under your majesty's direction, the national strength will be augmented, its resources improved and preserved, and the utmost energies of a free, loyal, and united people will be called forth into action, so that with the blessing of Divine Providence this country may keep fast its liberties and independence, and may maintain its due rank among the nations of Europe.

"Permit us to assure your majesty of our firm co-operation in every measure which may be deemed essential towards resisting any unreasonable pretensions on the part of your majesty's enemies, and for enabling your majesty to restore to your people the blessings of peace, on such terms as may be consistent with the honour, dignity, and safety of these realms.

"Signed by order of the court,

"HENRY WOODTHORPE."

To which address his majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious answer:

"I thank you for this most loyal and dutiful address. I receive with the highest satisfaction, your assurances of loyalty and attachment to my person and family; and you may rest assured, that I can have no other object in view in the measures adopted for the administration of my government, than to maintain the honour and dignity of my crown, and the union, the happiness, and the essential interests of my people."

AMERICA.

Message from the president to the house of representatives.

"In my message to both houses of congress at the opening of their present session, I submitted to their attention, among other subjects, the oppression of our commerce and navigation, by the irregular practices of armed vessels, public and private, and by the introduction of new principles derogatory of the rights of neutrals, as acknowledged by the usage of nations. The memorials of several bodies of merchants of the United States are now communicated, and will develop those principles and practices which are producing the most ruinous effects on our lawful commerce and navigation.—The right of a neutral to carry on commercial intercourse with every part of the dominions of a belligerent, permitted by the laws of the country, with the exception of blockaded ports and contraband of war, was believed to have been decided between Great Britain and the United States, by the sentence of their commissioners, mutually appointed to decide in that and other questions of difference between the two nations, and by the actual payment of the damages awarded by them, against Great Britain for infractions of that right. When, therefore, it was perceived that the same principle was revived, with others more novel, and extending the injury, instructions were given to the minister plenipotentiary of the United States at the court of London, and remonstrances duly made by him on this subject, as will appear by documents transmitted herewith. These were followed by a partial and temporary suspension only, without any disavowal of the

the principle. He has therefore been instructed to urge this subject anew, to bring it more fully to the bar of reason, and to insist on rights too evident and too important to be surrendered. In the mean time the evil is proceeding under adjudications founded on the principle which is denied. Under these circumstances the subject presents itself for the consideration of congress. On the impressment of our seamen, our remonstrances have never been intermitted. A hope existed at one moment of an arrangement which might have been submitted to; but it soon passed away, and the practice, though relaxed at times in the distant seas, has been constantly pursued in those in our own neighbourhood. The grounds on which the reclamations on this subject have been urged, will appear in an extract from instructions to our minister at London now communicated.

TH. JEFFERSON.

17th Jan. 1806.

FRENCH PAPERS.

IMPERIAL DECREE

From the protocol of our secretary of state.

From our imperial camp at Berlin, Nov. 21, 1806.

Napoleon, emperor of the French, and king of Italy.

Whereas,

1. That England has ceased to observe the law of nations, recognised by all civilized states.

2. That she considers every individual as an enemy who belongs to an hostile state, and consequently makes prisoners, not merely the crews of ships of war, but also the crews of merchant vessels, and even the members of commercial factories, and persons connected with commerce, where employed in their mercantile affairs.

3. That she extends the rights of conquest to the cargo and commodities, and to the property of individuals; which right of conquest, however, ought only to be applicable to that which belongs to the hostile state.

4. That she extends her right of blockade to places not fortified, and to commercial ports, in bays, and the mouths of navigable rivers; which blockade, according to the principles and the practice of all civilized nations, is applicable only to fortified places.

That she considers a place in a state of blockade before which she has not even a single ship of war, although a place can only be considered as blockaded when it is so circumscribed in its communication that it is impossible to approach it without visible danger.

That she even declares places in a state of blockade which, with their whole united strength, she would be unable effectually to blockade, for instance, whole coasts and whole kingdoms.

5. That this monstrous abuse of the right of blockade has no other object but to impede the communication between nations, and to aggrandise the commerce and industry of England by the ruins of the commerce and industry of the continent.

6. That as this is the object of England, all those who carry on traffic in English commodities upon the continent, by doing so, second her views and render themselves her accomplices.

7. That this conduct of England, which is altogether worthy of the age of barbarism, has become

advantageous to that power to the prejudice of every other.

8. That it is a right conferred by nature to oppose to an enemy the weapons he employs against you, and to fight against him in the same manner in which he attacks, and that this principle is recognised by all ideas of justice and all liberal sentiments, the result of that civilization by which societies are distinguished.

We therefore determine to employ against England those principles which she has adopted in her maritime code.

The consequence of the present decree shall be considered as fixed fundamental laws of the empire, so long as England refuses to acknowledge one and the same law as applicable both to sea and land, till she ceases to consider private property, be it what it may, a good prize—till she ceases to extend to the persons of individuals who are not engaged in military operations the principles by which she at present treats them as prisoners of war—and until she shall apply the rights of blockade only to those places which she has a force fully adequate to cut off from communication.

We have therefore decreed and declare as follows:—

Article 1. The British islands are declared to be in a state of blockade.

2. All commerce and all correspondence with the British isles are prohibited.

3. The letters or packets which are addressed to England or to Englishmen, or which are written in the English language, shall not be forwarded by the posts, and shall be taken away.

4. Every individual who is an English subject, of whatever condition he be, who is found in the countries occupied by our troops, or those of our allies, shall be made prisoner of war.

5. Every magazine, every commodity, every article of property, of whatever sort, which belongs to an English subject, shall be declared good prize.

6. The trade in English commodities is prohibited, and every article which belongs to England, or is the produce of her manufactures and colonies, is declared good prize.

7. The half of the proceeds of the confiscation of the articles, property, and goods declared good prize by the preceding article, will be employed to indemnify the merchants for the losses which they suffer by the capture of trading vessels seized by the English cruizers.

8. No ship which comes direct from England or the English colonies, or has been there after the publication of the present decree, shall be admitted into any harbour.

9. Every ship which trades with a false declaration, in contravention of the above principles, shall be seized, and the ship and cargo confiscated as if they were English property.

10. Our prize court at Paris is invested with power definitively to settle all disputes which may arise in our empire or in the countries occupied by the French armies in regard to the execution of the present decree. Moreover, our prize court at Milan is invested with full power finally to decide all disputes which may arise within the dominions of our kingdom of Italy.

11. The present decree shall be communicated to the kings of Spain, of Naples, of Holland and Etruria, and our other allies, whose

whose subjects, as well as our own, have been the victims of the injustice and barbarity of the English maritime code.

12. Our ministers of foreign affairs, of war, of marine, of finance, of police, and our post-masters general, each of them, in as far as concerns his department, is intrusted with the execution of the present decree.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.
By the emperor.
H. MARET,
Secretary of state.

NOTE

Presented on the 24th of November, by his excellency the French imperial minister M. Bourienne, to the senate of Hamburgh.

The undersigned minister of his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy to the states of Lower Saxony, has been commanded by his sovereign to communicate to the city of Hamburgh as follows:

That,—As England has not acknowledged the laws of nations, which are observed by all civilized states;

As she makes prisoners individuals who do not belong to the military service;

As she seizes and confiscates private property;

As she considers places in a state of blockade which in reality are not so, as well as places of commerce, not fortified bays and mouths of rivers;

As she declares places in a state of blockade, which in point of fact are not so, or which in their very nature cannot be so placed;

France is reduced to the necessity of applying the same principles which England adopts in her maritime code to the British islands, to British subjects, to their property of every kind, to be found in the territories, states, and ports occupied or to be occupied by the French arms, to the ships coming from the British islands or colonies arriving in such ports, as well as those which shall go from such ports to those belonging to Great Britain;

That while his majesty the emperor and king declares the British islands in a state of blockade, and with respect to English subjects, their property, and the ships which come from the British islands or possessions, or which are bound for the same, in doing which his majesty is justified by the laws of self-defence;

That his majesty the emperor and king in doing so has been prompted not merely by the interest of France, but that he has also considered it as his duty to protect the continent from the misery with which it is threatened, since the acts of violence exercised by England are visibly intended to interrupt the communications between nations, and to elevate its industry and commerce on the ruins of the industry and commerce of the continent, whence it follows that every person on the continent, who carries on commerce in English commodities, supports the views of England, and must be considered as her accomplice;

That as a great number of the inhabitants of the city of Hamburgh are in this situation, and are notoriously engaged in the affairs of England, his majesty the emperor and king feels himself reluctantly compelled to take possesions of that city, and to give orders for the execution of the measures above

stated to be necessary, of which the undersigned is authorised to give notice in manner as follows :—

Art. 1. All English goods which are found in the city, ports, and territories of Hamburgh, to whomsoever they may belong, shall be confiscated.

2. Every Englishman, or English subject, in the city, or in the ports and territory abovementioned, is a prisoner of war.

3. All moveable and personal property in the city of Hamburgh, its ports or territories, belonging to Englishmen or English subjects, is confiscated.

4. No ship coming from England, or bound for the same, shall be admitted into the above-mentioned ports, city, or territories.

5. Every ship which by means of false declarations shall attempt to sail from the above-mentioned city, ports, and territories to England, shall be confiscated.

6. No English courier, nor English letter-bag, shall be allowed to pass through the city, ports, or territory of Hamburgh.

The undersigned has the honour to renew to the senate his assurances of high consideration.

(Signed) BOURIENNE.

PROCLAMATION.

His excellency the marshal of the empire, Mortier, with respect to the account which has been rendered to him, having remarked that the distribution hitherto made of the possession of English merchandize does not offer a satisfactory result, considering that the merchants who have delivered in accounts may have acted with too much precipitation, and have given such declaration without applying to them all the attention and reflection which they require; considering besides, that the multiplied occupations of the commandant of the place do not permit him to perform the business with which he was charged, in keeping the register of inspection, enjoins every individual having in his possession merchandise belonging to the English, or produce from English manufactures, to present himself, within forty-eight hours, dated from Monday, the 24th of November, 1806, to the inspector of reviews, *per interim*, of the 28th division of the grand army, where they will make declaration and inscription in a register opened for that purpose, marked by the general in chief of the staff, of all merchandise in their possession, belonging, as above stated, to the English, or the produce of English manufactures.

At the expiration of the term of 48 hours, domiciliary visits will be made, and all those who act contrary to the present order will be militarily punished.

Every merchant or trader having already made a declaration, must present himself again, and reiterate his inscription with the inspector of reviews, at No. 66, Groninger-street.

Hamburgh, Nov. 23, 1806.

Proclamation of general Bernadotte to the inhabitants of the country of Anspach.

In consequence of a treaty concluded between France and Prussia, his Prussian majesty has consented to cede Anspach to the king of Bavaria, and the occupation of this country, conformably to the said treaty, was to take place at the same moment that the troops of the king of Prussia were to take possession

possession of Hanover. The Prussians having occupied that electorate, I have received orders to proceed to the occupation of Anspach. The revenues and the resources of the country shall be put in sequestration for the maintenance of the troops which shall occupy it, during the time which shall be judged necessary.

The army, the command of which is intrusted to me, shall observe strict discipline; and I will punish with all the rigour of the laws every soldier who shall desert, or who shall disturb the tranquillity of the inhabitants.

On my part, I have reason to hope, that the people of Anspach will receive, as they ought, the troops under my orders.

BERNADOTTE.

Head-quarters at Anspach,
Feb. 24.

Letter from his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, to his majesty the king of Bavaria.

Paris, Sept. 27.

Sir, my brother,

It is more than a month since Prussia has armed, and it is known to all the world that she arms against France and against the confederation of the Rhine. We have sought for the motives of these armaments without being able to discover them. The letters written to us by his Prussian majesty are amicable: his minister for foreign affairs has notified to our envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, that he recognises the confederation of the Rhine, and that he has no objection to the arrangements made in the south of Germany.

Are the armaments of Prussia the result of a coalition with Russia, or merely of the intrigues of the different parties which exist at Berlin, and the irresolution of the cabinet? Have they for their object to force Hesse, Saxony, and the Hanseatic towns, to contract obligations which the two latter powers do not appear to wish to form? Does Prussia wish to compel us ourselves to depart from the declaration which we have made, that the Hanseatic towns shall not enter into any particular confederation? a declaration founded upon the commercial interests of France, and of the south of Germany, and upon what has been made known to us by England, that any change in the present situation of the Hanseatic towns will be a great obstacle to a general peace.—We have also declared, that the princes of the Germanic empire, who were not comprised in the confederation of the Rhine, ought to be at liberty to consult only their own interest and convenience, that they ought to be regarded as perfectly free, that we would do nothing to draw them into the confederation of the Rhine, but that we would not suffer them to be forced to do any act which would be contrary to their inclination, their policy, or the interests of their people. Ought this just declaration to have so wounded the cabinet of Berlin, that we should be obliged to retract it? Amongst all these motives which is the true one we cannot divine, and the future only can reveal the secret of a conduct as strange as it was unexpected. A month has elapsed without our taking notice of it. Our inattention has only served to embolden all those fire-brands who wish to precipitate the court of Berlin into a most inconsiderate contest.

At length the armaments of

Prussia have led to the case provided for by one of the articles of the treaty of the 12th of July, and we think it necessary that all the sovereigns who composed the confederation of the Rhine, should arm to defend its interests, to guaranty and maintain the inviolability of its territory. Instead of 200,000 men, which France is bound to furnish, she will furnish 300,000; and we have just given orders that the troops necessary to complete that number shall be transported with speed to the Lower Rhine. The troops of your majesty being still on a war footing, we invite your majesty to issue orders that they may be put in a state to march without delay, with all their field equipage, in order that they may contribute to the defence of the common cause, the success of which we dare believe will correspond with its justice, if at length, contrary to our wishes, and even contrary to our hopes, Prussia should compel us to repel force by force.

We pray God, my brother, that he may have you in his holy and worthy keeping.

Given at St. Cloud, the
21st of Sept. 1806.

NAPOLEON.

Conformable to the original,
The minister for foreign affairs,
C. M. TALLEYRAND,
Prince of Benevento.

Copy of the first note addressed to his excellency general Knobelsdorff, by his excellency the prince of Benevento, minister for foreign affairs, dated Sept. 11, 1806.

The undersigned minister of foreign relations is charged, by the express order of his majesty the emperor and king, to make known to his excellency M. Knobelsdorff, that new advices from Berlin, of an early date in September, state, that the garrison of that city had set out for the frontiers; that all the armaments appeared to have redoubled their activity; and that they were publicly stated at Berlin itself, as being directed against France.

The dispositions of the court of Berlin have so much the more strongly surprised his majesty, as he was far from foreseeing them, after the mission of M. de Knobelsdorff, and the letter of his majesty the king of Prussia, of which he was the bearer.

His majesty the emperor and king has ordered some reinforcements to be sent to his army. Prudence commanded him to take steps against a project of aggression, as unexpected as it would be unjust. But it could only be in spite of himself, and contrary to his dearest wish, that he should see himself forced to unite the forces of his empire against a power whom nature herself has destined to be the friend of France, since she had tied together the two states by a community of interests before they were united by treaties. He pities the inconsiderateness of those agents who have procured the adoption, as useful, and even necessary, of the measures taken by the court of Berlin. But his sentiments for his majesty the king of Prussia have been neither changed nor weakened; nor will be so, as long as his majesty shall not be forced to think that the Prussian armaments are not the result of a system of aggression against France; and when intrigue, which appears to have been active in so many ways, and under so many forms, in order to inspire into the cabinet of Berlin prejudices

prejudices against its best and most faithful ally, shall have ceased; when it shall no longer menace, by preparations, a nation which, up to this hour, it has not appeared easy to intimidate; his majesty the emperor will regard that moment as the happiest for himself; and for his majesty the king of Prussia. He will be the first to countermand the movements of the troops, which he has ordered to interrupt armaments ruinous to his measures, and the relations between the two states will be re-established in all their intimacy.

It is, without doubt, a satisfying thing to the heart of his majesty, not to have given, directly or indirectly, room for the misunderstanding which appears between the two states, and to be unable to be responsible for the results of this singular and strange contest, since he has not ceased constantly to make, by the means of his envoy extraordinary, and by the undersigned, every declaration proper to expose the intrigues which, in spite of his cares, have prevailed at Berlin; but it is at the same time a great subject of reflection for his imperial majesty, and of grief, that while the alliance with Prussia seemed likely to permit him to diminish the number of his troops, and to direct all his forces against the common enemy, who is also that of the continent, it is against his own ally that he has precautions to take.

The last news from Berlin diminishing greatly the hope that the emperor had founded upon the mission of M. Knobelsdorff, and upon the letter of his majesty the king of Prussia, and seeming to confirm the opinion of those who think that the armament of Prussia, without any foregoing explanation, is only the consequence of the first development of a system combined with the enemies of France, his majesty sees himself obliged to give to his preparations a general, public, and national character. He has always been willing that the undersigned should declare, that even after the publicity of the extraordinary measures to which his majesty has found it necessary to recur, he is not less disposed to believe that the armament of the court of Berlin is only the effect of a misunderstanding, itself produced by false reports, and to replace himself, when that armament shall have ceased, in the same system of good understanding, of alliance, and of amity, which united the two states.

The undersigned, &c.

(Signed) C. M. TALLEYRAND, Prince of Benevento.

Copy of the note of M. de Knobelsdorff, to the minister for foreign affairs, Sept. 12, 1806.

The undersigned feeling how much it is of the first importance to answer immediately the note which his excellency the prince of Benevento, minister for foreign affairs, has done him the honour of addressing to him this evening, feels himself compelled to limit himself to the representation of the following observations. The motives which have engaged the king, my master, to make armaments, have been the effect of a scheme of the enemies of France and Prussia; who, jealous of the intimacy which exists between these two powers, have done every thing in their power to alarm, by false reports coming at once from every quarter. But, above all, what proves the spirit of this measure is, that his majesty has concerted it with no person whatsoever, and that the

intelligence respecting it arrived sooner at Paris than at Vienna, St. Petersburgh, and London. But the king, my master, has ordered to be made to the envoy of his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy, an amicable communication on the subject of these measures. That minister had not yet returned an answer upon this communication. The relation of the interesting conversations that his imperial majesty has deigned to entertain with the undersigned and the marquis de Lucchesini, could not yet have arrived at Berlin. After this explanation, the undersigned can only testify to his excellency his most ardent wish, that public acts may yet rest suspended, till the return of the courier dispatched to Berlin.

The undersigned begs his excellency, &c.

(Signed) GEN. KNOBELSDORFF.

Copy of the second note to M. de Knobelsdorff, dated Sept. 13, 1806.

The undersigned has laid before his majesty the emperor and king, the note that his excellency M. de Knobelsdorff yesterday did him the honour to address to him.

His majesty has found therein, with pleasure, the assurance that Prussia had not entered into any concert hostile to France: that the armament she has made, had no other cause than a misunderstanding; that the departure of the garrison of Berlin, though it happened since the letter written by his majesty the king of Prussia, ought only to be considered as the execution of an anterior order; and that the movements marked out for the Prussian troops would cease as soon as it was known at Berlin, what his majesty the emperor and king was pleased to say to M. de Knobelsdorff and Lucchesini, in the particular audiences which he granted them.

His majesty has ordered in consequence, that the communications which were to have been made to the senate on Monday next, shall be deferred; and that no troops, beside those which are actually on their march towards the Rhine, shall be put in motion, until his majesty learns the determinations and the measures that the court of Berlin shall have taken, after the report that M. de Knobelsdorff and Lucchesini have made; and if these determinations are such that the French army in Germany shall be no longer menaced, and that all things shall be replaced between France and Prussia on the same footing as they were a month ago, his majesty will immediately order the retrograde march of the troops who are actually advancing to the Rhine.

His majesty expects that this singular misunderstanding will be cleared up. He expects to be enabled, without any mixture of uncertainty or doubt, to restore himself to those sentiments of which he has given so many proofs to the court of Berlin, and which have always been those of a faithful ally.

The undersigned prays M. de Knobelsdorff to receive the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) C. M. TALLEYRAND, Prince of Benevento.

Copy of the third note, addressed by the minister of foreign affairs to M. de Knobelsdorff.

The undersigned minister of foreign relations has expressed to his

his excellency M. Knobelsdorff, in the note which he had the honour to write to him on the 13th of Sept. the confiding dispositions with which his majesty the emperor received the assurances given by M. Knobelsdorff, that the military movements of the court of Berlin were not the result of any hostile concert against France, but simply the effect of a misunderstanding; and that they would cease the moment when the first communication of his excellency should have arrived at Berlin.

Nevertheless, the news received every day bear so much all the character of an imminent war, that his imperial majesty must feel some regret at the engagement he made, not yet to call out his reserve, and to defer the constitutional notification, after which all the forces of the nation would be placed at his disposal. He will fulfil that engagement: but he shall think it contrary to prudence and to the interest of his people, not to order, in the interim, all the measures, and all the movements of the troops, which can take place without previous notification.

His majesty, has, at the same time, charged the undersigned to express again to M. Knobelsdorff, that he cannot yet explain to himself, by what forgetfulness of her interests, Prussia should be willing to renounce her ties of amity with France. War between the two countries appears to him a real political monstrosity; and from the moment that the cabinet of Berlin shall return to her pacific dispositions, and shall cease to menace the armies of Germany, his majesty engages to countermand all the measures which prudence commanded him to take. He will seize with pleasure, as he does not cease to do in all circumstances, the occasion of testifying to his majesty the king of Prussia the price he attaches to his friendship; to an union founded on a wise policy, and on reciprocal interests; and to prove to him that his sentiments are always the same, and that no provocation has been able to alter them.

The undersigned is happy in being able to give to his excellency M. de Knobelsdorff so formal an assurance of the dispositions of his majesty, which are so foreign to all idea of war with Prussia, that he has already committed a very grave military fault, in retarding his military preparations for one month, and in consenting to let fifteen days more pass over without calling out his reserves and his national guards.

This confidence, which his majesty loves to preserve, proves what a value he sets upon what was stated to him by M. Knobelsdorff, that Prussia had entered into no concert with the enemies of France, and that the assurances that he had received, in putting a term to the misunderstanding which has just arisen, would cause the cessation of those armaments which were the consequences of it.

(Signed)
C. M. TALLEYRAND, &c.
Paris, 18th Sept. 1806.

Second note of M. Knobelsdorff to the minister for foreign affairs.

The undersigned envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his majesty the king of Prussia received yesterday the note addressed to him by his excellency the prince of Benevento, minister for foreign affairs. If, in this communication, the undersigned has found again, with extreme satisfaction,

tion, the assurance formerly given, in the note of the 13th of September, that his majesty the emperor and king would fulfil the engagement which he had made to wait the result of the explanations given to M. de Lucchesini and to the general Knobelsdorff, before taking any measures respecting the constitutional notification, which would put all the forces of the French nation at the disposal of government, he has learned with infinite pain that his majesty should have had any regret at that engagement; and that, in fulfilling it, he thinks it necessary to order all the measures and all the movements of troops, which can be taken without previous notification.

The undersigned hastens to reiterate to his excellency M. the prince of Benevento, the assurance that his majesty the king of Prussia, far from ever having had an idea of renouncing his relations of amity with France, participates in that respect all the sentiments of his imperial and royal majesty, expressed in the communication to which this note is an answer; that, far from having entered into a concert with the enemies of France, his Prussian majesty has always sought to calm all resentments for facilitating the re-establishment of a general peace; in fine, that far from menacing the French armies in Germany by his armaments, these only took place in consequence of the advice received at Berlin, and which was so alarming, that it was not possible to neglect the measures of precaution demanded by prudence for the welfare of the state.

The undersigned is pleased, in renewing to his excellency the prince of Benevento the assurance, that in taking these measures his majesty the king of Prussia has not renounced, for a single instant, the assurance of seeing the clouds dispersed that have been raised between him and France; and general Knobelsdorff is persuaded, that such will be the result of the explanations that have taken place. In begging M. the prince of Benevento to make known to his majesty the emperor and king this answer to his communication, the undersigned has the honour to renew to his excellency the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) GEN. KNOBELSDORFF.

Paris, Sept. 29, 1806.

Second report addressed to his majesty the emperor and king, by the minister of foreign relations, Oct. 6, 1806.

Sire,—When, in the report that a few days back I had the honour to address your majesty, I established, that if Prussia had any personal reasons which led her to make war, it could only be from a desire to enslave Saxony, and the Hanseatic towns, I was far from perceiving, that she would ever dare avow such a motive. It is, nevertheless, an avowal which she has not feared to make and express in a note that M. de Knobelsdorff has sent me from Metz, and which I have the honour to address to your majesty. Of the three demands which that note contains, the first and the third are only made to disguise, if it be possible, that no real importance may be attached to the second.

Prussia, after having seen with a tranquil eye the French armies in Germany during a year, could not be alarmed at their presence when their numbers were diminished—when they were dispersed in small bodies

bodies in distant cantonments,—when, above all, your majesty had solemnly announced that they should return to France as soon as the affair of Cattaro, the cause of the prolongation of their stay in Germany, should be settled by an agreement with Austria, and that already the order for their return was given.

Prussia, who speaks of a negotiation to fix all the interests in question, knows well that there is no point of interest whatever in question between the two states; that the amicable discussion which should definitively fix the fate of the abbeys of Essen and Werden has not been deferred by any delay of the French cabinet. The French troops have evacuated those territories which the grand duke of Berg had caused to be occupied, in the perfect persuasion that numerous documents had given him, that they made part of the duchy of Cleves, and that they were comprehended in the cession of that duchy.

Thus the demands of Prussia, on these different points, and others of the same nature, and the pretended grievances which she seems to indicate, do not offer the real mind of the cabinet of Berlin. It does not reveal it. It lets its secret escape only, when it demands that no *further obstacle whatever shall be made, on the part of France, to the formation of the northern league, which shall embrace, without any exception*, all the states not named *in the fundamental act of the confederation of the Rhine.*

Thus, to satisfy the most unjust ambition, Prussia consents to break the bonds that united her to France, to call down new calamities upon the continent, of which your majesty would wish to cicatrize the wounds and to assure the tranquillity, to provoke a faithful ally, to put him under the cruel necessity of repelling force by force, and once more to snatch his army from the repose which he aspires to make it enjoy, after so many fatigues and triumphs.

I say it with grief, I lose the hope of the ability to preserve peace, from the moment it is made to depend upon conditions that equity and honour equally oppose—proposed as they are, in a tone, and in forms that the French people endured in no time, and from no power, and which it can less than ever endure under your majesty's reign.

(Signed) C. M. TALLEYRAND, &c.
Mayence, Oct. 6, 1806.

NOTE.

The undersigned minister of his Prussian majesty, by the same courier who brought the letter to his imperial majesty, which he has had the honour to transmit to-day to his excellency the prince of Benevento, has received orders to make the following communications.—Their object is to have the relations of the two courts no longer in suspense. Each of them is so eminently interested in remaining no longer in doubt upon the sentiments of the other, that the king flatters himself that his majesty the emperor will applaud his frankness. His Prussian majesty has expressed in the letter mentioned above, his entire thoughts, and the whole view of the subject of complaint, which, from a faithful and honest ally, have made him become a neighbour alarmed for his existence, and necessarily aroused for the defence of his dearest interests. The perusal of it will recall to his majesty

jesty the emperor and king what Prussia was for a long time to France. Will not the remembrance of the past be for her the pledge of the future? And what judge would be blind enough to believe that the king could have been for nine years towards France so consistent, and perhaps so partial, in order to place himself voluntarily with her in a different relation—he who more than once might perhaps have ruined her, and who knows now only too well the progress of her power?

But if France has in her recollections, and in the nature of things, the pledge of the sentiments of Prussia, it is not so with this last power: her recollections are made to alarm her: she has been careless, neutral, friendly, and even in alliance. The destruction that surrounds her, the gigantic increase of a power essentially military and conquering, which has injured her successively in her greatest interests, and menaces her in them all, leaves her now without a guaranty. This state of things cannot last. The king sees almost nothing round him but French troops, or vassals of France, ready to march with her. All the declarations of his imperial majesty announce, that this attitude will not change. Far from that, new troops issue from the interior of France. Already the journals of his capital indulge themselves in a language against Prussia, of which a sovereign, such as the king, can despise the infamy, but which does not conceal the intentions and the error of the government that suffers it. The danger grows every day. It is necessary to be heard at once, or be heard no more.

Two powers who esteem each other, and who fear each other no more than they are able without ceasing to esteem themselves, have no need to go about to explain themselves. France will not be less strong for being just, and Prussia has no other ambition than her independence, and the security of her allies. In the actual position of affairs, both one and the other would risk every thing in protracting this uncertainty. The undersigned has received orders in consequence, to declare that the king expects with justice from his imperial majesty,

1. That the whole of the French troops, which are called by no fair pretence into Germany, should immediately repass the Rhine without exception, beginning their march on the very day that the king expects the answer of the emperor, and continue it without halting; for this immediate and complete retreat is the only pledge of security that the king can receive at the point to which affairs have been brought.

2. That no obstacle shall be raised on the part of France to the formation of the league of the north, which shall include, without any exception, all the states not named in the fundamental act of the confederation of the Rhine.

3. That a negotiation shall be immediately opened, to decide in a permanent manner on all the points in dispute, and that for Prussia its preliminary basis shall be the separation of Wesel from the French empire, and the re-occupation of the three Abbeys by the Prussian troops.

The instant that his majesty is assured that this basis is accepted, he will resume that attitude which he has quitted with regret, and will become to France that frank and peaceable neighbour, who for

so many years has seen, without jealousy, the glory of a brave people, for whose prosperity he has been anxious. But the latest intelligence of the march of the French troops compels his majesty to ascertain immediately what he is to do. The undersigned is charged to insist on an immediate answer, which at all events must reach his majesty's head-quarters by the 8th of October; his majesty still hoping that it will arrive there time enough, that the unexpected and rapid progress of events, and the presence of the troops, should not put either party under the necessity of providing for his safety.

The undersigned is particularly instructed to declare, in the most solemn manner, that peace is the most sincere wish of his majesty; and that he only requires that which can contribute to make it permanent. The causes of his apprehensions, the claims which he had for another connection, from France, are unfolded in the letter of his majesty to the emperor, and are calculated to obtain from that monarch the last permanent pledge of a new order of things.

The undersigned embraces this opportunity to renew to the prince of Benevento the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) KNOBELSDORFF.

Paris, Oct. 1, 1806.

The emperor Napoleon's appeal to the Saxons.

Saxons! the Prussians have overrun your territory. I enter it as your deliverer. They have forcibly broken the connections which united your troops, and have joined them to their own army. You are called upon to shed your blood for an interest to which you are not only strangers, but which is even in opposition to your interests.

My army was upon the point of evacuating Germany when your territory was violated: it shall return to France as soon as Prussia has acknowledged your independence, and renounced the execution of the plan which she had formed against you.

Saxons! your prince had, till that moment, refused to enter into an alliance so opposite to his duties; if he has since consented to the conditions imposed upon him, it has only been in consequence of being compelled to it by the irruption of the Prussians.

I was deaf to the idle provocation which the Prussians offered against my people. I was deaf to them so long as their armaments were confined to the Prussian states, and my minister did not quit Berlin till your territory had been violated.

Saxons, your destiny is in your own hands! Will you remain undetermined between those who would bring you under the yoke, and those who would defend you? My victories shall secure the existence and the independence of your prince, and your nation. The conquests of the Prussians will only rivet your chains. But what do I say?—Have they not already tried every experiment?—Have they not, for a long time past, used every effort to compel your prince to acknowledge a sovereignty, which, once directly imposed upon you, would erase you from the list of nations?

Your independence, your constitution, your liberty, would then only exist in the pages of memory; and

and the shades of your forefathers, those valiant Saxons, would disdain you for suffering yourselves to be reduced to slavery without resistance—a slavery prepared for you so long beforehand—and thus becoming witnesses of the degradation of your country into a Prussian province.

Given at our head-quarters at Ebersdorff, Oct. 11, 1806.

NAPOLEON.

PROCLAMATION.

Francis II. &c. &c.

I have given peace to my good and faithful people. My resolutions have united with their wishes. I renounced all hopes of a change in the fortune of war, to banish with promptitude all the dangers and sufferings to which my flourishing country, and even the heart of the monarchy, my capital and residence, were exposed. The sacrifices were great, and were with difficulty wrung from my heart: but they could not stand in competition with the welfare, the domestic and civil welfare, of millions. For these I made the sacrifice; and I expect my indemnification in the blessings which are promised to my people by the return of peace. I know no other happiness than that of my people; and no glory superior to that of the father of these people, who in loyalty, unshaken fidelity, and disinterested love to their sovereign and their country, give place to no nation in Europe. The fame of their national character has exacted an unwilling tribute of esteem even from the enemy; but in my heart they have fixed a monument which time itself will not be able to destroy. Under these emotions I returned to my residence, in the circle of my loyal and estimable citizens and inhabitants, and to the resumption of the direction of my affairs. The wounds inflicted by the war are deep: several years may be necessary to heal them, and to obliterate the impressions inflicted by the sufferings of this unfortunate period. The administration of the state has greater, and duties more difficult than ever to fulfil; and they will fulfil them: but they have at the same time stronger claims than ever upon the co-operation of all classes, for the laudable purpose of restoring the vigour of the interior, by disseminating the true culture of the mind, and animating the national industry in all its branches, through the restoration and increase of the national credit; and by these means to establish the monarchy upon that basis which the variable fate of the states of Europe has rendered necessary. Every moment of my life will be directed to this object, and devoted to the improvement of the welfare of the noble and good people who are dear to me as the children of my affection. United by the mutual obligations of reciprocal confidence, and the cordial love of my subjects, I shall only believe I have done enough for Austria, as a prince and a father, when its prosperity is again secured; when the sufferings of the citizens are forgotten, and nothing remains alive but the remembrance of my sacrifices, your fidelity, and your exalted and unshaken patriotism.

Vienna, Feb. 1, 1806. FRANCIS.

Abdication

Abdication of the office of emperor of Germany, by Francis, emperor of Austria.

We Francis Second, &c.

Since the peace of Presburgh, all our attention and all our care have been employed to fulfil with scrupulous fidelity all the engagements contracted by that treaty, to preserve to our subjects the happiness of peace, to consolidate every where the amicable relations happily re-established, waiting to discover whether the changes caused by the peace would permit us to perform our important duties, as chief of the Germanic empire, conformably to the capitulation of election.

The consequences, however, which ensued from some articles of the treaty of Presburgh, immediately after its publication, and which still exist, and those events generally known, which have since taken place in the Germanic empire, have convinced us that it will be impossible, under these circumstances, to continue the obligations contracted by the capitulation of election; and even, if, in reflecting on these political relations, it were possible to imagine a change of affairs, the convention of the 12th of July, signed at Paris, and ratified by the contracting parties, relative to an entire separation of several considerable states of the empire, and their peculiar consideration, has entirely destroyed every such hope.

Being thus convinced of the impossibility of being any longer enabled to fulfil the duties of our imperial functions, we owe it to our principles and to our duty, to renounce a crown which was only valuable in our eyes, whilst we were able to enjoy the confidence of the electors, princes, and other states of the Germanic empire, and to perform the duties which were imposed upon us. We declare, therefore, by these presents, that we, considering as dissolved the ties which have hitherto attached us to the states of the Germanic empire; that we, considering as extinguished by the confederation of the states of the Rhine, the charge in chief of the empire; and that we, considering ourselves thus acquitted of all our duties towards the Germanic empire, do resign the imperial crown, and the imperial government; we absolve, at the same time, the electors, princes, and states, and all that belong to the empire, particularly the members of the supreme tribunal, and all other magistrates of the empire, from those duties by which they were united to us as the legal chief of the empire, according to the constitution.

We absolve all our German provinces and states of the empire from their reciprocal duties towards the Germanic empire; and we desire, in incorporating them with our Austrian states, as emperor of Austria, and in preserving them in those amicable relations subsisting with the neighbouring powers and states, that they should attain that height of prosperity and happiness, which is the end of all our desires, and the object of our dearest wishes.

Done at our residence under our imperial seal.

Vienna, Aug. 6, 1806. FRANCIS.

ADDRESS.

We Francis Second, &c.

In abdicating the imperial government of the empire, we, considering

sidering it as the last effort of our care, and as an absolute duty, do express thus publicly a desire equally reasonable and just, that the persons who have hitherto been employed in the administration of justice, and in diplomatic and other affairs, for the good of the whole empire, and for the service of the chief of the empire, should be suitably provided for.

The care which all the states of the empire took of those persons who lost their places by the affair of the indemnity in 1803, induces us to hope that the same sentiments of justice will be extended to those individuals who have hitherto been employed in the general service, who have been chosen in all parts of the Germanic empire, and many of whom have quitted other profitable places, looking forward to an honourable subsistence for life, and which should not be wanting to them on account of their fidelity, and the integrity and capacity with which they have executed their functions.

We have therefore taken the resolution of preserving to those of our imperial servants, who have hitherto drawn their salaries from our chamber, the same appointments, reserving to ourselves to place them in employments in the service of our hereditary states, and we hope, with so much the more confidence, that the electors, princes, and states will provide for the imperial chamber of justice of the empire, and the chancellerie of the chamber of justice, by charging themselves voluntarily with this expense, as it will be trifling in amount, and will diminish every year.

As to the chancellerie of the Aulic council of the empire, the funds destined for its support will be employed to provide for the wants of those individuals who have hitherto drawn from thence their salaries: this will serve them until other measures may be taken.

Done at our capital and residence of Vienna, under our imperial seal, the 6th of August, 1806.

FRANCIS.

RUSSIAN STATE PAPER.

The undersigned, plenipotentiary of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, hastens to inform the marquis de Circello, that the Russian troops came into Naples, merely with a view of landing and making a diversion in favour of the Austrian army employed in the north of Italy; and this being no longer an object, since Austria has agreed to an armistice with France, and which probably will lead to a peace between these powers, the Russian troops will evacuate the territory of his Sicilian majesty. The English troops also, which were intended to co-operate with them, will return again to Malta.

The frequent representations which the undersigned has made to the minister of his Sicilian majesty, in order to restore this country to its neutrality, will operate as a certain proof that the declaration which he has now the honour to transmit, will be received with satisfaction. The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to renew his former assurances, that his illustrious sovereign would have at all times respected the neutrality of these kingdoms, if the French government had not exhibited a contrary example.

But as his imperial majesty now restores the kingdom of Naples to its former neutrality, it is his

his sincere wish that the cabinet of the Thuilleries may imitate his example, by which the country will escape those agitations, the termination of which we may now hope to see. It never was the intention of his imperial majesty to open the theatre of war in the kingdom of Naples; and it was with great regret that he was compelled to take the measures alluded to.

The sentiments of sincere friendship, a proof of which the emperor has endeavoured to evince to his Sicilian majesty upon every occasion, will not permit him to doubt of the interest which his majesty the emperor will at all times take in the personal happiness of his Sicilian majesty, and in the well-being of his subjects.

When the true cause of landing the Russian and English troops in the kingdom of Naples shall be known, and the incapacity of his Sicilian majesty to resist them shall be taken into consideration, the proclamation of the French government, dated Schonbrunn sixth Frimaire, will be read with astonishment. This curious document, which might be taken for an emanation of pure benevolence, has apparently a later and a false date; and was certainly never known at Schonbrunn. The proclamation of general Massena of the thirteenth of January, which is not so violent, in fact, evinces in an equal degree, that the French government is determined to avail themselves of the temporary residence of the combined troops in Italy, for the purpose of extending their territory to the utmost limits of the peninsula; which, in fact, can never lead to that event, a general peace, which the French government has repeatedly held out as the object of its wishes."

Naples, Dec. 25, O.S.—Jan. 6, 1806.

1806.

Declaration in council of his majesty the king of Prussia to the assembled deputies of the Hanoverian provinces.

Gentlemen,

By your appointment, your deputy, count Von Hardenberg, has laid before me your representation of the third instant; and I have observed from it, with satisfaction, that you have acknowledged with gratitude my regulations in regard to the Hanoverian states. The additional sentiments therein contained are to me a security, that you will henceforth be devoted to me and my house with the same loyalty which you discovered for your former sovereigns. I therefore made no delay in more closely learning from your delegates those concerns that were intrusted to them by you, and now communicate to you the following answer to the declaration given in by them:

1. With regard to the secularization of the abbey of Marienrode, and the representation relative thereto, that not only the constitution of the states thereby suffered an alteration, but that one of the securities thereby appropriated to the payment of the public revenue, and the discharge of the public debt, would be withdrawn, should the revenues of the said abbey be inseparably united with the possession of the domains, contrary to the legal agreement between the impropriators and the states, whereby the revenues accruing from secularized spiritual foundations should be distinctly and separately applied to charitable purposes: it should be observed, that this abbey legally belongs to Hildesheim, and thus my particular regulation respecting the same can in no way

prejudice the said constitution. Besides, I have expressly established in the act of secularization, that in the mean time no change shall take place in respect to the contribution chargeable upon this abbey, towards the national revenue and the redemption of the public debt. For the rest, as it is far from being my intention to alter the destination of the effects of the abbey to charitable purposes, I feel satisfaction in assuring you, that the special administration of such parts as have been separated from the domains, and the application thereof to such beneficent and laudable purposes, shall be scrupulously continued, and the utmost care shall be taken both to augment these revenues by good management, and to ameliorate the mode of applying them, by the removal of all existing abuses.

2. The *ad interim* prohibition of home-made salt is to be considered solely as an inevitable regulation of police for securing an equal supply of that article of primary necessity, and cannot have the apprehended pernicious consequences, since the supply of salt will not thereby be diminished, but will only receive another direction.

3. The continuance of the hitherto existing constitution of the country in general, and

4. The continuance of the provincial constitutions, in particular, presupposes that a new and more intimate acquaintance with them may be more necessary than the commission of organization has been able to procure, in so short a period, and under such difficult circumstances.—But they will incessantly continue their labours in this respect, and I will not hereafter introduce any arbitrary changes, but such only as may be necessary to unite as intimately as possible the Hanoverian territory with my monarchy, of which it now constitutes a part, and to govern it by such laws as have been found, by long experience, the fundamental pillars of the power, the security, and prosperity of the Prussian states; wherefrom the established constitution will be so little excluded, that it will much rather be built up and strengthened, as you may learn from the example of the neighbouring provinces, Brandenburg, Magdeburg, and Halberstadt.

5. The petition, with regard to any new modifications, upon which the states, together with other privileged orders, who may perhaps have particular knowledge of the subject, should be consulted, before that introduction, on account of any injurious consequences apprehended therefrom, is wholly conformable to the spirit of the maxims of the Prussian government, and will be pursued by the commission of organization in all doubtful cases whatsoever, and without particular instructions.

Finally, the military regulations, as soon as it can be done with safety, shall be so modified, that the grievances of the country, connected with the present extraordinary measures, shall wholly cease.

From this answer you will infer, and I give you with pleasure the strongest assurances on this head, that my whole endeavours are exclusively directed to heal the wounds, which the hitherto unhappy wars have produced, and to render your country completely happy. Neither ambition nor the lust of territory, but solely a conviction founded on experience, that the incorporation of the Hanoverian states with the Prussian monarchy

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is obviously necessary for the welfare and security of both, have determined me to this union, and to the sacrifices connected with it. The past has taught you that England cannot protect you, and that you can be protected by Prussia alone. Prussia has now taken upon herself this protection, from which you have to expect greater security of person and of property, as well as the abolition of all oppressive abuses which the distance of your rulers produced. But you must also closely unite with a government which has wrought you all these blessings, and support with counsel and action a constitution which has been decided upon for your benefit. On the other hand, I will always approve myself your gracious sovereign,

(Signed) FREDERICK WILLIAM.

Charlottenburg, June 24, 1806.

PRUSSIAN MANIFESTO.

As his majesty the king of Prussia has taken up arms for the defence of his people, he thinks it necessary to lay before them, and all Europe, the circumstances which have imposed this duty on his majesty.

The politics of France have been the scourge of humanity during the last fifteen years. Those men who, in rapid succession, have been at the head of affairs in that country, have only sought the means of their dominion in war, and the guarantee of their existence in the wretchedness of the people may be viewed without astonishment. But the introduction of a regular government, to which the same necessity could not be imputed, gave new life to the hopes of the friends of peace. Napoleon, invested with the supreme power, victorious, surrounded by weaker states, friendly disposed governments, or conquered and exhausted rivals, had it in his power to perform a better part. For the greatness of France, nothing more remained for him to do; for her happiness, every thing was in his power.

It is painful to be compelled to say, that French politics still remained the same. An insatiable ambition was still the ruling passion of France. She made use of arms and of treaties with the same view. The peace of Amiens was scarcely concluded before the signal for the first acts of violence followed. Holland and Switzerland, two independent states, were compelled to accept a constitution which converted them into French provinces. The renewal of war was the consequence.

Peace, however, still continued upon the continent. The German empire had purchased it by incalculable sacrifices. In the midst of this peace, nevertheless, the French troops invaded the electorate of Hanover; a country which had no concern in the war between France and England, while the ports of Germany were shut against the British flag; and the better to effect her object, France took possession of Cuxhaven, and the territory of a free state which was still more a stranger to the war than Hanover.

In the midst of this peace also, the same troops a few months after violated the German territory, in such a manner as to wound the honour of the nation still deeper. The Germans have never avenged the death of the duke D'Enghien;

but the remembrance of that event will never be extinguished among them.

The treaty of Luneville guarantied the independence of the Italian republic. In spite of the most positive promises did Napoleon place the iron crown of Italy upon his own head. Genoa was incorporated with France: Lucca was very near sharing the same fate. Only a few months before had the emperor, on a solemn occasion—an occasion which imposed very important duties upon him—declared before his people and before all Europe, that he wished not to extend the limits of his territory. Besides, France was bound, by a treaty with Russia, to put the king of Sardinia in possession of indemnities in Italy. Instead of fulfilling that obligation, she made herself mistress of every object which could have been serviceable towards that indemnification.

Portugal wished to maintain her neutrality, but Portugal was compelled to purchase by gold the deceitful security of a few moments.

The Porte, who had not forgotten the invasion of Syria and Egypt, was the only power remaining in Europe which had not been subjected to the arbitrary proceedings of France.

But to these acts of violence, a system of abuse and injury remained still to be added. A journal, which proclaimed itself the voice of government, was chosen as a chronicle of the attacks incessantly made upon every crowned head.

Prussia could be no stranger to any of these general acts of oppression. Many of them were nearly connected with her substantial interests; especially as the wisdom of that system which considers the states of Europe as members of the same family, calls upon each of them for the defence of all; and that the unbounded aggrandizement of one state exposed the rest to danger, was sufficiently manifest to experience.

Still it is most essentially necessary to represent in what manner the conduct of France was calculated to operate in its immediate relation to Prussia.

It were superfluous to enumerate all the good offices rendered to Napoleon by Prussia. Prussia was the first power that acknowledged him. No promises, no menaces had been able to shake the king's neutrality. Every thing that the duty of a good neighbour could prescribe was most amply afforded during a period of six years. Prussia esteemed a valiant nation, which alone had learned, on its part, to respect Prussia both in war and peace; and she did justice to the genius of its chief. But the remembrance of these times is no longer retained by Napoleon.

Prussia had permitted the territory of Hanover to be invaded. In this she had countenanced an act of injustice; therefore was it her first view to remedy it. She offered herself for it instead of England, under the condition that the latter should cede it. It must, however, at least be recollected that thus a boundary was prescribed to France, which she should not pass. Napoleon solemnly pledged himself not to compromise the neutrality of the northern states; to exercise no violence towards any of them; and, in particular, not to increase the number of troops in the electorate of Hanover.

Scarcely

Scarcely had he agreed to these stipulations than he broke them. Every one is acquainted with the violent manner in which sir George Rumbold was seized; every one knows that the Hanse towns were laid under contribution, under the appellation of loans, not by any means for their interest, but exactly in the same manner as if France had been at war with them. For the first of these injuries, his majesty contented himself with accepting an inadequate satisfaction. Of the second, he took no cognizance, being prevented by the apprehensions and representations on the part of the Hanse towns. His majesty, on his part, did not scruple to make any sacrifice, as the preservation of peace was the dearest wish of his heart.

The patience and sufferance of every other court were exhausted sooner than that of his majesty.—War again broke out on the continent—the situation of the king, with respect to his duty, was more difficult than ever. In order to prevent France from augmenting her troops in Hanover, he had promised to suffer no attack to be made on that territory. The Russians and the Swedes were preparing for an attack upon the French. From this period, the whole burthen of the contract between France and Prussia weighed upon the latter only, without producing to her the least advantage; and by a singular concatenation of circumstances, it seemed that Prussia, who only wished to remain impartial and neutral, could no longer pursue her former system, except to the prejudice of the allied powers. Every advantage which resulted from this situation of affairs was on the side of France; and the king was daily threatened with a collision not less formidable to him, than decisively favourable to the plans of Napoleon.

Who could have thought that the very moment when the king had given to the French government the strongest proof of his determination, and a singular example of the faithful fulfilment of engagements into which he had once entered, should be chosen by Napoleon to do the king the most sensible injury! Who does not remember the violation of the territory of Anspach, which took place on the third of October, in the last year, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the provincial administration, and of his majesty's minister?

This contest between that moderation which pardons every thing—that integrity which remains true to its engagements to the last on the one part; and the abuse of power, the insolence inspired by deceitful fortune, and the habit of only reckoning on this fortune, on the other, continued several years. The king declared to the French government that he considered all his connections with it as dissolved. He placed his armies on a footing suitable to circumstances. He was now fully convinced, that no pledge of security remained for the neighbours of France, but a peace established upon firm principles, and guarantied by all the powers in common.

His majesty offered the allies to be the mediator in negotiations for such a peace, and to support them with all his force. It is sufficient to know the conditions then proposed, to be convinced of the moderation which, at all times, has governed the politics of his majesty in their whole extent. Prussia at this moment listened not to the voice of revenge; she passed over

the events of the late war, however violent they might have been, since they had been sanctioned by existing treaties. She required nothing but the punctual fulfilment of those treaties; but this she required without limitation. Count Haugwitz repaired to Vienna, where the French emperor then was. Scarcely had this minister been there a few days, when the whole face of affairs was changed; the misfortunes experienced by the court of Vienna had compelled it to sign an armistice, which was immediately followed by a peace. The emperor of Russia sacrificed his magnanimous views to the wish of his ally, and his troops returned home. Prussia stood now alone on the field of contest. His majesty was obliged to limit his policy by his powers; and instead, as had been his wish, of embracing the interest of all Europe, make his own security and that of his neighbours' his first object.

[The manifesto then proceeds to recite at length the conduct of Bonaparte with respect to Cleves, Wesel, Hanover, &c.]

It was no longer doubful that Napoleon had determined to overwhelm Prussia with war, or to render her for ever incapable of war, since it was evident that he was leading her from humiliation to humiliation, till she should be reduced to such a state of political degradation and feebleness, that she could have no other will than that of her formidable neighbour.

The last doubt at length disappeared—troops marched from the interior of France towards the Rhine. The intent to attack Prussia was clear and certain. The king ordered a note to be transmitted by general Knobelsdorff, containing the conditions on which he was ready to come to an accommodation. These conditions were—

1. That the French troops should immediately evacuate Germany.

2. That France should oppose no obstacle to the formation of the northern confederacy; and that this confederacy might embrace all the larger and smaller states not included in the fundamental act of the confederation of the Rhine.

3. That a negotiation should immediately be commenced for the adjustment of all objects in dispute; a preliminary article of which should be, the restoration of three abbeys, and the separation of the town of Wesel from the French empire.

These conditions speak for themselves; they show how moderate the king has been in his demands, even at this moment, and how much the maintenance of peace, if France wishes peace, depends upon herself.

The term peremptorily fixed by the king for the decision of peace or war has elapsed. His majesty has not received the answer of the cabinet of St. Cloud; or rather, the preparations made around him daily give that answer. The king can henceforth confide the safety and honour of his crown only to arms. He leads to honourable combat an army worthy its former glory.—He reigns over a people of whom he may be proud; and while he is ready to shed his blood for them, he knows what he may expect from energy and affection: princes, the honour of the German name, have joined their banners with his; and a sovereign who honours with his virtues one of the first thrones in the world, is penetrated by the justice of his cause. His arms are blessed by the voice of his people. With so many motives

motives to be conscious of her strength, Prussia may be permitted continually to confide in her high destiny.

DECLARATION OF THE KING OF SWEDEN.

We, Gustavus Adolphus, by the grace of God, king of Sweden, the Goths and Vandals, heir of Denmark and Norway, duke of Sleswig and Holstein, &c. &c. declare and make known, that when we entered upon the government of our kingdom, the unfortunate French revolution had prevailed for some years, while the most sanguinary and unheard-of scenes which had been there perpetrated, had spread discord, insurrection, and war, over the greatest part of Europe. During the nine succeeding years, the French revolution never ceased to threaten an interruption to the general tranquillity, and to excite the attention of every country. Trusting in the fidelity of the Swedish nation, and favoured by its distance from France, we witnessed, without alarm, the furious zeal of the factions, and their tyranny over a divided state, persuading ourselves, that the experience of these great calamities, produced by dissension and oligarchy, might at length be the means of restoring order, and an equitable government, for the security of the French people and other states. This pleasing hope was not fulfilled; the government was indeed frequently changed; but the fundamental principles, so dangerous to all Europe, still remained unaltered. They were not only retained under the consular government, but, in proportion as power came into the hands of the first consul, his ideas of law and justice were diminished; every thing was now sacrificed to that ambition which usurped an authority over the rights of nations and treaties, and even over that respect which all governments wish to preserve to themselves. The blood of one of the worthy descendants of the ancient and honourable family of France was not long since shed by the hand of violence. This shocking circumstance was not only a specimen of the ideas which the French government entertained of law and equity, but also a most disgusting picture of the system it had adopted; and, in every respect, affording a signal warning to all governments. While this encroachment furnished the great states with such a view, as enabled them to draw the most genuine conclusions respecting the irresistible power of France, the smaller states were converted into provinces, by violence or intrigue; and the danger appeared not less general than overwhelming, as it seemed that security against these menaces was no longer to be found in any distance from the scenes of action.—The most justifiable claims, made by us upon the French government, were fruitless, in obtaining indemnities for the demands made by several of our subjects, respecting unlawful captures, arbitrary freightage, and an illegal embargo—as the lawless proceedings of the French government were carried to such a pitch, as to lay the Swedish commerce under considerable embarrassment in the French ports, during the space of nine months. Such proceedings could only increase the apprehensions entertained of this dangerous conduct, and excite, as it doubtless has in every loyal Swede, a wish for the organization of an adequate counterpoise against

a power which had so rashly committed itself in its endeavours to obtain a superiority, and availed itself of every unjust means to obtain the end proposed.—But as no state was powerful enough to escape the effects of these practices, we hoped that the general experience of these outrages would finally produce an union of efforts to remove this common nuisance, and effectually to resist that power, the object of which was, by degrees, to subjugate all others. This period has at length arrived, and the greatest powers in Europe have taken the field, to support their own dignity and independence. We have united ourselves with them in every worthy and friendly connection, and, for the purpose of sharing in all undertakings, have drawn closer the ties of amity; and we hope, with the assistance of Providence, to contribute to the restoration of the general tranquillity. With this view, we have now passed over, with a part of our army, to Pomerania, there to unite our power with the Russian forces; and further, to act with energy in such a manner as circumstances may require. In consequence of this laudable and weighty determination, we fully expect to be accompanied by the blessings and prayers of our faithful subjects, as it is our purpose to contend for the future independence and the honour of the Swedish name. And since it has been our care, that, during our absence, the administration of public affairs should be preserved, and carried on without obstruction, in its usual course, we have graciously thought proper to establish a regency, and to nominate and appoint, as members of the same, the Swedish baron Wrangle, bailiff of the empire, president, &c.; count Charles Axel, major-general, &c.; count Samuel Uglas, lieutenant-general, and inspector of the cavalry, &c.; baron Brock Cederstrom, president of our chancery; and commandant of the order of the northern star; baron Frederick William Ehrenheim, our chancellor of the court; and our adjutant-generals of the fleets and armies. Our gracious will and pleasure, therefore, is, that all our loving subjects and faithful servants, of high and low degree, shall yield the same obedience and obsequiousness to the regency appointed in our royal name, as to ourself. To this end, all whom it may concern are commanded to conform themselves; and for the better security of the same, we have, with our own hand, signed this present, and verified it with our royal seal.

(L. S.) GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.
M. ROSENBLAD.

DECLARATION OF THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

We, Alexander the First, by God's grace emperor and autocrat of all the Russias, declare and make known to all our faithful subjects, that, in our incessant care and solicitude for the welfare of the interior of our empire, equally with its foreign relations, it has ever been our wish to establish them upon an immoveable basis, and to defend the state by such alliances as the situation of our country may require. With this view, we have thought proper, from the commencement of our reign, to remove every cause of misunderstanding, and, by a friendly conduct, to unite with those powers whose wise and moderate principles were consistent with their independence and the general tranquillity.

The

The Most High blessed our wishes and endeavours, and at that period bestowed upon Europe a general peace. However, it did not consist with his inscrutable providence to prolong the continuance of this order of things—war broke out again. But as our situation did not permit us to take any immediate part in the war, we never ceased to remain faithful to our allies; and to continue to wish and labour for peace and tranquillity, consistently with the common welfare, by every friendly interference in our power. But, notwithstanding this interference, the daily increase of the French power, the situation of our allies, threatened by its aggrandizement and its unbounded ambition, compelled us to take an active part in this war. We took up arms, but we did not cease to wish for peace; and we also declared, in our ukase of September 1, 1805, that the object of our arming was to preserve the sacred inviolability of treaties, and to restore the general tranquillity. The misfortunes which attended the arms of the allies operated against the realization of our views: however, the principles upon which they were grounded remained unchanged. At the commencement of the present year, the French government manifested an inclination approximating to peace: we accordingly issued orders to enter into discussions with them immediately. The restoration of a peace consistent with the dignity and security of our empire, the advantage of our allies, and the general tranquillity of Europe, were laid down as the fundamental bases of these discussions. But to our regret, the conditions of peace agreed to with France by M. d'Oubril were neither consistent with the dignity of our empire, nor with the security of our allies. We refused to ratify those conditions. But at the same time, to afford a proof of the immutability of our principles, which, under various circumstances, had been ever directed to the same end, we at that time made known the conditions on which we were disposed to renew our negotiations with the French government. The bases proposed by us are so moderate, that they cannot be rejected without an open menace of the general safety; and they are so consistent with the advantage of every power concerned, that in case of their being accepted, a general peace must not only follow, but be confirmed to Europe upon the most permanent footing. Thus must peace, or the continuance of the war, be the consequences of these measures. We wish for peace; but if no lasting peace can be obtained, grounded upon mutual advantage, then it will be necessary, for the honour of the Russian name, the sacred character of our engagements, and the general deliverance of Europe, to proceed to extremities, which, on these considerations, cannot but appear to us as absolutely indispensable. We are convinced that each of our faithful subjects, animated with the love of their country, impelled by a sense of honour, and surrounded by examples of patriotic zeal, will speedily unite their powerful efforts with our own, as soon as the safety of Russia, the voice of glory, and our command, shall call upon them to co-operate for the public good. In this firm reliance upon the help of God, and the zeal of our faithful subjects, we have thought it necessary to apprise you before-hand of our views; and in so doing to afford you a new proof, that in all our undertakings we neither seek the extension of our territory,

tory, nor the fleeting glory of victories; but that it is our wish and endeavour to secure the general safety, the preservation of our allies, and the dignity of our empire.

Given at St. Petersburg, August 30, and in the sixth year of our government.

ALEXANDER.

Countersigned by the minister for foreign affairs,

ANDRE BUDBERG.

Note delivered by order of his Swedish majesty to the ministers of the two allied courts accredited to the king.

The entrance of the Swedish troops into the duchy of Lauenburg, and the peaceable re-occupation of that country in the name of his Britannic majesty, having restored affairs to the situation in which they were previous to the commencement of hostilities between Sweden and Prussia, and produced a result satisfactory to the king and his ally, the undersigned has the honour to inform N. N. by the express order of his majesty, that he has caused to cease the measures hitherto adopted against the ports and commerce of his majesty the king of Prussia, of which N. N. was informed at the time by the notes of his excellency the grand marshal count de Fersen, dated the 27th of April, and 6th of May last. In consequence, the necessary orders have been given to raise entirely the blockade of the ports of Prussia, as also to take off the embargo laid on the vessels of that power, which were in the ports of Sweden.

Requesting N. N. to convey to the knowledge of his court the contents of this note, the undersigned avails himself of the present opportunity to repeat, &c.

Head-quarters, at Griefswald, Sept. 3, 1806.

NOTE.

His majesty the king of Sweden having caused this duchy to be taken possession of by his troops in the name of our most gracious sovereign and master, has given us orders to resume again the administration, and to replace things in their former state. In consequence the orders of the commission of organization and administration will cease to be executed, the royal seal of our sovereign will be again brought into use, all the marks of foreign sovereignty will be removed, in a peaceable manner, however, and without suffering any excesses in the execution of these measures, in which case the Swedish force may be called out. The old custom-house arms shall be replaced; and to prevent all ulterior difficulties whatever, we think it our duty not to permit the sending to Hanover of the money belonging to the publick chests, until further orders.

Ratzeburg, Aug. 31, 1806.

By the high bailiff of his majesty the king of Great Britain, elector of Brunswick Lunenburg, deputed to the government of the duchy of Lauenburg, the privy-councillors, and councillors of administration.

(Signed) VON HAKE.

Letter from M. De Wetterstedt, private secretary to his Swedish majesty, to M. d'Alopeus, Russian minister to Sweden, at Nieuburg.

Head-quarters, Griefswald, April 6, 1806.

Sir,—I have this day received the letter

letter of the 3d instant, which you did me the honour of writing to me, and which I lost no time in laying before the king my master. It is by his orders that I take the earliest opportunity of communicating to you his intentions respecting the important subject of your official dispatch.

His majesty was not in the least surprised at the demand made by the Prussian government, concerning the evacuation of the territory of Lauenburg, for he has been a long time in expectation of it; and particularly as he considers his new proceeding as a natural consequence of the system of his Prussian majesty. Any attack upon the Swedish troops in the Lauenburg would be, in effect, a formal declaration of war against Sweden, and would put the final seal to this system, by proving that the court of Berlin is even ready to shed blood to promote to their full extent the ambitious views of Bonaparte. His majesty has nothing to reproach himself with. He has only followed what the principles and the interests of his ally dictated to him.

With such motives for his guide, his majesty will make no alteration in the measures he has adopted, and will not assuredly, upon the eve of hostilities, make choice of that moment to withdraw his troops from a province, which consequently would fall under the authority of a power as foreign to the wishes of its inhabitants, as it is contrary to the express will of its sovereign.

The result of these observations is, that the king has ordered me to communicate to you, that his majesty is determined to abide the consequences of the approaching events; that strong in the justice of his cause, and relying implicitly upon the decrees of providence, he is resolved to meet whatever circumstances may result from the present crisis of affairs.

WETTERSTEDT.

CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE.

The new treaty of confederation signed at Paris, on the 12th of July, and exchanged at Munich on the 25th of the same month, consists of forty articles. The preamble states, that experience having shown that the Germanic constitution can give no kind of security for either internal or external peace to the south of Germany, the contracting parties to this treaty, viz. his majesty the emperor of the French on the one part, and on the other the kings of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, the elector arch-chancellor and the elector of Baden, the duke of Berg, the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, the princes of Nassau, Weilberg-Usingen, of Hohenzollern, Hechingen, Siezmaringen, of Salm Salm, and Salm Herburg, of Isenburg Bristein, and of Lichtenstein, the duke of Ahrentberg, and the count of Leyn, have agreed to the following articles:

Art. 1. The states of the above princes are for ever separated from the German political body, and united by a particular confederation, under the name of the Confederated States of the Rhine.

Art. 2. All the laws of the empire are abrogated and null with respect to these states.

Art. 3. Each of the contracting princes renounces all such titles as have a relation to the old constitution of the empire; and on the first of August ensuing they will formally declare their separation from the German empire.

Art.

Art. 4. The elector arch-chancellor receives the title of prince primate and most eminent highness; which, however, confers no prerogative inconsistent with the full sovereignty enjoyed by the other contracting parties.

Art. 5. The elector of Baden, the duke of Berg, and the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, take the title of grand dukes and royal highnesses, and enjoy all the rights, prerogatives, and homage due to the regal dignity. Rank and precedence among them shall be according as they are named in the first article. The head of the house of Nassau shall take the title of duke, and the count of Leyn that of prince.

Art. 6. The common interests of the confederated states shall be discussed in an assembly of the league or diet, the seat of which shall be at Frankfort, and the assembly shall be divided into two colleges, that of the kings, and that of the princes.

Art. 7. The members of this confederation shall be independent of any foreign power, nor enter into any kind of service, except with the states in the confederation.

Art. 8. No member shall alienate his sovereignty, either in whole or in part, except in favour of a confederate.

Art. 9. All disputes which may arise between the members of the confederation shall be decided in the assembly of the league, at Frankfort.

Art. 10. The prince primate shall be president in the college of kings, and the duke of Nassau in that of the princes.

Art. 11. Within a month after the declaration has been made at Ratisbon, the prince primate of the confederation shall draw up a constitution-statute, which shall determine when the assembly shall be convoked, and the objects and form of its deliberation.

Art. 12. The emperor Napoleon shall be declared protector of the alliance; and in quality of protector, whenever the prince primate dies, he shall appoint his successor.

The articles, &c. to 23 inclusive stipulate the different cessions and acquisitions of the confederates. Thus Nassau cedes to Berg the town of Deuss and its territory. Bavaria acquires the imperial city of Nuremberg and its territory, and the prince primate the imperial city of Frankfort.

Art. 21. The members of the confederation subject to their sovereignty all the princes, counts, and lords, within the circle of the allied territory. [Then follows a detail of the division, by which several of the more considerable principalities are divided among two, three, or more new sovereigns; as for example, the territories of Hohenlohe between Bavaria and Wurtemberg; those of Saxis among three, and those of Furstenburg among four different sovereigns.]

Art. 26. Defines the rights of sovereignty, legislation, judicial authority, the police, military conscription, and impost.

Art. 27. The subjected princes and counts shall retain their domains, seignorial rights, &c.

The 35th article stipulates, that there shall be an alliance between the emperor of the French and the confederated states, by virtue of which every continental war in which either of the two parties shall be engaged, shall be common to both.

Art. 36. Should a foreign or neighbouring power arm, the contracting parties shall likewise arm, to prevent surprise. The notifica-

tion

tion for such arming shall be made by the emperor Napoleon. The contingent of the allies shall be divided into four parts, and the assembly of the league shall determine how many of those parts shall be put in motion.

Art. 37. Bavaria engages to fortify the cities of Augsburgh and Lindau, and to make them depôts of artillery, arms, ammunition, and provisions.

Art. 38. The contingents of the several allied powers shall be as follows:—France, 200,000 men; Bavaria, 30,000; Wurtemberg, 12,000; Baden, 8,000; Berg, 5,000; Darmstadt, 4,000; Nassau-Hohenzollern, and others, 4,000.

Art. 39. The contracting parties will admit other German princes and states into the alliance, when it shall be found suitable to the common interest.

Art. 40. The ratification of this treaty shall be exchanged at Munich on the 25th July.

Signed by the Plenipotentiaries of the contracting parties.

Paris, July 12th, 1806.

The instrument of the act of ratification was signed by the emperor at St. Cloud, on the 19th of July, and countersigned by the minister Talleyrand, and secretary of state. MARET.

CIRCULAR NOTE,

Addressed to their majesties, imperial and royal highnesses, dukes and most serene princes, associated in the confederation of the Rhine, on the part of the prince primate of the confederation.

The prince primate of the confederation has the honour to inform their majesties, imperial and serene highnesses, &c. &c. that his minister plenipotentiary baron d'Albini repaired to Frankfort at the beginning of this month, to make preparations in his name for the opening of the Diet, in as much as might accord with the intentions of the associated kings and sovereigns. The act of confederation having designated that term for proposing a fundamental statute, the opening of the sittings will depend probably upon the arrival of the plenipotentiaries. Ardently desiring to deserve the confidence of the associated kings and princes, the prince primate regards it as the first duty of his office, not to propose any thing which might not be generally acknowledged as of essential advantage to the confederation, as well as consistent with the perfect independence of the confederated sovereigns.

"If the formation of a fundamental statute cannot be the work of a day, and that an object of such importance requires the most mature reflection, it is notwithstanding equally true, that it is desirable that the confederation should from its commencement be established upon an immoveable basis. Its object is to obtain tranquillity and serenity, the true happiness of nations, and to enable sovereigns to occupy themselves without interruption in the prosperity of their states, in increasing the happiness of the towns and country, by the enlightened attention of a prudent and paternal government, and by the encouragement of useful arts and sciences, the true sources of the splendour of august dynasties and sovereign houses. The south of Germany, after ages of misfortunes, troubles, and wars, cannot but ardently wish that its eternal happiness should be established upon an imperishable basis. The prince primate submits to the wisdom of the confederated kings

kings and princes the decision of the question, whether the fundamental maxim of the inviolability of the territory of the confederation, be not the first and most important of all the bases of the public prosperity? Whether it be agreeable to the high wisdom of the confederated kings and princes never to allow a passage to foreign troops, though even disarmed, without the consent of the entire confederation? And, finally, if it be not also conformable to the dignity of independent sovereigns, that the representatives at the diet of Frankfort, engaged in assuring domestic tranquillity, should neither send ministers to, nor receive them from foreign courts; a right which is naturally reserved to each of the august kings and sovereigns, and not to a meeting of their plenipotentiaries.

"If the diet of Frankfort should hereafter apply to his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy, as protector, to obtain his guarantee of such an inviolability of the territory of the confederation, we may be allowed to entertain a hope that this favour, one of the first importance, will not be refused on the part of that great man, who has known how to respect the inviolability of one of the most important countries in the world, notwithstanding the obstacles which appeared to oppose it.

The prince primate submits these observations to the kings, princes, &c. &c. associated in the confederation of the Rhine, and will always feel happy if his zealous disinterestedness can deserve their confidence and approbation.

CHARLES.

Aschaffenburgh, Sept. 18, 1806.

ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS FOR REMITTING THE MOUTHS OF THE CATTARO TO THE RUSSIANS AND MONTENEGRINS.

Copy of a letter from the marquis de Ghisilieri to M. de Zanino, an officer of the regiment of Thurn, and communicated by that officer to his comrades, by desire of the marquis de Ghisilieri.

Castelnovo, 6th March, 1806.

Sir,—As in the difficult circumstances in which I have found myself placed, nothing could lie nearer my heart than not to decide any thing which could displease so brave and so estimable a garrison as that of Cattaro, and as besides, according to what lieutenant d'Esembergh has informed me, I have reason to fear that I have not entirely accomplished my object, I avail myself of the personal knowledge which I had the happiness to have of you, sir, to make to you amicably two observations only, and to beg of you to communicate them also to your comrades.

1st. It is not to the summons of a power at war with our august master, and still less at the demand of the Montenegrins, with whom I have not even entered into treaty, but only to the reiterated summons of a Russian commandant that I have taken the resolution of withdrawing the troops of his majesty from this province; and consequently it is only by the express wish of a court in friendship and alliance with our own, and against which superior orders are very precise, not to use other means than those of declarations and protests, and never any measures of armed defence.

2dly. I have not entered into any capitulation with the Russian commandant, which I should never have

have concluded without the consent of the army; but I have simply confined myself to making the necessary protests and declarations, to leave no room of complaint against our court by the French, and to insure the respect due in all circumstances to the flag and troops of his majesty.

According to these very clear observations, you will yourself see, sir, that the part which I have taken is a measure altogether political, and the only one which circumstances permit, and not a measure in any respect military; which ought to tranquillize yourself and your brave comrades respecting every consequence which you might apprehend from it, to the disadvantage of your reputation, already too well ensured among the army and the public, to be implicated by a measure wholly foreign to military affairs.

By my readiness to enter with you and for you, with all the officers, into such details, you will judge of the value which I affix to your esteem and good will, and two lines in answer, which may be directed to me, to the care of the imperial consulat Ragusa, will give me much pleasure. I am, with perfect respect, yours, &c.

(Signed) GHISILIERI.

Copy of a letter written by the marquis de Ghisilieri to general Molitor, governor of Dalmatia and Albania.

Zacortaz, 9th March, 1806.

General—The same motives of prudence which induced me to precede the troops destined to occupy the mouths of the Cattaro, under the necessity of ordering the troops of my august master to be withdrawn, not so much to avert new dangers from a brave garrison, who desired nothing better than to fight, as to preserve from pillage and total ruin a province, which is already the property of his majesty the emperor of France and king of Italy.

The fury with which the Montenegrins, raised in a mass by their chief pontiff, menaced the provinces, and the enthusiasm entertained, in common with them, among the inhabitants of the mouths of the Cattaro, by the sectaries of the Greek religion, who form three-fourths of the population, had for some time alarmed the government, when a Russian squadron, which came to anchor at Porte Rose, the 27th ult. in the evening, contributed further to paralyse the little means that might be employed to frustrate the projects of the Montenegrins. The days of the twenty-eighth of February and the first and second of March were employed in inundating the province by some thousands of Montenegrins, reinforced by the inhabitants of Zuppa, Commoni, and Pastrovicchio; and when this horde was already in motion to attack the forts guarded by Austrian troops, the commandant of the Russian squadron summoned, the 3d March, the governor of Cattaro to give up all the forts, or to declare himself the enemy of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, and he next day reiterated to me the same summons, in the peremptory terms of half an hour, always according to the principle, that the mouths of the Cattaro were already French territory, from the day that the delay of two months fixed for their occupation by the French troops were expired. At a moment so pressing, persuaded as I was that the valour of the garrison would not have been sufficient against a number of Montenegrins, infinitely

infinitely superior, nor against the fire which the squadron might have made upon the forts, and likewise persuaded that the devastation of the province would have been the consequence of my refusal, I thought it my duty to yield to the force of circumstances, and not to have recourse to violent means, after having in vain exhausted those of persuasion and protests; and by such a conduct I saved to my august master brave troops, and preserved for yours, general, the mouths of the Cattaro in a flourishing state.

I flatter myself that, in this respect, the part which I have taken will not merit the disapprobation of his majesty, my august master, and will not excite the smallest complaint on the part of the French government; which will be the most pleasant recompense for the troubles of every kind which I have suffered, and even the dangers which I have run these last days.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) GHISILIERI.

Note to the marquis de Ghisilieri.

The undersigned commissary-general of his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy, has had the honour to receive from the marquis de Ghisilieri, commissary-general of his majesty the emperor of Germany and Austria, the answer to his note of the 21st of March; in which he announces to the undersigned, that he has dispatched that note to his court; and that he further refers to the answer given to general Molitor respecting the same grievances.

The undersigned hastened to ask of general Molitor the answer spoken of by the marquis de Ghisilieri; it is dated the 9th March, 1806, from Zacortaz.

In that answer, the marquis de Ghisilieri makes known that the garrison of Cattaro wished only to fight; the undersigned is so much the more persuaded of it, that he positively knows that protests have been made by the officers of the regiment of Thurn, against giving up the forts to the Russians, that some officers were put under arrest for that protest, and that generally all the officers and soldiers of that regiment testify their indignation at having given up the forts of the mouths of the Cattaro to a small number of Russians, who would not have made the smallest resistance against the regiment of Thurn, composed of 1,500 men.

But notwithstanding all these protests, the forts of the mouths of the Cattaro were given up to the Russians by order of the marquis de Ghisilieri.

The undersigned has the honour to beg of the marquis de Ghisilieri to inform him, whether he has acted in this circumstance by his own authority, or in virtue of superior orders; for it is essential that he should make known to his court the reasons for which the Austrian commandant and the marquis de Ghisilieri have peaceably allowed entrance, and a residence in the ports of the mouth of the Cattaro, to the armed squadron of a power at war with that to which they were to have given up the forts, and to whose generals they gave no information.

It is also important that the undersigned should inform his court of the motives on which the mouths of the Cattaro have been ceded to the Russians, instead of being given up to the troops of his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy,

Italy, conformably to the treaty of Presburg.

The reason given by the marquis de Ghisilieri, in his letter to general Molitor, of the 9th of March, cannot be admitted. He there says, that it is to preserve to his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy, the mouths of the Cattaro in a flourishing state, that he has given them up to the Russians and Montenegrins.

But only two days after their surrender, the Montenegrins sacked and pillaged the houses; and those very inhabitants which the marquis de Ghisilieri represents as in accord with the Montenegrins, armed themselves and marched against them, and even killed several.

The same inhabitants stretch their arms to the French, and bitterly complain that they have been given up to their most cruel enemies.

The undersigned expects with impatience an answer from the marquis de Ghisilieri, and persists in the demands which he made in his note of the 21st March. He conceives the marquis de Ghisilieri must be invested with the necessary powers to comply with them, since he had that of commanding the garrison of Cattaro, notwithstanding its protest, to give up to the Russians the forts of the mouths of the Cattaro.

He has the honour to give him the assurance of his great respect.

(Signed) AL. LAURISTON.

Zura, 25th March, 1806.

ROYAL DECREE.

Louis Napoleon, by the grace of God, and the constitution of the kingdom.

We have decreed, and do decree as follows:

1. Till further orders be given, no vessel shall be suffered to depart from any of the ports of our kingdom, without our special authority; which, however, shall not be granted by us till sureties be given that the lading shall not be discharged in any of the enemy's ports. The authority for the departure of any vessel shall be signed by our own hand.

2. Every ship that enters any of our ports shall be detained, without any possibility of liberation, but by special authority from us, signed by our own hand.

3. All fishing vessels going out or coming into any port, shall, before their departure, and after their arrival, be examined by the officers of justice, and the commissioners of convoys and licences.

4. No fishing vessel shall be allowed to depart before the commanders of the same shall make oath, that they will have no voluntary understanding or communication whatever with any ship or vessel, and they shall likewise be bound to give information of any person sailing therein.

5. The directors and other persons employed at the post-offices are made responsible for any letters coming from or going to England. They shall immediately transmit them to the minister of justice and police.

6. Our ministers are charged with the execution of the present decree, as far as regards their respective departments. The ministers of marine, finances, and of justice, shall transmit to us daily an account of their proceedings.

Given at our palace of the Hague, Dec. 15, 1806, and in the first year of our reign.

(Signed) LOUIS.

PUBLIC ACTS *passed in the Fourth Session of the Second Imperial Parliament.*

March 22, 1806.

An act for settling a pension on admiral lord Collingwood.

An act for duties and drawbacks on goods to and from Ireland.

An act for settling drawbacks on sugar.

An act for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for better payment of the army.

An act for regulating the marine force while on shore.

An act for allowing the exportation of grain &c. to his majesty's forces and garrisons.

An act to indemnify persons having omitted to qualify themselves for employments.

An act to continue and amend an act for executing a treaty of commerce and amity with America.

An act to permit for a time the exportation of wool to the British plantations in America.

An act for the militia service for the year 1806.

An act for the militia service of Ireland for 1806.

An act to extend the provisions of an act, enabling the subjects of foreign states to enter his majesty's service.

An act to suspend prosecutions under certain acts relating to the woollen manufacture.

An act for allowing the Greenland ships to complete their men.

An act for rendering the payment of creditors more certain and expeditious in Scotland.

June 9.

An act to provide for payment of the bank of Ireland, and for altering the days of paying interest.

An act for establishing certain regulations in the collection of customs and excise in Ireland.

An act for regulating the package of butter in Ireland.

An act to authorise certain public officers to send and receive letters free of postage.

An act for amending the several laws relating to the payment of first-fruits by the clergy.

An act for enlarging the powers granted to the London dock company.

June 21.

An act for granting to his majesty certain duties on malt and spirits.

An act for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

An act for making better provision for soldiers.

July 8.

An act to grant allowances from certain taxes to persons having a certain number of children.

An act to provide for the collecting duties on spirits distilled in Ireland.

An act for abolishing fees received by officers in the port of London.

An Act for regulating the office of receiver-general of the post-office.

An act for encouraging the manufacture of thread-lace in Great Britain.

An act for regulating the mode of taking up regular ships for the service of the India company.

An act for the improvement of the port of London, by making East India docks at Blackwall.

July 16.

An act for collecting duties on spirits and malt in Scotland.

An act for issuing exchequer bills for the service of the year 1806.

An act granting a duty on fish from Newfoundland.

An act for regulating the excise, customs, and port dues in Ireland.

An act for rectifying mistakes in the names of commissioners of taxes.

Training act for England.

Militia act.

An act for permitting free interchange of grain between England and Ireland.

An act for the more effectual performance of quarantine.

An act for granting a duty on oil of vitriol exported from Great Britain.

An act for amending certain acts relating to letters and parcels conveyed by the post.

July 31.

An act for reducing the duty payable on the exportation of refined sugar and laying it on sugar-candy.

An act for an additional duty on the exportation of silk manufactures.

An act for erecting a light-house on the Bell rock in Scotland.

An act to enable his majesty to accept the service of volunteers from the Irish militia.

An act for augmenting the salaries of masters in chancery.

An act for amending the sale of his majesty's crown-rents, &c. in Ireland.

An act for amending the laws of excise in relation to counterfeiting the stamps on paper-wrappers.

An act to permit French wines to be imported from Ireland into England.

An act to amend an act preventing the importation of gunpowder and arms from Ireland into England.

An act to allow certain merchandises to be sent direct from Gibraltar and Malta to America.

An act for permitting the importation of timber for naval purposes from America.

An act for the relief of insolvent debtors.

An act for revision of the schools in Ireland.

An act to prohibit for two years certain ships from engaging in the slave-trade.

An act for increasing the rate of subsistence to be paid to persons on whom soldiers are quartered.

July 22.

An act for enabling his majesty to settle annuities on the royal family.

An act for appropriating the supplies of 1806.

An act for granting a sum to be raised by lotteries.

An act for purchasing an estate for earl Nelson.

An act to continue his pension to lord Rodney.

An act for amending the laws of excise upon malt.

An act for the security and expedition of the post in Ireland.

An act for consolidating the several acts for redemption of land-tax.

An act for providing for a more speedy and regular audit of the public accounts.

An act to repeal part of the contravailing duty on Irish hops, and for

for granting an excise contravalling duty on Irish window glass.

An act for extending the laws relating to loading and warehousing goods.

An act to amend the laws of bankrupts.

An act for augmenting the regular forces of the realm, and for the gradual reduction of the militia so far as the same relates to the city of London.

An act for limiting the number of persons to be carried on the outside of stage-coaches.

July 23.

An act for applying the balances of the forfeited estates in Scotland to the making canals, bridges, &c. and to the use of the fisheries.

An act for regulating the office of receiver-general of the customs.

An act for the preservation of the public harbours of the united kingdom.

An act to stay proceedings, till next session, in actions under an act for regulating the cutting of leather, and the purchase of rough hides, oak-bark, and calf skins in the hair.

An act for taking down the buildings, in which the treasury chamber &c. in Scotland were situated, and erecting new ones.

LITERARY SELECTIONS

AND

RETROSPECT.

BIOGRAPHICAL

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

Memoirs of Dr. Joseph Warton.

[From Mr. Woolll's Biography of the Doctor.]

"FROM the earliest period of his boyish days, till he entered into his fourteenth year, Dr. Warton was chiefly indebted to his excellent father for knowledge and instruction. On the 2d of August 1736, he was admitted on the foundation of Winchester College; and whilst under the tuition and discipline of that school,

Where Bigg presided, and where Burton taught,

exhibited the most evident marks of strong intellectual powers. During his Wykehamical education, he, in conjunction with his friend Collins and another boy, sent to the Gentleman's Magazine three poetical pieces of such sterling value as called forth a most flattering critique from Johnson; and I have seen, though in too imperfect a state to warrant insertion, a genuinely humorous poem penned by him when a præpositor, and spoken by one of his pupils from the rostrum, then usually introduced into the school."——

"In the month of September, 1740, being superannuated, he was removed from Winchester; and, as few vacancies occurred, in the course of the current year, at New College, Oxford, it was the involuntary misfortune of that society not to reckon amongst its fellows the editor of Virgil and commentator on Pope: he, therefore, about this time commenced his residence at Oriel College, of which he had been admitted a commoner in the preceding January, and very soon gave ample proofs that he had not neglected the blessing of a mind so highly gifted.—I can form no idea of the "laudis arrecta cupido," fostered by the sacred ardour of gratitude and filial piety, exhibiting a more highly finished portrait than in the following letter:

'Hon. Sir,

'I hop'd to have found a thou-
'sand kindly severe criticisms on
'Wintonia, when I opened yours;
'but, alas, am quite deceived! I
'believe "Bellositum Wintoniense"
'may be a more proper name, and
'even more suitable to the verses

'already made. Let me only ob-
'serve one thing, that I have pur-
'posely avoided saying more of
'the college, because it is so trite
'and common a subject: but per-
'haps I have said too little—this
'your judgment will determine.
'But have I not kept too near
'home, and not sought over the
'country for seats, antiquities, and
'such like? This is owing to my
'ignorance on these points. If you
'would have had me mention these,
'perhaps even Abbotstone, Strat-
'ton, Lord Peterborough's, &c.
'might claim a place. The Bel-
'lositum Oxoniense has taken in
'Whitcham, Islip (as you know)
'and others; but these are more
'remarkable than those I mention-
'ed. As to the time, if I receive
'it again (as the present situation
'of affairs are, and nothing unusual
'happen) by the 20th or 21st of
'May, it is soon enough. I have
'applied to several of my friends
'for Themes, and cannot by any
'means get any from them, so that
'I am obliged still to send you my
'own stuff; but from them per-
'haps you may perceive the manner
'of others, which consist of short
'turns and such affected puerilities
'as I am afraid you by no means
'approve of. This I can affirm,
'that the old way of composing
'them by explanation, example,
'simile, inference, conclusion, &c.
'is, nor has been (as far as I can
'learn) ever made use of here.—To
'help me in some parts of my last
'collections from Longinus, I have
'read a good part of Dionysius
'Halicarnassus: so that I think
'by this time I ought fully to un-
'derstand the structure and dispo-
'sition of words and sentences. I
'shall read Longinus as long as I
'live: it is impossible not to catch
'fire and and raptures from his
'glowing style. The noble causes
'he gives (at the conclusion) for
'the decay of the sublime amongst
'men, to wit—the love of pleasure,
'riches, and idleness, would almost
'make one look down upon the world
'with contempt, and rejoice in, and
'wish for toils, poverty, and dan-
'gers, to combat with. For me, it
'only still serves to give me a greater
'distaste, contempt, and hatred of
'the profanum vulgus, and to tread
'under foot this ἀγεννέστατον πά-
'θος, as thoroughly below and un-
'worthy of man. It is the freedom
'you give me of unburdening my
'soul to you, that has troubled
'you so long: but so it is, that the
'next pleasant thing to conversing
'with you, and hearing from you,
'is writing to you: I promise my-
'self a more exalted degree of
'pleasure next vacation, by being
'in *some* measure better skilled to
'converse with you than formerly.
'Happy shall I be if I am not only
'found

'a dutiful and affectionate,
'but a diligent son too.

April 10th. 'J. WARTON.'
Tuesday.

'A great many thanks for the
'token.'

"During his residence in Oxford he composed The Enthusiast, or Lover of Nature; a poem replete with the happiest efforts of imagination, and truly worthy of

That bard who rapture found
In ev'ry rural sight, or sound;
Whose genius warm, and rapture chaste,
No genuine charm of nature past.

"His inimitably characteristic piece entitled The Dying Indian, and the elegant satire of Ranelagh House, after the manner of Le Sage, made

made their appearance also about this time. Nor were his vacations passed in indolence and dissipation. Did no other proof exist of his genuinely poetical mind, of his capacity as a *maker* and *inventor*, the following sketch, laid out by him as a subject for verse, at eighteen (the year in which he left Winchester school), and dated from his father's house, would be sufficient to establish his reputation.

"'The subjects of Reason having lately rebelled against him, he summons them to his court, that they may pay their obedience to him; whilst he sits on his throne, attended by the Virtues, his handmaids. The first who made her appearance was *Fear*, with *Superstition*, a pale-faced, trembling virgin, who came from Gallia, and was ever present at earthquakes, fires, sieges, storms, and shuddered at every thing she saw. Not so *Anger*, whose harbinger was *Cruelty*, with dishevelled hair; and whose charioteer, *Revenge*, drove wheels reeking with blood. He himself stood upright, brandishing a sword, and bearing a shield on which was engraven Achilles dragging the carcass of Hector, with Priam and Andromache lamenting on the walls; round his girdle he tied the head of an enemy just slaughtered, and his chariot was drawn by tigers. Next came *Joy*, chanting a song, crowned with vine leaves, waving a rod in his hand, at whose touch every thing smiled; he was attended by *Mirth* and *Pleasure*, two nymphs more light than Napæans: he was the institutor of feasts and dances amongst shepherds, at a vintage, at marriages and triumphs. Then came *Sorrow*, with a dead babe in her arms:—she was often seen in churchyards and by graves, listening to knells, or walking in the dead of night, and lamenting aloud; nor was she absent from dungeons and galley slaves. After her *Courage*, a young man riding a lion, that chafed with indignation, yet was forced to submit—not a fiercer roars in Ægypt whilst the pyramids reecho to his voice: naked, like an Englishman, blowing an horn, he was seen to attend Regulus to Carthage, Henry the Fifth to Agincourt, Moluc, Charles of Sweden, Kouli Khan, &c. He led *Cowardice* chained, who shuddered violently whenever he heard the horn, and would fain run away—so the beasts run when they hear the rattle-snake. Next came *Æmulation*, with harp and sword: he followed a phantom of *Fame*, that he might snatch the crown she wore: he was accompanied by a beautiful Amazon, called *Hope*, who with one hand pointed to the heavens, and in the other held an optic which beautified and magnified every object to which it was directed. *Pity* led her old father *Despair*, who tore his grey locks, and could scarce move along for extreme misery; she nursed him with her own milk, and supported his steps, whilst bats and owls flew round his head. She frequents fields of battle, protects the slain, and stanches their wounds with her veil and hair. Next came *Love*, supported on each side by *Friendship* and *Truth*, but not blind, as the poets feign. Behind came his enemies, *Jealousy*, who nursed a vulture to feed on his own heart. *Hatred* also, and *Doubt* shaking a dart behind *Love*, who, on his turning round, immediately vanish'd. *Honour*, twin'd round about with a snake, like Laocoon. Then *Ambition* in a chariot of gold, and

white horses, whose trappings were adorned with jewels, led by *Esteem* and *Flattery*. *Envy* viewed him passing, and repined like a pard with a dart in his side. *Contempt*, too, like a satyr, beheld, and pointed with his finger; but he too often reviled Heaven, whence plagues, pestilences, wars, and famines. When these were all met, Reason (sitting grander than Solomon), on whom the man *Justice*, and the woman *Temperance*, attended, thus addressed them.'

"Were the passions ever more happily personified? or the vivida vis animi more unquestionably portrayed in a boy of eighteen? On taking his bachelor's degree, for which he determined in Lent 1744, he was ordained on his father's curacy, and officiated in that church till February 1746; at which period he removed to the duty of Chelsea, and within three months caught the small pox. Tenderly nursed by the mother he idolized, he soon recovered, and went to Chobham, for change of air. A return to his last curacy being rendered unpleasant, by disagreeable altercations in the parish, and the want of that support from his rector which his situation claimed, he, after a few months spent in discharging the ministerial duties of Chawton and Droxford, returned to Basingstoke; and in the year 1747-8 was presented by the duke of Bolton to the rectory of Wynslade, when he immediately married miss Daman of that neighbourhood, to whom he had for some time been most enthusiastically attached. At the close of the former year he had published a volume of exquisite Odes; to which he prefixed the following characteristic preface:

'The public has been so much accustomed of late to didactic poetry alone, and essays on moral subjects, that any work, where the imagination is much indulged, will perhaps not be relished or regarded. The author therefore of these pieces is in some pain, lest certain austere critics should think them too fanciful and descriptive. But as he is convinced that the fashion of moralizing in verse has been carried too far, and as he looks upon invention and imagination to be the chief faculties of a poet, so he will be happy if the following Odes may be looked upon as an attempt to bring back poetry into its right channel.'

"In the year 1751, he was called from the indulgence of connubial happiness, and the luxury of literary retirement, to attend his patron to the south of France; for which invitation the duke had two motives, the society of a man of learning and taste, and the accommodation of a protestant clergyman, who, immediately on the death of his duchess, then in a confirmed dropsy, could marry him to the lady with whom he lived, and who was universally known and distinguished by the name of Polly Peachum.

"The opportunity of visiting the continent, and the introduction to every species of acquirement and informotion brought within his reach by the rank and connections of his patron, must have offered to a mind like Dr. Warton's the most refined and pleasurable sensations; but the brightness of the prospect was clouded by circumstances attendant on the expedition, not the most eligible in a professional view, but which are unnecessary to point out to my reader, and by a heart-wounding separation from the wife of

of his unabating tenderness, an infant family, and a mother to whom he was most piously attached, and who was then in the College of Clergymen's Widows at Winchester, bending under the weight of age and infirmities. Strong was the conflict of opposing principles. The laudable wish however of improving the condition of those who by every tie divine and human were the objects of his most anxious love, at length prevailed; and with a view to rescue them, at no very distant period, from the struggles and deprivations of a straitened income, he acceded to the plan. He embarked at Greenwich on the 26th of April, in one of the king's yachts; and, after a tedious and stormy passage, landed at Calais on the 8th of May. To those who have enjoyed the rich and varied treasures of his conversation, who have been dazzled by the brilliancy of his wit, and instructed by the acuteness of his observations, I need not suggest how truly enviable was the journey which his fellow-travellers accomplished through the French provinces to Montauban; at which place it was their intention to take up their residence. As the duke travelled with his own horses, and consequently by short and easy stages, the doctor had sufficient leisure to visit churches, convents, and every other public building worthy the notice of an inquisitive traveller. But as in those days the knowledge of modern languages seldom or ever formed a part of scholastic education or collegiate reading, his total ignorance of the French tongue was pregnant with continual obstacles; to overcome which he had recourse to Latin; yet, alas! the bald, unclassical, and monkish style in which a few, and very few Irish friars in the convents were enabled to converse, imparted but at best disjointed information, and furnished a very broken and imperfect correspondence. In a letter written early in August from La Mole near Montauban to his brother, is the following paragraph: 'I am very sorry to tell you I greatly fear Mr. Powlett and I shall never visit Italy, which will be a sad mortification.' This disappointment, arising from some private causes, united to his impatience of being restored to his family, induced him to wave every consideration of intellectual improvement and additional preferment, and to quit his situation. During the month of September he set out for Bourdeaux in a courier's cart, such as is used for the conveyance of the mail; but found the machine so rough and inconvenient, that within five or six leagues he was obliged to quit it, and submit to a day's rest ere he proceeded. Not impeded in resolution by this obstacle, he joined himself to some carriers who were travelling in Brittany, and with them reached St. Malo's; from whence he obtained a passage by Guernsey to Southampton. Thus ended his tour; and the month subsequent to his arrival presented one of the great objects for which it was undertaken. The duchess of Bolton died. Upon this event he immediately wrote to the duke, and asked his permission to return to him. Mr. Devisme, however, chaplain to the embassy at Turin, had been sent for to perform the marriage ceremony, and was already on his route to Aix in Provence, to which place the parties had removed.

"He now dedicated his whole attention to the accomplishment of a work he had for some time been engaged in, and to the success of which he fondly looked forward, not only with a view of compensating his recent disappointment, but with the hope also of deservedly claiming from the public an advantageous and permanent share of patronage and protection. He edited Virgil in Latin and English, the Æneid translated by Pitt, the Eclogues and Georgics, with notes on the whole by himself. Into this publication he introduced Warburton's Dissertation on the Sixth Æneid, a Commentary on the Character of Iapis by Atterbury, and on the Shield of Æneas by Whitehead; to which he added, as composed by himself, three Essays on pastoral, didactic, and epic poetry.

"Unqualified as might have been the praises bestowed on his detached pieces, and gratifying as probably were the fleeting laurels reaped by the casual ebullitions of fancy, or the momentary effusions of poetical genius; yet nothing he had hitherto given to the world was calculated to establish a lasting reputation, or hand down his name as a critic and scholar to posterity. True it is, that the author of The Enthusiast, and Ode to Fancy, would ever have been dear to those who were capable of relishing the unaffected charms and genuine fire of a vivid and highly inspired imagination: but within the bosoms of such, and such only, would the remembrance have probably existed; whilst the editor of Virgil, from the very nature of the undertaking, and the general utility arising from the varied and combined merits of the work, had solid pretensions to an exalted and permanent rank in the republic of letters, and claimed from scholars of every age and description the memorial of grateful admiration. In proportion to the value of success, will ever be, in great and feeling minds, the dread of failure; and to such an union of poetry and criticism, to so ample a confession of his creed in point of both taste and scholarship, our author naturally deemed it requisite to apply the whole vigour of his genius, and vigilantly to exercise all his accuracy of judgment: hence was it that he anxiously wrote from Montauban lest Dodsley should set a sheet to the press (though the far greater part was finished, and already in his hands) ere he returned from the Continent. Of the 'limæ labor et mora' it is evident he knew the full value.

"His reason for preferring the translation of Pitt to that of Dryden, he thus openly in his dedication declares to his friend sir George Lyttleton: 'Give me leave to intrude on your patience a moment longer, to speak of Mr. Pitt's version of the Æneid. I am very well informed, that Mr. Pope, notwithstanding his just affection and even veneration for Mr. Dryden, regarded Mr. Pitt's as an excellent translation. It is lucky for me, that some of Mr. Dryden's errors, in this part of the work, have been lately pointed out by a very candid writer, and one who entertains the highest opinion of his genius, to whom, says he, our English poetry is more indebted for its improvements than any other writer, Mr. Pope only excepted. What I hint at is one of the chapters on allegory in Mr. Spence's Polymetis; where that gentleman hath endeavoured to shew, how very

very little our poets have understood the allegories of the ancients, even in their translations of them; and has chosen to instance Mr. Dryden's translation of Virgil's Æneid, as he thought him one of our most celebrated poets. The mistakes are very numerous, and some of them unaccountably gross: upon this I was desirous to examine Mr. Pitt's translation of the same passages, and was surprised to find, that in near fifty instances which Mr. Spence has given of Mr. Dryden's mistakes of that kind, Mr. Pitt had not fallen into above three or four.' After mentioning the specimens, and commenting on them with candid and judicious accuracy, he adds, 'In fine, if my partiality for Mr. Pitt does not mislead me, I should think he has executed his work with great spirit; that he has a fine flow of harmonious versification; and has rendered his author's sense with faithfulness and perspicuity; but my testimony can be of little consequence in this case, and there is no reason to doubt but that he will stand by his own intrinsic merit, which the public hath already sufficiently approved.' The editor of the Lives of the Poets does not however give Mr. Pitt credit for the great spirit discovered by Dr. Warton. He asserts that, if the versions were compared, the result would be, that Dryden leads the reader forward by his general vigour and sprightliness, and Pitt often stops him, to contemplate the excellence of a single couplet; that Dryden's faults are forgotten in the hurry of delight; and that Pitt's beauties are neglected in the languor of a cold and listless perusal; that Pitt pleases the critics, and Dryden the people; that Pitt is quoted, and Dryden read."——

"During this year, a most flattering invitation was held out to Dr. Warton to become a party in The Adventurer; a periodical paper then in the full zenith of publication. The highly respectable channel through which this request was made, rendered refusal impossible; nor were the motives of a nature less gratifying. He was told that the proprietors of the paper, having arranged their essays on imagination and descriptions of life, were particularly desirous to assign the province of criticism and literature to the commentator on Virgil. Neither the great character who made the request, or the public, who enjoyed the benefit of it, were disappointed. Dr. Warton furnished twenty-four papers; amongst which are two most noble essays on the superior grandeur and sublimity of the sacred over the profane writers; a truly humorous paper on the poverty of poets; two inimitable criticisms on the *Tempest*, and three on the *Lear* of Shakespear; two panegyrics on the Odyssey; some very shrewd and accurate observations on Milton's Paradise Lost; two very excellent treatises indicative of those branches of literature in which the ancients excelled, or were surpassed by the moderns; and an oriental tale entitled Bozaldab, not exceeded in purity of sentiment or strength of expression by the Rambler, or any periodical work.

"Still captivated by that instinctive love of literature incorporated as it were in his very nature, it was the wish of Dr. Warton to crown this year with an additional exertion of talent and criticism. He planned to unite in a volume, and publish, "Select Epistles of Angelus Politianus, Desiderius Erasmus, Hugo Grotius, and others,

others, with notes," on a scale sufficiently extensive to embrace an history of the revival of learning. This design, after some correspondence with his brother, who was to participate in the undertaking, was unfortunately laid aside.

"In the course of the next year Dr. Warton was instituted to the living of Tunworth, on the presentation of the Jervoise family; and during the summer months paid a visit to Mr. Spence, the author of Polymetis, and of the elegant and classical essay on Pope's Odyssey; under whose roof was laid the foundation of those critical disquisitions which proved his competency of deciding on the merits of modern, as his Virgil had before done on those of ancient poetry.

"In the year 1755 he was, on the resignation of the Rev. Samuel Speed, elected second master of Winchester school, with the management and advantages of a boarding-house. It was now his lot to assume in some measure a new character, and turn his ideas principally to a very useful but dry channel of literature. He had engaged in a profession to the highest degree productive of pride and mortification; and capable of bestowing on a feeling mind the utmost excess of pleasure and of pain; a profession, the anxious responsibility of which nothing but the consciousness of duty willingly discharged can alleviate; and whose labour is softened only by the success of its exertions, and the almost parental attachments inseparable from an intercourse with youth. Gifted with a disposition to embrace heartily every pursuit, it would have been wonderful had he failed in one of so interesting a tendency. He entered on his honourable employment with all the energy a mind like his naturally conceived; but his zeal was tempered with judgment, and the eagerness of his expectations chastened by salutary patience. Ardent in provoking emulation, and rewarding excellence, he was at the same time aware that the standard of approved merit must not be placed too high, or the laudable industry which gradually invigorates mediocrity of talent, be crushed by disproportionate demands. He knew that the human mind developed itself progressively, but not always in the same consistent degrees, or at periods uniformly similar. He conjectured therefore that the most probable method of ensuring some valuable improvement to the generality of boys, was not to exact what the generality are capable of performing. As a remedy for inaccurate construction, arising either from apparent idleness or inability, he highly approved, and sedulously imposed, translation. Modesty, timidity, or many other constitutional impediments, may prevent a boy from displaying before his master, and in the front of his class, those talents, of which privacy, and a relief from these embarrassments, will often give proof. If Addison, in the prime of life and possession of the richest mental endowments, could confess, when speaking of his deficience in conversation, that with respect to intellectual wealth "he could draw a bill for a thousand pounds, though he had not a guinea in his pocket," it may be supposed that boys not really destitute of talent, or incapable of becoming scholars, are sometimes so oppressed by shyness or fear, as not to do themselves justice in the common routine of public instruction, and to require a varied

a varied method of ascertaining their sufficiency of information and intellect. This important end Dr. Warton thought happily answered by translation; nor did he deem lightly of its value as a general system. A habit of composition he imagined to be gradually acquired by it; and the style and sentiments of an author deeply engraven on the memory of the scholar. These sentiments were confirmed by that most infallible test, experience; as he declared (within a few years of his death) that the best scholars he had sent into the world were those whom, whilst second master, he had thus habituated to translation, and given a capacity of comparing and associating the idiom of the dead languages with their own.

"Sir George Lyttleton was, in the course of the year 1756, advanced to a peerage; and one of his first acts was to confer a scarf on Dr. Warton. To him were submitted his lordship's proposed alterations of Thomson, and under his critical eye was revised a part of the Life of Henry II. The anxious and fatiguing avocations of a schoolmaster did not however put a stop to his own literary career. In the spring of this year he published the first volume of his Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, dedicated to one of Wykeham's most illustrious sons, 'the Author of the Night Thoughts.' As the doctrine contained in this treatise was deemed rather novel, and the rank assigned to Pope, in the class of poets, not such as pleased the warm admirers of that writer, the publication naturally gave rise to a variety of opinion: a review under the professed direction of a sound critic and scholar, after particularizing his commentaries on the different poems, concludes with the following general observation: 'Upon the whole, this Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope is a most entertaining and useful miscellany of literary knowledge and candid criticism; containing censure without acrimony, and praise without flattery; and abounding with incidents little known relating to celebrated writers, and instructive remarks upon their characters and works.'—

"The spring of 1766 gave the subject of these memoirs, on the resignation of Dr. Burton, the literary superintendance of that school to the fame and welfare of which, during the last eleven years, he had sensibly contributed. On the 12th of May he was appointed head master, and was succeeded in the ushership by the rev. Thomas Collins, who had been a fellow of New College, and to whose direction the free-school, under the patronage of that society, had been intrusted.

"The fame of the school under such auspices could not be otherwise than great. Whilst a far larger number of commoners than had been known at any former period filled the boarding-houses at Winchester, the University honours, particularly those procured by poetical efforts, were successively borne away by the members of New College. That pure and manly taste which distinguished the master, could not fail to influence, in a considerable degree, the productions of the scholars. But, alas! amidst this prospect of worldly prosperity, whilst the Doctor fondly indulged that happiness which ever awaits the gratification of laudable ambition, an event occurred, which was deemed the complete wreck of his domestic felicity. The wife whom

whom he still adored with unabating love, whose prudent and useful exertions contributed to the affluence, whilst her unaffected good sense and endearing tenderness secured the bliss and comfort of his life, fell a victim to a rapid and unconquerable disease, and left him the wretched widowed parent of six children.

"About this time he became a member of the Literary Club; with many of whom individually he had long been intimate; and was concerned in the famous round robin sent to Johnson, on his inscription for Goldsmith's monument. Mr. Boswell, with whom Dr. Johnson is infallible, and who appears to look on his idolized friend with the same eyes a fond mother views her spoiled child, remarks that Mr. Langton, who was one of the company at sir Joshua's, *like a sturdy scholar*, resolutely refused to sign it. Does he by this expression intend to attach want of scholarship to such men as Warton, Burke, Gibbon, Barnard, Colman, Reynolds, and others who did sign it?—I should hope not. And with respect to Johnson's allusion to an epitaph on Erasmus in Dutch, it is by no means analogous; Goldsmith's works are entirely in his native tongue; he was never celebrated as a proficient in the dead languages; nor has he sent into the world any composition, translation, or criticism connected with them. The idea therefore was to commemorate him in English; as a writer eminently distinguished in that language, and in that only. It will scarcely, I think, be allowed, that the same plea exists for an epitaph in Dutch on Erasmus. If the walls of Westminster Abbey are disgraced by English inscriptions, no less writers than Milton and Pope have contributed to their degradation.

"The duties of a schoolmaster, and the necessity of an intelligent female to superintend a family composed of such various and complicated parts, soon convinced Dr. Warton how incumbent on him it was to sooth his anguish by the admission of new comforts, and curb the violence of unavailing and destructive regret. He indeed paid the truest compliment to the memory of his departed wife, by taking the steps he then thought most conducive to the welfare of her family, and by forming those connexions, from which they would probably derive both improvement and felicity. In December 1773 he married miss Nicholas, daughter of Robert Nicholas, esq. and a descendant of Dr. N. formerly warden of the college. I have the authority of his excellent sister, Mrs. Jane Warton, for asserting that he was peculiarly fortunate in his connexions; both wives being most amiable and good women."—

"It is no less reprehensible than remarkable, that the talents of the poet and critic, and the successful exertions of the instructor, had as yet received neither encouragement or remuneration. Nor had one man of power and patronage, though the sons of many were intrusted to his care, deemed it incumbent on him to confer either affluence or dignity on their master. It remained for a prelate most high in theological and classical reputation, for one who knew the value of literary acquirements, and was in his own person a distinguished example of the public benefit to which they may be converted, to do honour to himself and his situation by the preferment of Dr. Warton. In the year 1782, the eminently

nently learned and pious Dr. Lowth, then bishop of London, bestowed on him a prebend of St. Paul's, and within the year added the living of Chorley in Hertfordshire, which, after some arrangements, the Doctor exchanged for Wickham.

"This year gave also to the world the long expected sequel of the Essay on Pope; a great part of which volume had for some time been printed, and the completion of which was retarded, from motives of a most delicate and laudable nature."—

"During the spring of 1786, Dr. Warton was visited by a most heavy domestic affliction. His second son, a man of high talents and superior information, but who had long laboured under a lingering and obstinate disease, died whilst sitting in his chair after dinner, and was found in that situation by his father on his return from college prayers. This stroke the Doctor severely felt; and within four years, ere the painful remembrance had vanished from his mind, and his spirits had regained their former tone, he lost that brother to whom from his childhood he had been invariably attached, and for whose genius and fame he had ever felt the most pure and liberal admiration. It is indeed but justice to the memory of both to declare that they never for a moment knew the narrow passions of jealousy and envy; on the contrary, their most anxious efforts were used to distinguish each other, and it was their truest happiness to find those efforts successful. To their several publications the most active and ready assistance had been mutually afforded. Mr. Warton was sedulously employed in the edition of Virgil, and his brother in return furnished many valuable materials for the History of English Poetry: no means were at any time left untried by either party to bring forward and place in a prominent view the merit of the other. Severe therefore to the survivor must have been the separation. It was indeed the loss of a second self.

"Through the interest of lord Shannon, the prebend of Winchester cathedral, vacated in 1788 by the then bishop of Oxford's translation to Hereford, was bestowed by the premier on Dr. Warton. Related to Mrs. Warton, and firmly attached to the Doctor, not only on account of his literary reputation and amiable qualifications, but for the care and improvement experienced by lord Boyle, whilst a commoner at the school, the noble earl did honour to both his heart and head, by procuring for such a man that preferment to which his services as a public character had for a long period entitled him; and this meritorious exertion was at no great distance of time followed up by another dignified character, who had himself experienced the advantages of Dr. Warton's tuition, and of whose unabating regard and reverence for his master this was only one of many liberal proofs. Induced by such an application, the bishop of Winchester conferred on him the rectory of Easton, and permitted him within the year to exchange it for Upham.

"It will perhaps be remarked, that the two livings above mentioned, with the prebends of Winchester and St. Paul's, comprised, with respect to both rank and affluence, a dignified and sufficient preferment: the age however of Dr. Warton when these events took place must necessarily be considered.

dered. Sixty summers had passed over his head ere the first benefice (if we except the small living of Wynslade) came into his possession; and he had approached far nearer to seventy years of age ere he enjoyed the remainder. Late indeed then must we acknowledge his reward to have been for a life so useful and so ornamental to society.

"The fatigues arising from the management and instruction of a public school, demanded those exertions to which the Doctor's advanced time of life now became incompetent. After many irresolute fluctuations of opinion, after strong combats between propriety and inclination, the spring of 1793 witnessed the annunciation of his departure from the mastership at the ensuing election; in consequence of which notice, on July the 23d, he retired to his rectory of Wickham, carrying with him the love, admiration, and esteem, of the whole Wykehamical Society.

"That ardent mind which had so eminently distinguished the exercise of his public duties, did not desert him in the hours of leisure and retirement; for inactivity was foreign to his nature. His parsonage, his farm, his garden, were cultivated and adorned with the eagerness and taste of undiminished youth; whilst the beauties of the surrounding forest scenery, and the interesting grandeur of the neighbouring shore, were enjoyed by him with an enthusiasm innate in his very being. His lively sallies of playful wit, his rich store of literary anecdote, and the polished and habitual ease with which he imperceptibly entered into the various ideas and pursuits of men in different situations, and endowed with educations totally opposite, rendered him an acquaintance both profitable and amusing; whilst his unaffected piety and unbounded charity stamped him a pastor adored by his parishioners. Difficult indeed would it be to decide, whether he shone in a degree less in this social character than in the closet of criticism or the chair of instruction.

"The habits of literary occupation were not to be shaken off, or the love of critical discussion extinguished. In the course of the year 1797 he edited, in nine volumes octavo, prefaced by the following advertisement, the works of that poet on whose genius and writings he had before so successfully commented: 'The public is here presented with a complete edition of the Works of Pope, both in verse and prose; accompanied with various notes and illustrations. The reason for undertaking it, was the universal complaint that Dr. Warburton had disfigured and disgraced his edition with many forced and far-sought interpretations, totally unsupported by the passages which they were brought to elucidate. If this was only my single opinion, nothing could have induced me to have delivered it with so much freedom; nor to have undertaken this work after it had passed through the hands of Dr. Warburton. Many, however, of his notes, that do not fall under this description, are here adopted. To this edition are now added, several poems undoubtedly of our author's hand; and in prose, many letters to different correspondents, which, from the circumstances of literary history which they contain, it was thought might be entertaining; together with his Thoughts on various Subjects; his Account of the Madness of Dennis; the Poisoning of Edmund Curl; the Essay on the Origin

gin of Sciences; the Key to the Rape of the Lock; and that piece of inimitable humour, the Fourteenth Chapter of Scriblerus, on the Double Mistress; all of which were inserted in his own edition in quarto, 1741. And to these is added, also, one of the best of his compositions, his Postscript to the Odyssey.

'If I have sometimes ventured, in the following remarks, to point out any seeming blemishes and imperfections in the works of this excellent poet, I beg it may be imputed, not to the 'dull, malignant delight' of seeking to find out trivial faults, but merely to guard the reader from being misled, by the example of a writer, in general, so uniformily elegant and correct.'

"The peculiar circumstances which, owing to the Doctor's prior publication, were inseparable from this edition, rendered plagiarism (if the stealing from himself merits the title) inevitable. Many of the notes were unavoidably transferred from the Essay, though be it recollected a considerable portion of new matter was introduced. In addition to the criticisms of the reviews, which generally on literary works decide with fairness and impartiality, and of whose judgment few who attack neither religion or morality, or insidiously dabble in political quackeries, have cause to complain; an harsh and unjustifiable attack was made on my valuable and learned friend, in a satire to which the attention of the public had been peculiarly awakened. That objections might fairly be made to the edition of Pope, it is far from my purpose to deny; but when we read the unfeeling and inapplicable reproach contained in the following lines,

'Better to disappoint the public hope,
Like Warton, driv'ling on the page of Pope—
Whilst o'er the ground that Warburton once trod
The Winton pedant shakes his little rod'—

"we can only say, that it commences with an unmanly insult on old age, and closes with a total ignorance of character. All who have been acquainted with Dr. Warton will, I believe, acknowledge that pedantry and Warton knew not each other. This vague and indiscriminate censure surely falls to the ground by its own unmeaning and general abuse, and is I suppose properly suited to the peg on which the notes were to hang; as we find in them a more distinct, and I must confess in some degree a better grounded attack. Indeed, had this unknown and sagacious critic, to whom, when we consider the peculiarity of the times in which he wrote, every friend of religion and good government must feel himself in no small measure obliged, been more temperate and rational in his objections, he would perhaps to a certain point have affected the fame of Dr. Warton: but the uncharitable and unchristianlike severity in which his philippic is couched, has rendered many unwilling even to allow faults otherwise too clear."—

"Although Dr. Warton certainly felt the misrepresentations of his motives and character, and the contemptuous and indelicate manner in which he had been treated, yet he did not so totally shrink from the grey-goose plume nodding on the head of this inexorable censor, as to hang up his armour unfit for future enterprise, and give up the remainder of his days to indolence and ease.

"He entered on an edition of Dryden, an author for whose exalted

genius and strong powers of mind he felt the most decisive admiration, and some of whose works he had already rescued from the mistaken severity of prejudice and error. Between this period and the close of 1799, he completely finished two volumes of this poet with notes; and in opposition to the encroachments of a too resistless malady, was proceeding in his classical and interesting pursuit, when nature completely sunk under disease, and the very early part of the ensuing spring put an end to a life, the greater part of which had been dedicated to the most useful and honourable employments, and no period of which had been such as to call a blush into the cheek of those who from consanguinity or friendship looked back with regret on its termination."

The Life of Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson.—Written by Herself.—A Fragment.

[From Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson.]

"THE Almighty Author of all beings *, in his various providences, whereby he conducts the lives of men from the cradle to the tomb, exercises no lesse wisdome and goodnesse then he manifests power and greatnesse in their creation, but such is the stupidity of blind mortalls that insteed of employing their studies in these admirable bookes of providence, wherein God dayly exhibitts to us glorious characters of his love, kindnesse, wisdome, and iustice, they ungratefully regard them not, and call the most wonderfull operations of the greate God the common accidents of humane life, specially if they be such as are usuall, and exercised towards them in ages wherein they are not very capable of observation, and whereon they seldome employ any reflexion; for in things greate and extraordinary some perhaps will take notice of God's working, who either forgett or believe not that he takes as well a care and account of their smallest concernments, even the haires of their heads.

"Finding myselfe in some kind guilty of this generall neglect, I thought it might be a meanes to stirre up my thankefulnesse for things past, and to encourage my faith for the future, if I recollected, as much as I have heard or can re-

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* That noble turn of thought which led Mrs. Hutchinson to open her work with thanks to her Maker, instead of apologies to the readers, besides the claim it has to their respect instead of their indulgence, will probably, by its originality, recommend itself, and prevent the distaste which the air of religion, it wears, might give to many, in times when it is so little in fashion. It should be borne in mind that the usage of the times in which it was written was so very different from the present, that those who wish to read with pleasure the works then written, will do well to set their taste according to that standard.

Through the whole of both these works moral and religious reflections will be seen to abound, but so as neither to confuse nor fetter, but rather elevate the mind.

member,

member, of the passages of my youth, and the generall and particular providences exercis'd to me, both in the entrance and progresse of my life. Herein I meete with so many speciall indulgences as require a distinct consideration, they being all of them to be regarded as talents intrusted to my emproovement for God's glory. The parents by whom I receiv'd my life, the places where I began and continued it, the time when I was brought forth to be a wittnesse of God's wonderfull workings in the earth, the rank that was given me in my generation, and the advantages I receiv'd in my person, each of them carries allong with it many mercies which are above my utterance, and as they give me infinite cause of glorifying God's goodnesse, so I cannot reflect on them without deepe humiliation for the small emproovement I have made of so rich a stock; which that I may yet by God's grace better employ, I shall recall and seriously ponder: and first, as farre as I have since learnt, sett downe the condition of things in the place of my nativity at that time when I was sent into the world. It was on the 29th day of January, in the yeare of our Lord $16\frac{1}{2}\frac{9}{0}$, that in the Tower of London, the principall citie of the English Isle; I was about 4 of the clock in the morning brought forth to behold the ensuing light. My father was Sr. Allen Apsley, leiftenant of the Tower of London; my mother, his third wife, was Lucy, the youngest daughter of Sr. John St. John, of Lidiard Tregoz, in Wiltshire, by his second wife. My father had then living a sonne and a daughter by his former wives, and by my mother three sonns, I being her eldest daughter. The land was then att peace, (it being towards the latter end of the reigne of king James) if that quiettnesse may be call'd a peace, which was rather like the calme and smooth surface of the sea, whose darke womb is allready impregnated of a horrid tempest.

"Whoever considers England *, will find itt no small favour of God to have bene made one of its natives, both upon spirituall and outward accounts. The happinesse of the soyle and ayre contribute all things that are necessary to the use, or delight of man's life. The celebrated glory of this isle's inhabitants, ever since they receiv'd a mention in history, conferrs some honor upon every one of her children, and with it an obligation to continue in that magnanimitie and virtue, which hath fam'd this island, and rays'd her head in glory, higher then the greate kingdomes of the neighbouring continent. Brittaine hath bene as a garden enclosed, wherein all things that man can wish, to make a pleasant life, are planted and grow in her owne soyle, and whatsoever forreigne countries yield to encrease admiration and delight, are brought in by her fleetes. The people, by the plenty of their country, not being forc'd to toyle for bread, have ever addicted themselfes to more generous employments, and bene reckoned, allmost in all ages, as valliant war-

* If Mrs. Hutchinson in descanting upon the advantages of her native country, and giving almost an epitome of its history, should seem to digress a little too much, it is hoped the reader will find beauty and singularity in her sketch sufficient to excuse it.

nours as any part of the world sent forth: insomuch that the greatest Roman captaines thought it not unworthy of their expeditions, and tooke greate glory in triumphs for unperfect conquests. Lucan upbraids Julius Cæsar for returning hence with a repulse, and 'twas 200 yeares before the land could be reduc'd into a Roman province, which att length was done, and such of the nation, then call'd Picts, as scorn'd servitude, were driven into the barren country of Scotland, where they have ever since remain'd a perpetuall trouble to the successive inhabitants of this place. The Brittaines that thought it better to worke for their conquerors in a good land, then to have the freedom to sterve in a cold and barren quarter, were by degrees fetcht away, and wasted in the civill broyles of these Roman lords, till the land, allmost depopulated, lay open to the incursions of every borderer, and were forc'd to call a stout warlike people, the Saxons, out of Germany, to their assistance. These willingly came at their call, but were not so easily sent out againe, nor perswaded to lett their hosts inhabite with them, for they drove the Brittaines into the mountaines of Wales, and seated themselves in those pleasant countries which from the new masters receiv'd a new name, and ever since retain'd it, being call'd England; on which the warlike Dane made many attempts, with various successe, but after about 2 or 300 yeares vaine contest, they were for ever driven out, with shame and losse, and the Saxon Heptarchie melted into a monarchie, which continued till the superstitious prince, who was sainted for his ungodly chastitie, left an emptie throne to him that could seize it. He who first set up his standard in it, could not hold it, but with his life left it againe for the Norman usurper, who partly by violence, partly by falshood, layd here the foundation of his monarchie, in the people's blood, in which it hath swom about 500 yeares, till the flood that bore it was plow'd into such deepe furrows as had allmost sunke the proud vessell. Of those Saxons that remain'd subjects to the Norman conqueror, my father's famely descended; of those Normans that came in with him, my mother's was derived; both of them, as all the rest in England, contracting such affinity, by mutuall marriages, that the distinction remain'd but a short space; Normans and Saxons becoming one people, who by their vallour grewe terrible to all the neighbouring princes, and have not only bravely quitted themselves in their owne defence, but have shew'd abroad, how easily they could subdue the world, if they did not preferre the quiett enioyment of their owne part above the conquest of the whole.

"Better lawes and a happier constitution of governement no nation ever enioy'd, it being a mixture of monarchy, aristocratie, and democracy, with sufficient fences against the pest of every one of those formes, tiranny, faction, and confusion; yett is it not possible for man to devize such iust and excellent bounds, as will keepe in wild ambition, when prince's flatterers encourage that beast to breake his fence, which it hath often done, with miserable consequences both to the prince and people: but could never in any age so tread downe popular liberty, but that it rose againe with renewed vigor, till at length it trod on those that trampled it before. And in the iust bounds

wherein our kings were so well hedg'd in, the surrounding princes have with terror sene the reproofe of their usurpations over their free brethren, whom they rule rather as slaves then subiects, and are only serv'd for feare, but not for love; whereas this people have ever bene as afectionate to good as unpliable to bad soveraignes.

"Nor is it only vallour and generosity that renowne this nation; in arts wee have advanc'd equall to our neighbors, and in those that are most excellent, exceeded them. The world hath not yeilded men more famous in navigation, nor ships better built or furnisht. Agriculture is as ingeniously practis'd: the English archery were the terror of Christendome, and their clothes the ornament: but these low things bounded not their greate spiritts, in all ages it hath yeilded men as famous in all kinds of learning, as Greece or Italy can boast of.

"And to compleate the crowne of all their glorie, reflected from the lustre of their ingenuity, vallour, witt, learning, iustice, wealth, and bounty, their pietie and devotion to God, and his worship, hath made them one of the most truly noble nations in the Christian world. God having as it were enclosed a people here, out of the wast common of the world, to serve him with a pure and undefiled worship. Lucius the Brittish king was one of the first monarchs of the earth that receiv'd the faith of Christ into his heart and kingdome: Henrie the eighth, the first prince that broke the antichristian yoake of from his owne and his subiects necks. Here it was that the first Christian emperor receiv'd his crowne: Here began the early dawne of gospell light, by Wickliffe and other faithfull wittnesses, whom God rays'd up after the black and horrid midnight of antichristianisme, and a more plentifull harvest of devout confessors, constant martirs, and holy worshippers of God, hath not growne in any field of the church, throughout all ages, then those whom God hath here glorified his name and gospell by. Yett hath not this wheate bene with-out its tares, God in comparison with other countries hath made this as a paradice, so, to compleate the parallell, the serpent hath in all times bene busy to seduce, and not unsuccessefull, ever stirring up opposers to the infant truths of Christ.

"No sooner was the faith of Christ embrac'd in this nation, but the neighbouring heathens invaded the innocent Christians, and slaughter'd multitudes of them; and when, by the mercy of God, the conquering Pagans were afterwards converted, and that there were none left to opose the name of Christ with open hostillity; then the subtile serpent putt of his owne horrid appearance, and comes out in a Christian dresse, to persecute Christ in his poore propheits, that bore wittnesse against the corruption of the times. This intestine quarrell hath bene more successefull to the devill, and more aflictive to the church then all open warres, and, I feare, will never happily be decided, till the Prince of Peace come to conclude the controversie, which att the time of my birth was working up into that tempest, wherin I have shar'd many perills, many feares, and many sorrows, and many more mercies, consolations and preservations, which I shall have occasion to mention in other places.

"From the place of my birth I shall only desire to remember the goodnesse of the Lord who hath

caused my lott to fall in a good ground, who hath fed me in a pleasant pasture where the well-springs of life flow to all that desire to drinke of them. And this is no small favour, if I consider how many poore people perish among the heathen, where they never heare the name of Christ; how many poore Christians spring up in countries enslav'd by Turkish and antichristian tirants, whose soules and bodies languish under miserable slavery. None knowes what mercy 'tis to live under a good and wholsome law, that have not consider'd the sad condition of being subject to the will of an unlimited man, and surely 'tis too universall a sin in this nation. that the common mercies of God to the whole land, are so slightly regarded and so unconsiderately past over; certainely these are circumstances which much magnifie God's loving-kindnesse and his speciall favor to all that are of English birth, and call for a greater returne of duty from us then from all other people of the world.

"Nor is the place only, but the time of my comming into the world a considerable mercy to me. It was not in the midnight of poperie, nor in the dawne of the gospell's restored day, when light and shades were blended and almost undistinguisht, but when the Sun of truth was exalted in his progresse and hastening towards a meridian glory. It was indeed early in the morning, God being pleased to allow me the privilledge of beholding the admirable growth of gospell light in my dayes: and oh! that my soule may never forgett to blesse and prayse his name for the wonders of power and goodnesse, wisdome and truth, which have bene manifested in this my time.

"The next blessing I have to consider in my nativity is my parents, both of them pious and vertuous in their owne conversation, and carefull instructors of my youth, not only by precept but example. Which if I had leizure and abillity, I should have transmitted to my posterity, both to give them the honor due from me in such a gratefull memoriall, and to encrease my children's emproovement of the patterns they sett them; but since I shall detract from those I would celebrate, by my imperfect commemorations, I shall content myselfe to summe up some few things for my owne use, and let the rest alone, which I either knew not, or have forgotten, or cannot worthyly expresse.

"My grandfather by the father's side was a gentleman of a competent estate, about 7 or 800*l.* a yeare, in Sussex. He being descended of a younger house, had his residence att a place called Pulborough; the family out of which he came was an Apsley of Apsley, a towne where they had bene seated before the conquest, and ever since continued, till of late the last heire male of that eldest house, being the sonne of Sr. Edward Apsley, is dead without issue, and his estate gone with his sister's daughters into other families. Particularities concerning my father's kindred or country, I never knew much of, by reason of my youth, at the time of his death, and my education in farre distant places, only in generall I have heard, that my grandfather was a man well reputed and beloved in his country, and that it had bene such a continued custome for my ancestors to take wives at home, that there was not scarce a family of any note in Sussex, to which they were not by intermarriages

riages neerely related; but I was myselfe a stranger to them all, except my Lord Goring, who living att court, I have sene with my father, and heard of him, because he was appoynted one of my father's executors, though he declin'd the trouble. My grandfather had seven sonns, of which my father was the youngest: to the eldest he gave his whole estate, and to the rest, according to the custome of those times, slight annuities. The eldest brother married to a gentlewoman of a good famely, and by her had only one sonne, whose mother dying, my uncle married himselfe againe to one of his own maides, and by her had three more sons, whom, with their mother, my cousin William Apsley, the sonne of the first wife, held in such contempt, that a greate while after, dying without children, he gave his estate of inheritance to my father, and two of my brothers, except about 100*l.* a yeare to the eldest of his halfe brothers, and annuities of 30*l.* a piece to the 3 for their lives. He died before I was borne, but I have heard very honorable mention of him in our famely; the rest of my father's brothers went into the warres in Ireland and the Low Countries, and there remain'd none of them, nor their issues when I was born, but only three daughters who bestowed themselves meanely, and their generations are worne out except two or three unregarded children. My father att the death of my grandfather being but a youth att schoole had not patience to stay the perfecting of his studies, but putt himselfe into present action, sold his annuitie, bought himselfe good clothes, put some mony in his purse, and came to London; and by meanes of a relation at court, got a place in the household of Queene Elizabeth, where he behav'd himselfe so that he won the love of many of the court; but being young tooke an affection to gaming, and spent most of the mony he had in his purse. About that time the Earle of Essex was setting forth for Cales voyage, and my father, that had a mind to quitt his idle court life, procur'd an employment from the Victuallar of the Navie, to goe allong with that fleete. In which voyage he demean'd himselfe with so much courage and prudence, that after his returne he was honor'd with a very noble and profitable employment in Ireland. There a rich widow that had many children cast her affections upon him, and he married her; but she not living many yeares with him, and having no children by him, after her death he distributed all her estate among her children, for whom he ever preserv'd a fatherly kindnesse, and some of her grand-children were brought up in his house after I was borne. He, by God's blessing, and his fidellity and industry, growing in estate and honor, receiv'd a knighthood from King James soone after his coming to the crowne, for some eminent service done to him in Ireland, which having only heard in my childhood, I cannot perfectly sett downe. After that growing into a familliarity with Sr. George Carew, made now by the King Earle of Totnesse, a niece of this earls, the daughter of Sr. Peter Carew, who liv'd a young widow in her uncle's house, fell in love with him, which her uncle perceiving, procur'd a marriage betweene them. She had divers children by my father, but only two of them, a sonne and daughter, surviv'd her, who died whilst my

father was absent from her in Ireland. He led all the time of his widdowhood a very disconsolate life, carefull for nothing in the world but to educate and advance the sonne and daughter, the deare pledges she had left him, for whose sake he quitted himselfe of his employments abroad, and procur'd himselfe the office of Victualler of the Navie, a place then both of credit and greate revenue. His friends, considering his solitude, had procur'd him a match of a very rich widdow, who was a lady of as much discretion as wealth; but while he was upon this designe he chanc'd to see my mother, att the house of Sr. William St. John, who had married her elder sister, and though he went on his iourney, yett something in her person and behaviour, he carried allong with him, which would not lett him accomplish it, but brought him back to my mother. She was of a noble famely, being the youngest daughter of Sr. John St. John, of Lidiar Tregoz, in the county of Wiltz; her father and mother died when she was not above five yeares of age, and yet at her nurses, from whence she was carried to be brought up in the house of the Lord Grandison, her father's younger brother, an honorable and excellent person, but married to a lady so iealous of him, and so illnatured in her iealous fitts, to any thing that was related to him, that her cruelties to my mother exceeded the stories of stepmothers: the rest of my aunts, my mother's sisters, were disperst to severall places, where they grew up till my uncle Sr. John St. John being married to the daughter of Sr. Thomas Laten, they were all againe brought home to their brother's house. There were not in those days so many beautifull women found in any famely as these, but my mother was by the most iudgements preferr'd before all her elder sisters, who, something envious att it, us'd her unkindly, yett all the suiters that came to them, still turned their addresses to her, which she in her youthful innocency neglected, till one of greater name, estate, and reputation then the rest, happned to fall deeply in love with her, and to manage it so discretely, that my mother could not but entertaine him, and my uncle's wife, who had a mother's kindnesse for her, perswaded her to remoove herselfe from her sisters envie, by going along with her to Isle of Jernsey, where her father was governor; which she did, and there went into the towne, and boarded in a French minister's house, to learne the language, that minister having bene, by the persecution in France, driven to seeke his shelter there. Contracting a deare friendship with this holy man and his wife, she was instructed in their Geneva discipline, which she liked so much better then our more superstitious service, that she could have bene contented to have liv'd there, had not a powerfull passion in her heart drawn her back. But at her returne she met with many afflictions, the gentleman who had professt so much love to her, in her absence had bene, by most vile practises and treacheries, drawne out of his sences, and into the marriage of a person, whom when he recover'd his reason he hated: but that serv'd only to augment his misfortune, and the circumstances of that story not being necessary to be here inserted, I shall only adde that my mother liv'd in my uncle's house, secretly discontented at this accident, but was comforted by the kindnesse

kindnesse of my uncle's wife, who had contracted such an intimate friendship with her, that they seemed to have but one soule. And in this kindnesse she had some time a great sollace, till some mallicious persons had wrought some iealousies which were very groundlesse in my uncle, concerning his wife, but his nature being inclinable to that passion, which was fomented in him by subtile wicked persons, and my mother endeavouring to vindicate iniur'd innocence, she was herselfe not well treated by my uncle, whereupon she left his house, with a resolution to withdraw herselfe into the island, where the good minister was, and there to weare out her life in the service of God. While she was deliberating, and had fixt upon it in her owne thoughts, resolving to impart it to none, she was with Sr. William St. John, who had married my aunt, when my father accidentally came in there, and fell so heartily in love with her, that he perswaded her to marry him, which she did, and her melancholly made her conforme chearfully to that gravity of habitt and conversation, which was becoming the wife of such a person; who was then 48 yeares of age, and she not above 16. The 1st yeare of their marriage was crown'd with a sonne, call'd after my father's name, and borne at East Smithfield, in that house of the king's which belong'd to my father's employment in the navie: the next yeare they removed to the Tower of London, whereof my father was made lieftenant, and there had 2 sonns more before me and 4 daughters, and two sonnes after: of all which only three sons and two daughters surviv'd him att the time of his death, which was in the sixty-third yeare of his age, after he had three yeares before languisht of a consumption that succeeded a feaver which he got in the unfortunate voyage to the Isle of Rhee.

"He died in the month of May 1630, sadly bewail'd by not only all his dependants and relations, but by all that were acquainted with him, for he never converst with any to whom he was not at some time or in some way beneficiall; and his nature was so delighted in doing good, that it wan him the love of all men, even his enemies, whose envie and mallice it was his custome to overcome with obligations. He had greate naturall parts, but was too active in his youth to stay the heightning of them by study of dead writings, but in the living bookes of men's conversations he soone became so skillfull that he was never mistaken but where his owne good would not lett him give creditt to the evill he discern'd in others. He was a most indulgent husband, and no lesse kind to his children; a most noble master, who thought it not enough to maintaine his servants honorably while they were with him, but for all that deserv'd it, provided offices or settlements as for children. He was a father to all his prisoners, sweetning with such compassionate kindnesse their restraint, that the affliction of a prison was not felt in his dayes. He had a singular kindnesse for all persons that were eminent either in learning or armes, and when through the ingratitude and vice of that age many of the wives and chilldren of queene Elizabeth's glorious captaines were reduc'd to poverty, his purse was their common treasury, and they knew not the inconvenience of decay'd fortunes till he was dead: many of those

valliant seamen he maintain'd in prison, many he redeem'd out of prison and cherisht with an extraordinary bounty. If among his excellencies one outshin'd the rest, it was the generous liberallity of his mind, wherein goodnesse and greatenesse were so equally distributed that they mutually embellisht each other. Pride and coveteousnesse had not the least place in his brest. As he was in love with true honor, so he contemn'd vaine titles, and though in his youth he accepted an addition to his birth, in his riper yeares he refus'd a barondry, which the king offer'd him. He was severe in the regulating of his famely, especially would not endure the least immodest behaviour or dresse in any woman under his roofe. There was nothing he hated more then an insignificant gallant, that could only make his leggs and prune himselfe, and court a lady, but had not braines to employ himselfe in things more suteable to man's nobler sex. Fidelity in his trust, love and loyalty to his prince, were not the least of his vertues, but those wherein he was not excell'd by any of his owne or succeeding times. The large estate he reapt by his happie industry*, he did many times over as freely resigne againe to the king's service, till he left the greatest part of itt at his death in the king's hands. All his vertues wanted not the crowne of all vertue, piety and true devotion to God. As his life was a continued exercise of faith and charity, it concluded with prayers and blessings, which were the only consolations his desolate famely could receive in his death. Never did any two better agree in magnanimity and bounty then he and my mother, who seem'd to be acted by the same soule, so little did she grutch any of his liberallities to strangers, or he contradict any of her kindnesse to all her relations; her house being a common home to all of them, and a nursery to their children. He gave her a noble allowance of 300*l.* a yeare for her owne private expence, and had given her all her owne portion to dispose of how she pleas'd, as soone as she was married; which she suffer'd to encrease in her friend's hands; and what my father allow'd her she spent not in vanities, although she had what was rich and requisite upon occasions, but she lay'd most of it out in pious and charitable uses. Sr. Walter Rawleigh and Mr. Ruthin being prisoners in the Tower, and addicting themselves to chimistrie, she suffer'd them to make their rare experiments at her cost, partly to comfort and divert the poore prisoners, and partly to gaine the knowledge of their experiments, and the medicines to helpe such poore people as were not able to seeke to phisitians. By these means she acquir'd a greate deale of skill, which was very profitable to many all her life†. She was not only to these,

* Mrs. Hutchinson, though a republican, does not fail justly to appreciate loyalty. The noble family of Bathurst, in which that of Apsley is merged by repeated marriages, will with good title claim this as their appropriate virtue of inheritance.

† This anecdote of Sir Walter Rawleigh will no doubt attract the notice of the observant reader: it merits to be born in mind, as it will account for a passage in the memoirs, where Mrs. Hutchinson is represented as acting the part of a surgeon in the

these, but to all the other prisoners that came into the Tower, as a mother. All the time she dwelt in the Tower, if any were sick she made them broths and restoratives with her owne hands, visited and tooke care of them, and provided them all necessaries; if any were afflicted she comforted them, so that they felt not the inconvenience of a prison who were in that place. She was not lesse bountifull to many poore widdowes and orphans, whom officers of higher and lower rank had left behind them as objects of charity. Her owne house was fill'd with distressed families of her relations, whom she supplied and maintain'd in a noble way. The care of the worship and service of God, both in her soule and her house, and the education of her children, was her principall care. She was a constant frequenter of weekeday lectures, and a greate lover and encourager of good ministers, and most dilligent in her private reading and devotions.

"When my father was sick she was not satisfied with the attendance of all that were about him, but made herselfe his nurse, and cooke, and phisitian, and through the blessing of God and her indefatigable labours and watching, preserv'd him a greate while longer then the phisitians thought it possible for his nature to hold out. At length when the Lord tooke him to rest she shew'd as much humility and patience, under that greate change, as moderation and bounty in her more plentifull and prosperous condition, and died in my house at Owthorpe, in the county of Nottingham, in the yeare 1659. The priveledge of being borne of and educated by such excellent parents, I have often revolv'd with greate thankfullnesse for the mercy, and humilliation that I did no more emproove it. After my mother had had 3 sons she was very desireous of a daughter, and when the weomen at my birth told her I was one, she receiv'd me with a greate deale of joy; and the nurse's fancying, because I had more complexion and favour then is usuall in so young children, that I should not live, my mother became fonder of me, and more endeavour'd to nurse me. As soone as I was weau'd a French woman was taken to be my drie nurse, and I was taught to speake French and English together. My mother, while she was with child of me, dreamt that she was walking in the garden with my father; and that a starre came downe into her hand, with other circumstances, which, though I have often heard, I minded not enough to remember perfectly; only my father told her, her dreame signified she should have a daughter of some extraordinary eminency; which thing, like such vaine prophecies, wrought as farre as it

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the siege of Nottingham-castle: and as the treatment Sir Allen Apsley and his lady gave their prisoners forms a striking contrast with that which it will appear at the end of the history was practised by some of his successors, at a time when mildness seemed most requisite, and was most professed. Perhaps prejudice will render it incredible that in the Bastile of Paris, which has become a proverbial expression to signify cruel durance, the conduct of the murdered governor resembled that of Sir Allen Apsley; it is nevertheless true.

could

could its own accomplishment*; for my father and mother fancying me then beautifull, and more than ordinarily apprehensive, applied all their cares, and spar'd no cost to emproove me in my education, which procur'd me the admiration of those that flatter'd my parents. By that time I was foure yeares old I read English perfectly, and having a greate memory, I was carried to sermons, and while I was very young could remember and repeate them so exactly, and being caress'd, the love of praise tickled me, and made me attend more heedfully. When I was about 7 yeares of age, I remember I had att one time 8 tutors in severall quallities, languages, musick, dancing, writing, and needlework, but my genius was quite averse from all but my booke, and that I was so eager of, that my mother thinking it preiudic'd my health, would moderate me in it; yet this rather animated me then kept me back, and every moment I could steale from my play I would employ in any booke I could find, when my own were lockt up from me. After dinner and supper I still had an hower allow'd me to play, and then I would steale into some hole or other to read. My father would have me learne Latine, and I was so apt that I outstript my brothers who were at schoole, allthough my father's chaplaine that was my tutor was a pittifull dull fellow. My brothers, who had a greate deale of witt, had some emulation at the progresse I made in my learning, which very well pleas'd my father, tho' my mother would have been contented, I had not so wholly addicted myselfe to that as to neglect my other quallities: as for musick and dancing I profited very little in them, and would never practise my lute or harpsicords but when my masters were with me; and for my needle I absolutely hated it; play among other children I despis'd, and when I was forc'd to entertaine such as came to visitt me, I tir'd them with more grave instructions then their mothers, and pluckt all their babies to pieces, and kept the children in such awe, that they were glad when I entertain'd myselfe with elder company; to whom I was very acceptable, and living in the house with many persons that had a greate deale of witt; and very profitable serious discourses being frequent at my father's table and in my mother's drawing roome, I was very attentive to all, and gather'd up things that I would utter againe to greate admiration of many that tooke my memory and imitation for witt. It pleas'd God that thro' the good instructions of my mother, and the sermons she carried me to, I was convinc'd that the knowledge of God was the most excellent study,

* This is an ingenious way of accounting for the fulfilment of superstitious predictions and expectations, which might frequently with close attention be traced to their source, as is here done. It is clear that in the present case it occasioned a peculiar care to be taken of her education; and this again caused her mind and disposition to take that singular stamp which attracted the notice of Mr. Hutchinson, and led her to the highest situation that she could wish for, that of the lady of a counsellor of state in her beloved, but short-lived, republic. When the reader shall have followed her to the end of her labors, let him judge whether there could be any situation to which she was not adequate.

and

and accordingly applied myselfe to it, and to practise as I was taught: I us'd to exhort my mother's maides much, and to turne their idle discourses to good subjects; but I thought, when I had done this on the Lord's day, and every day perform'd my due taskes of reading and praying, that then I was free to anie thing that was not sin, for I was not at that time convinc'd of the vanity of conversation which was not scandalously wicked: I thought it no sin to learne or heare wittie songs and amorous sonnetts or poems, and twenty things of that kind, wherein I was so apt that I became the confident in all the loves that were managed among my mother's young weomen, and there was none of them but had many lovers and some particular friends belov'd above the rest; among these I have† * * * * * * —Any one mention'd him to me, I told them I had forgotten those extravagancies of my infancy, and knew now that he and I were not equall; but I could not for many yeares heare his name, without several inward emotions * * * Five years after me my mother had a daughter that she nurst at her owne brest, and was infinitely fond of above all the rest, and I being of too serious a temper was not so pleasing to my‡ * * * * *"

The Character of Colonel Hutchinson.—Written by his Widow.

[From Memoirs of The Life of Colonel Hutchinson.]

"TO MY CHILDREN."

"THEY who dote on mortall excellencies, when by the inevitable fate of all things fraile, their adored idols are taken from them, may lett loose the winds of passion to bring in a flood of sorrow; whose ebbing tides carry away the deare memory of what they have lost; and when comfort is assay'd to such mourners, commonly all obiects are remov'd out of their view, which may with their remembrance renew their griefe; and in time these remedies succeed, when oblivivions curtaine is by degrees drawn over the dead face, and things lesse lovely are liked, while they are not view'd together with that which was most excellent: but I that am under a command not to grieve att the common rate of desolate woe-

† At this place is a great chasm, many leaves being torn out apparently by the writer herself.

‡ This sentence appears to relate to some amour in which Mrs. H. was disappointed. Here the story of herself abruptly ends.

men,

men*, while I am studying which way to moderate my woe, and if it were possible to augment my love, can for the present find out none more iust to your deare father nor consolatory to myselfe then the preservation of his memory, which I need not guild with such flattring commendations as the hired preachers doe equally give to the truly and titularly honorable; a naked undrest narrative, speaking the simple truth of him, will deck him with more substantiall glorie, then all the panegyricks the best pens could ever consecrate to the vertues of the best men.

"Indeed that resplendant body of light, which the beginning and ending of his life made up, to discover the deformities of this wicked age, and to instruct the erring children of this generation, will through my apprehension and expression shine as under a very thick clowd, which will obscure much of their lustre; but there is need of this medium to this world's weake eies, which I feare hath but few people in it so vertuous as can believe, because they find themselves so short, any other could make so large a progresse in the race of piety, honor, and vertue: but I am allmost stopt before I set forth to trace his steps; finding the number of them by which he still outwent himselfe more then my unperfect arithmetick can count, and the exact figure of them such as my unskillfull pen cannot describe. I feare to iniure that memory which I would honor, and to disgrace his name with a poore monument; but when I have beforehand layd this necessary caution, and ingenuously confess'd that through my inabillity either to receive or administer much of that wealthy stock of his glory that I was intrusted with for the benefitt of all, and particularly his owne posterity, I must withhold a greate part from them, I hope I shall be pardon'd for drawing an imperfect image of him, especially when even the rudest draught that endeavours to counterfeit him, will have much delightfull lovelienesse in it.

"Let not excesse of love and delight in the streame make us forgett the fountaine, he and all his excellencies came from God, and flow'd back into their owne spring; there lett us seeke them, thither lett us hasten after him; there having found him, lett us cease to bewaile among the dead that which is risen, or rather was immortall; his soule converst with God so much when he was here, that it reioyces to be now eternally freed from interruption in that blessed exercise; his vertues were recorded in heaven's annalls, and can never perish, by them he yett teaches us and all those to whose knowledge they shall arrive: 'tis only his fetters, his sins, his infirmities, his diseases, that are dead never to revive againe, nor would wee have them; they were his enemies and

* The command of her husband at his death. It will be readily admitted that she does indeed not grieve after any common rate, but with that noble sorrow which raises instead of depressing the soul: it would be an affront to the reader's taste to point out the beauties of this dirge; but it is only a just commendation of our authoress's judgment and modesty to observe, that having shown her ability to ornament and embellish, she confines herself to such occasions as are most suitable, and employs the greatest simplicity in her narrative.

ours;

ours; by faith in Christ he vanquisht them: our coniunction, if wee had any with him, was undissoluble, if wee were knitt together by one spiritt into one body of Christ, wee are so still, if wee were mutually united in one love of God, good men, and goodnesse, wee are so still; what is it then we waile in his remoove? the distance? faithlesse fooles! sorrow only makes it; let us but ascend to God in holy ioy for the greate grace given his poore servant, and he is there with us. He is only remov'd from the mallice of his enemies, for which wee should not expresse love to him in being aflicted, wee may mourne for ourselves that wee come so tardily after him, that wee want his guide and assistance in our way, and yet if our teares did not putt out our eies wee should see him even in heaven, holding forth his flaming lamp of vertuous examples and precepts to light us through the darke world. It is time that I lett in to your knowledge that splendor which while it cheares and enlightens your heavy senses, let us remember to give all his and all our glorie to God alone, who is the father and fountaine of all light and excellence.

"Desiring, if my treacherous memory have not lost the dearest treasure that ever I committed to its trust, to relate to you his holy, vertuous, honorable life, I would putt his picture in the front of his booke*, but my unskillfull hand will iniure him. Yet to such of you as have not seene him to remember his person, I leave this—

"HIS DESCRIPTION.

"He was of a middle stature, of a slender and exactly well-proportion'd shape in all parts, his complexion fair, his hayre of a light browne, very thick sett in his youth, softer then the finest silke, curling into loose greate rings att the ends, his eies of a lively grey, well-shaped and full of life and vigour, graced with many becoming motions, his visage thinne, his mouth well made, and his lipps very ruddy and gracefull, allthough the nether chap shut over the upper, yett it was in such a manner as was not unbecomming, his teeth were even and white as the purest ivory, his chin was something long, and the mold of his face, his forehead was not very high, his nose was rays'd and sharpe, but withall he had a most amiable countenance, which carried in it something of magnanimity and maiesty mixt with sweetenesse, that at the same time bespoke love and awe in all that saw him; his skin was smooth and white, his legs and feete excellently well made, he was quick in his pace and turnes, nimble and active and gracefull in all his motions, he was apt for any bodily exercise, and any that he did became him, he could dance admirably well, but neither in youth nor tiper yeares made any practise of it, he had skill in fencing such as became a gentle man, he had a greate love to musick, and often diverted himselfe with a violl, on which he play'd masterly, he had an exact eare and iudgement in other mu-

* The editor is happy to have it in his power to do this in a manner that will be gratifying to the lovers of the arts. The original pictures of Mr. and Mrs. Hutchinson, with their two children, were found by him in their house at Owthorpe, and are now deposited, along with the manuscript, at Messrs Longman's and Co.

sick,

sick, he shott excellently in bowes and gunns, and much us'd them for his exercise, he had greate iudgment in paintings*, graving, sculpture, and all liberal arts, and had many curiosities of vallue in all kinds, he tooke greate delight in perspective glasses, and for his other rarities was not so much affected with the antiquity as the merit of the worke—he tooke much pleasure in emproovement of grounds, in planting groves and walkes, and fruite-trees, in opening springs and making fish-ponds †; of country recreations he lov'd none but hawking, and in that was very eager and much delighted for the time he us'd it, but soone left it of; he was wonderful neate, cleanly and gentile in his habitt, and had a very good fancy in it, but he left off very early the wearing of aniething that was costly, yett in his plainest negligent habitt appear'd very much a gentleman; he had more addresse than force of body, yet the courage of his soule so supplied his members that he never wanted strength when he found occasion to employ it; his conversation was very pleasant for he was naturally chearfull, had a ready witt and apprehension; he was eager in every thing he did, earnest in dispute, but withall very rationall, so that he was seldome overcome, every thing that it was necessary for him to doe he did with delight, free and unconstrein'd, he hated cerimonious complement, but yett had a naturall civillity and complaisance to all people, he was of a tender constitution, but through the vivacity of his spiritt could undergo labours, watchings and iourneyes, as well as any of stronger compositions; he was rheumatick, and had a long sicknesse and distemper occasion'd thereby two or three yeares after the warre ended, but elce for the latter halfe of his life was healthy tho' tender, in his youth and childhood he was sickly, much troubled with weaknesse and tooth akes, but then his spiritts carried him through them; he was very patient under sicknesse or payne or any common accidints, but yet upon occasions, though never without iust ones, he would be very angrie, and had even in that such a grace as made him to be fear'd, yet he was never outragious in passion; he had a very good facultie in perswading, and would speake very well pertinently and effectually without premeditation upon the greatest occasions that could be offer'd, for indeed his iudgment was so nice, that he could never frame any speech beforehand to please himselfe, but his invention was so ready and wisedome so habituall in all his speeches, that he never had reason to repent himselfe of speaking at any time without ranking the words beforehand, he was not-talkative yett free of discourse, of a very spare diett, not much given to sleepe, an early riser when in health, he never was at any time idle, and hated to see any one elce soe, in all his naturall and ordinary inclinations and composure, there was somthing extraordinary and tending to vertue, beyond what I

* There remained some few of these at Owthorpe unspoiled, but many were spoiled by neglect, at the death of the last possessor.

† Many traces of his taste, judgment, and industry, in each of these, were to be seen at the distance of 140 years.

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can describe, or can be gather'd from a bare dead description; there was a life of spiritt and power in him that is not to be found in any copie drawne from him: to summe up therefore all that can be sayd of his outward frame and disposition wee must truly conclude, that it was a very handsome and well furnisht lodging prepar'd for the reception of that prince, who in the administration of all excellent vertues reign'd there awhile, till he was called back to the pallace of the universall emperor*.

"HIS VERTUES.

"To number his vertues, is to give the epitome of his life†, which was nothing elce but a progresse from one degree of vertue to another, till in a short time he arriv'd to that height, which many longer lives could never reach, and had I but the power of rightly disposing and relating them, his single example would be more instructive then all the rules of the best moralists, for his practise was of a more devine extraction, drawne from the word of God, and wrought up by the assistance of his Spiritt; therefore in the head of all his vertues, I shall sett that which was the head and spring of them all, his Christianity—for this alone is the true royall blood that runs through the whole body of vertue, and every pretender to that glorious famely, who hath no tincture of it, is an imposter and a spurious bratt. This is that sacred fountaine which baptizeth all the gentile vertues, that so immortalize the names of Cicero, Plutarch, Seneca, and all the old philosophers; herein they are regenerated and take a new name and nature; dig'd up in the willdernesse of nature, and dipt in this living spring, they are planted and flourish in the Paradice of God.

"By Christianitie I intend that universall habitt of grace which is wrought in a soule by the regenerating spiritt of God whereby the whole creature is resign'd up into the divine will and love, and all its actions design'd to the obedience and glory of its maker. As soone as he had improov'd his naturall understanding with the acquisition of learning, the first studies he exercis'd himselfe in, were principles of religion, and the first knowledge he labour'd for was a knowledge of God, which by a dilligent examination of the scripture, and the severall doctrines of greate men pretending that ground he at length obtein'd.—Afterward when he had layd a sure and orthodox foundation in the doctrine of the free grace of God given us by Jesus Christ, he began to survey the superstructures, and to discover much of the hay and stubble of man's inventions in God's worship which his spiritt burnt up in the day of their triall. His faith being established in the truth, he was full of love to God and all his saints‡. He hated

* Is not here Plato's system pourtray'd in language worthy of that sublime and eloquent philosopher?

† Highly panegyrical as the character Mrs. Hutchinson here gives of her husband may appear, yet every point of it will be completely exemplified in the narrative; but if the widow's fondness for his memory should have led her into some excess, who will blame it?

‡ Saints. An expression commonly used in that time to signify good and religious people.

persecution

persecution for religion, and was allwayes a champion for all religious people against all their greate oppressors. He detested all scoffes att any practise of worship though such a one as he was not perswaded of. Whatever he practiz'd in religion was neither for faction nor advantage, but contrary to it, and purely for conscience sake. As he hated outsides in religion so could he worse endure, those apostacies and those denialls of the Lord and base compliances with his adversaries, which timorous men practise under the name of prudent and iust condescensions to avoid persecution. Christianity being in him as the fountaine of all his vertues, and diffusing itselfe into every streame, that of his Prudence falls into the next mention. He from a child was wise, and sought to by many that might have bene his fathers for councell, which he could excellently give to himselfe and others, and whatever crosse event in any of his affaires may give occasion to fooles to overlooke the wisedome of the designe, yett he had as greate a foresight, as strong a iudgment, as cleare an apprehension of men and things as no man more. He had rather a firme impression than a greate memory, yett he was forgettful of nothing but injuries. His owne integritie made him credulous of other mens, till reason and experience convinc'd him, and as unapt to believe cautions which could not be receiv'd without entertaining ill opinions of men, yet he had wisedome enough never to committ himselfe a traytor, though he was once wickedly betrey'd by friends whom necessity and not mistake forc'd him to trust*. He was as ready to heare as to give councell, and never pertinacious in his will when his reason was convinc'd. There was no opinion which he was most settled in either concerning devine or humane things but he would patiently and impartially heare it debated. In matters of faith his reason allwayes submitted to the word of God, and what he could not comprehend he would believe because 'twas written, but in all other things, the greatest names in the world could never lead him without reason: he would deliberate when there was time, but never lost an oppertunity of anie thing that was to be done by tedious dispute. He would heare as well as speake, and yett never spoke impertinently or unseasonably. He very well understood himselfe his owne advantages, naturall parts, guifts, and acquirements, yett so as neither to glorie of them to others, nor overvallue himselfe for them, for he had an excellent vertuous modesty, which shutt out all vanity of mind, and yett admitted that true understanding of himselfe which was requisite for the best improovement of all his tallents; he no lesse understood and was more heedfull to remarke his defects, imperfections, and disadvantages, but that too only to excite his circumspection concerning them, not to damp his spiritt in any noble enterprize. He had a noble spiritt of governement, both

* It is not known what peculiar transaction this refers to, though it may be conjectured to refer to the false protestations of Monk and Sir Ashley Cooper at the restoration; whom he and many others trusted much against their will.

in

in civill, military, and œcumenicall * administrations, which forc'd even from unwilling subjects a love and reverence of him, and endear'd him to the soules of those rejoyc'd to be govern'd by him. He had a native maiesty that struck an awe of him into the hearts of men, and a sweete greatnesse that commanded love. He had a cleare discerning of men's spirits, and knew how to give every one their iust weight, he contemn'd none that were not wicked, in whatever low degree of nature or fortune they were otherwise: where-ever he saw wisedome, learning, or other vertues in men, he honor'd them highly, and admir'd them to their full rate, but never gave himselfe blindly up to the conduct of the greatest master. Love itselfe, which was as powerfull in his as in any soule, rather quick'ned then blinded the eies of his iudgment in discerning the imperfections of those that were most deare to him. His soule ever reign'd as king in the internall throne, and never was captive to his sence; religion and reason, its two favour'd councellors, tooke order that all the passions kept within their owne just bounds, there did him good service, and further'd the publick weale. He found such felicity in that proportion of wisedome that he enjoyed, as he was a greate lover of that which advanc'd it, learning and the arts, which he not only honor'd in others, but had by his industry arriv'd to be himselfe a farre greater schollar then is absolutely requisite for a gentleman. He had many excellent attainements, but he no lesse evidenc'd his wisedome in knowing how to ranke and use them, then in gaining them. He had witt enough to have bene subtile and cunning, but he so abhorr'd dissimulation that I cannot say he was either. Greatenesse of courage would not suffer him to put on a vizard, to secure him from any, to retire into the shaddow of privacy and silence was all his prudence could effect in him. It will be as hard to say which was the predominant vertue in him, as which is so in its owne nature. He was as excellent in iustice as in wisedome—the greatest advantage, nor the greatest danger, nor the dearest interest or friend in the world could not prevaile on him to pervert justice even to an enemie. He never profess'd the thing he intended not, nor promis'd what he believ'd out of his owne power, nor fail'd the performance of anie thing that was in his power to fulfill. Never fearing aniething he could suffer for the truth, he never at any time would refreine a true or give a false witnesse; he lov'd truth so much that he hated even sportive lies and gulleries. He was so just to his owne honour that he many times forbore things lawfull and delightfull to him, rather than he would give any one occasion of scandall. Of all lies he most hated hipocrisie in religion, either to complie with changing governments or persons, without a reall perswasion of conscience, or to practise holy things to gett the applause of men or any advantage. —As in Religion so in Friendship, he never profest love when he had it not, nor disguiz'd hate or aversion, which indeed he never had to any party or person, but to their sins: and lov'd even his bitterest enemies so well, that I am witnesse how his soule mourn'd for them,

* Œcumenicall—Domestick.

and how heartely he desir'd their conversion. If he were defective in any part of iustice, it was when it was in his power to punish those who had iniur'd him, whom I have so often knowne him to recompence with favours instead of revenge, that his friends us'd to tell him if they had any occasion to make him favourably partiall to them they would provoke him by an iniury. He was as faithfull and constant to his friends as mercifull to his enemies: nothing griev'd him more than to be oblieg'd, where he could not hope to returne itt. He that was a rock to all assaults of might and violence, was the gentlest easie soule to kindnesse, that the least warme sparke of that melted him into aniething that was not sinfull. There never was a man more exactly iust in the performance of duties to all relations and all persons. Honor, obedience, and love to his father, were so naturall and so lasting in him, that it is impossible to imagine a better sonne than he was, and whoever would pray for a blessing in children to any one, could but wish them such a sonne as he*. He never repin'd at his father's will in aniething, how much soever it were to his preiudice, nor would endure to heare anie one say his father was not so kind to him as he might have bene, but to his dying day preserv'd his father's memory with such tender affection and reverence as was admirable, and had that high regard for his mother-in-law and the children she brought his father, as he could not have bene more dearly concern'd in all their interest if she had bene his owne mother—which all things consider'd, although they wer deserving persons, was an example of piety and goodnesse that will not easily be matcht. For coniugal affection to his wife, it was such in him, as whosoever would draw out a rule of honour, kindnesse, and religion, to be practiz'd in that estate, need no more, but exactly draw out his example; never man had a greater passion for a woman, nor a more honourable esteeme of a wife, yet he was not uxorious, nor remitted not that iust rule which it was her honour to obey, but manag'd the reines of governement with such prudence and affection that she who would not delight in such an honourable and advantageable subjection, must have wanted a reasonable soule: he govern'd by perswasion, which he never employ'd but to things honorable and profitable for herselfe; he lov'd her soule and her honor more than her outside, and yet he had even for her person a constant indulgence, exceeding the common temporary passions of the most uxorious fooles: if he esteem'd her att a higher rate then she in herselfe could have deserv'd, he was the author of that vertue he doted on, while she only reflected his own glories upon him: all that she was, was *him*, while he was here, and all that she is now at best but his pale shade. So liberall was he to her and of so generous a temper, that he hated the mention of sever'd purses: his estate being so much at her dispose that he never would receive an account of aniething she expended; so constant was he in his love, that when she ceast to be young and lovely, he

* This we shall find called in question by his mother-in-law, and will be discussed in the course of the history.

began

began to shew most fondnesse, he lov'd her at such a kind and generous rate as words cannot expresse, yet even this, which was the highest love he or anie man could have, was yet bounded by a superior, he lov'd her in the Lord as his fellow creature, not his idoll, but in such a manner as shew'd that an affection bounded in the just rules of duty, far exceeds every way all the irregular passions in the world. He lov'd God above her and all the other dear pledges of his heart, and at his command and for his glorie chearefully resign'd them. He was as kinde a father, as deare a brother, as good a master, and as faithfull a friend as the world had, yet in all these relations, the greatest indulgence he could have in the world never prevail'd on him to indulge vice in any the dearest person, but the more deare any was to him, the more was he offended at any thing that might take of the lustre of their glorie. As he had great severity against errors and follies pertinaciously persued, so had he the most merciful, gentle, and compassionate frame of spiritt that can be imagin'd to those who became sensible of their errors and frailties, although they had bene never so iniurious to himselfe.

"Nor was his soule lesse shining in honour then in love. Pietie being still the bond of all his other vertues, there was nothing he durst not doe or suffer, but sin against God, and therefore as he never regarded his life in any noble and just enterprize, so he never staked it in any rash or unwarrantable hazard. He was never surpriz'd, amaz'd, nor confounded with greate difficulties or dangers, which rather serv'd to animate then distract his spiritts: he had made up his accounts with life and death, and fixt his purpose to entertaine both honorably, so that no accident ever dismay'd him, but he rather reioic'd in such troublesome conflicts as might signallze his generosity. A truer or more lively vallour there never was in anie man, but in all his actions, it ever marcht in the same file with wisedome. He understood well, and as well perform'd when he undertooke it, the millitary art in all parts of it: he naturally lov'd the employment as it suited with his active temper, more then any, conceiving a mutual delight in leading those men that lov'd his conduct; and when he commanded souldiers, never was man more loved and reverenced by all that were under him: for he would never condiscend to them in anie thing they mutinously sought, nor suffer them to seeke what it was fitt for him to provide, but prevented them by his loving care; and while he exercis'd his authority no way but in keeping them to their iust duty, they ioy'd as much in his commands, as he in their obedience: he was very liberall to them, but ever chose iust times and occasions to exercise it: I cannot say whether he were more truly magnanimous or lesse proud: he never disdain'd the meanest person nor flatter'd the greatest; he had a loving and sweete courtesie to the poorest, and would often employ many spare howers with the commonest souldiers and poorest labourers, but still so ordering his familliarity as it never rays'd them to a contempt, but entertained still at the same time a reverence with love of him: he ever preserv'd himselfe in his owne rank, neither being proud of it so as to despise any inferior, nor letting fall that iust decorum which his honor obli-

ged him to keepe up. He was as farre from envie of superiors as from contemning them that were under him: he was above the ambition of vaine titles, and so well contented with the even ground of a gentleman, that no invitation could have prevail'd upon him to advance one step that way; he lov'd substantiall not ayrie honor: as he was above seeking or delighting in emptie titles for himself, so he neither denied or envied any man's due precedency, but pittied those that tooke a glorie in that which had no foundation of vertue. As little did he seeke after popular applause, or pride himselfe in it, if at any time it cried up his just deserts; he more delighted to doe well then to be prays'd, and never sett vulgar commendations at such a rate, as to act contrary to his owne conscience or reason for the obteining them, nor would forbear a good action which he was bound to, though all the world disliked it, for he ever look'd on things as they were in themselves, not through the dimme spectacles of vulgar estimation. As he was farre from a vaine affectation of popularity, so he never neglected that iust care that an honest man ought to have of his reputation, and was as carefull to avoyd the appearances of evill as evill itselfe; but if he were evill spoken of for truth or righteousnesse sake, he rejoyc'd in taking up the reproach; which all good men that dare beare their testimony against an evill generation must suffer. Though his zeale for truth and vertue, caus'd the wicked with the sharpe edges of their mallicious tongues, to attempt to shave of the glories from his head, yett his honor springing from the fast roote of vertue, did but grow the thicker and more beautiful for all their endeavours to cut it * of. He was as free from avarice as from ambition and pride. Never had any man a more contented and thankfull heart for the estate that God had given, but it was a very narrow compasse for the exercise of his greate heart. He lov'd hospitallity as much as he hated riott: he could contentedly be without things beyond his reach, though he tooke very much pleasure in all those noble delights that exceeded not his faculties. In those things that were of meere pleasure, he lov'd not to aime at that he could not attaine: he would rather weare clothes absolutely plaine, then pretending to gallantry, and would rather chuse to have none then meane iewells or pictures, and such other things as were not of absolute necessity: he would rather give nothing then a base reward or present, and upon that score, liv'd very much retir'd, though his nature were very sociable and delighted in going into and receiving company; because his fortune would not allow him to doe it in such a noble manner as suited with his mind. He was so truly magnanimous that prosperity could never lift him up in the least, nor give him any tincture of pride or vaineglory, nor diminish a generall affabillity, curtesie, and civillity, that he had allwayes to all persons. When he was most exalted he was most mercifull and compassionate to those that were humbled. At the same time that he vanquisht any enemie, he cast away all his ill-will to him, and entertain'd thoughts of love and kindnesse as soone as

* Samson and Dalilah.

he

he ceast to be in a posture of opposition. He was as farre from meannesse as from pride, as truly generous as humble, and shew'd his noble spiritt more in adversity then in his prosperous condition: he vanquisht all the spite of his enemies by his manly suffering, and all the contempts they could cast at him were theirs, not his, shame.

His whole life was the rule of temperance in meate, drinke, apparell, pleasure, and all those things that may be lawfully enjoy'd, and herein his temperance was more excellent then in others, in whom it is not so much a vertue, but proceeds from want of appetite or gust of pleasure; in him it was a true, wise, and religious governement of the desire and delight he tooke in the things he enjoy'd. He had a certeine activity of spiritt which could never endure idlenesse either in himselfe or others, and that made him eager for the time he indulg'd it as well in pleasure as in businesse; indeed, though in his youth he exercis'd innocent sports a little while, yett afterwards his businesse was his pleasure; but how intent soever he were in anie-thing, how much soever it delighted him, he could freely and easily cast it away when God called him to something elce.—He had as much modesty as could consist with a true vertuous assurance, and hated an impudent person. Neither in youth nor riper age could the most faire or enticeing weomen ever draw him so much as into unnecessary familliarity or vaine converse or dalliance with them, yet he despis'd nothing of the female sex but their follies and vanities; wise and vertuous weomen he lov'd, and delighted in all pure, holy, and unblameable conversation with them, but so as never to excite scandall or temptation. Scurrilous discourse even among men he abhorr'd, and though he sometimes tooke pleasure in witt and mirth, yett that which was mixt with impurity he never would endure. The heate of his youth a little enclin'd him to the passion of anger, and the goodnesse of his nature to those of love and griefe, but reason was never dethron'd by them, but continued governesse and moderator in his soul*."

MEMOIRS of LOPE DE VEGA.

[From LORD HOLLAND'S ACCOUNT of his LIFE and WRITINGS.]

"THE wonders of Lope de Vega's life consist indeed more in the number of his productions than the singularity of his adventures; yet at an early period of life he was not exempt from that spirit of enterprise which pervaded all ranks and descriptions

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* In this place Mrs. Hutchinson has written, "All this and more is true, but I so much dislike the manner of relating it, that I will make another assay." And accordingly she proceeds to write his character over again, but it has the appearance of being much *more laboured*, and much *less characteristick*, and therefore the former is preferred.

At the same place is written: "This book was written by Lucy, the widow and relict of Col. John Hutchinson, of Owthorp." J. H.
(Julius Hutchinson, grandfather of the Editor.)

of his countrymen. His friend and encomiast Perez de Montalvan relates that at about the age of thirteen or fourteen he was impelled by so restless a desire of seeing the world, that he resolved to escape from school; and having concerted his project with a schoolfellow, they actually put it into execution. They had taken the precaution of providing some money for their expedition, but they had not been equally provident in calculating the duration of their finances; for, after buying a mule at Segovia, it was not till their arrival at Astorga that they perceived that the scantiness of their purse would not permit them to proceed any farther on their travels. This unforeseen difficulty disconcerted our young adventurers, and they resolved to abandon their scheme as hastily as they had undertaken it. They had returned as far as Segovia, when the necessity of procuring money compelled them to offer some trinkets to sale at a silversmith's. The tradesman was a cautious Spaniard: he suspected that they had stolen the trinkets, and prudently conducted them before the magistrate of the place. He was fortunately a man of moderation, and confined the exercise of his authority to appointing a constable to conduct them back to Madrid.

"The admiration and surprise with which the wisdom of this decision and the small expence attending its execution are mentioned by Montalvan, are striking proofs that vexatious and expensive practices had already infected the administration of police in Spain.

"Lope, according to his biographers, betrayed marks of genius at a very early age, as well as a singular propensity to poetry. They assure us that at two years old these qualities were perceptible in the brilliancy of his eyes; that ere he attained the age of five he could read Spanish and Latin; and that before his hand was strong enough to guide the pen, he recited verses of his own composition, which he had the good fortune to barter for prints and toys with his playfellows. Thus even in his childhood he not only wrote poetry, but turned his poetry to account; an art in which he must be allowed afterwards to have excelled all poets antient or modern. The date however of his early productions must be collected from his own assertions, from probable circumstances, and the corresponding testimony of his friends and contemporaries; for they were either not printed at the time, or all copies of the impression have long since been lost.

"He was born at Madrid on the 25th of November 1562: and as he informs us in the Laurel de Apolo that his father was a poet, we may conjecture that his example had its effect in deciding Lope's early propensity to versification. He implies, however, in the same passage, that the discovery of his father's talent was accidental and after his death. The exact period when that event happened is uncertain; but Lope was an orphan when he escaped from school, and before that time he had by his own account not only written verses, but composed dramas in four acts, which, as he tells us, was then the custom:

El capitan Virues, insigne ingenio,
Puso en tres actos la comedia, que antes
Andaba en quatro como pies de niño,
Que eran entonces niñas las comedias.—
Y yo las escribí de onçe y doçe años
De a quatro actos, y de a quatro pliegos,
Porque cada acto un pliego contenia.

Play

Plays of three acts we owe to Virues' pen,
Which ne'er had crawl'd but on all fours till then;
An action suited to that helpless age,
The infancy of wit, the childhood of the stage.
Such did I write ere twelve years yet had run,
Plays on four sheets, an act on every one.

"Upon his return to Madrid he abandoned this mode of composition, and ingratiated himself with the bishop of Avila by several pastorals, and a comedy in three acts called La Pastoral de Jacinto. In his prologue to the Pelegrino, where he enumerates the plays he had then published, this comedy is not mentioned; from which we must infer that he did not print it, or that it is there inserted by some other name; as it is extremely common for Spanish plays of that period to have two titles. His friend Montalvan represents the production of this comedy as an epoch in the annals of the theatre, and a prelude to the reform which Lope was destined to introduce. It is probable that during this interval, between school and university, he composed several juvenile poems, which he may have retouched at a period when his name was sufficient to make any performance acceptable to the public. But the obscurity in which this part of his life is involved seems to prove that his efforts for literary fame were not hitherto attended with any extraordinary success. He shortly after studied philosophy at Alcala; and Montalvan makes a pompous relation of the satisfaction and delight which the duke of Alva experienced in receiving the young poet among the crowds that thronged to pay him court, and of the eagerness with which he engaged him in his service upon his return from the university. A passage in the eclogue to Claudio implies that this event did not take place till after the unsuccessful expedition of the Armada. At any rate it does not appear what wonders he had hitherto performed to render his incense so peculiarly acceptable at so powerful a shrine, and the subsequent events of his life seem to contradict Montalvan's improbable relation. He wrote however his Arcadia at the instance of the duke of Alva. It is a mixture of prose and verse; of romance and poetry; of pastoral and heroic; the design of which was avowedly taken from Sannazaro, though its execution is pronounced by the Spanish critics to be decidedly superior to the model.

"Soon after he had executed the command of the duke of Alva, he left his service and married. The duties of matrimony did not interfere with his favourite studies, which he seems to have cultivated with increased enthusiasm, till an unfortunate event compelled him to quit Madrid and his newly-established family. A gentleman of considerable rank and importance having indulged his wit at the expence of Lope and his compositions, the poet was incensed, hitched his critic into verse, and exposed him to the ridicule of the town in a poem called *a Romance*. His antagonist took fire, and challenged him to a contest in which he hoped to meet a poet to greater advantage than in a war of wit; but Lope de Vega had not neglected his fencing-master in his education, and accordingly

Tomando ya la espada, ya la pluma,
Now taking up the sword, and now the pen,

wounded his adversary so severely, that his life was despaired of, and

Lope compelled to fly. He fixed upon Valencia as the place of his retreat. Here he probably first formed a friendship with Vicente Mariner, a Latin poet of that town, whose muse was as prolific as that of Lope himself, and not more parsimonious of her praise. He wrote panegyrics on most contemporary poets, and composed those on Quevedo in Greek. Among the millions of lines preserved in the king of Spain's libraries, are to be found several to the honour and memory of Lope, and one written in answer to his enemies, which, if it does not leave a favourable impression of the manners or of the poetry of the author, proves that he made common cause with talents so congenial to his own. The unhappy critic who had ventured to attack the phœnix of Spain, was sufficiently refuted by being called an ass.

Voce onager, vultuque onager, pedibusque sinuque,
Ut nil non onagri nunc tua vita refert.

An ass in voice, face, feet, and senses too,
Nothing remains that is not ass in you.

"It is to be hoped that the two bards employed themselves better at Valencia than in composing such strains as these.

"Lope returned to Madrid in a few years, when all apprehensions of evil consequences from his adventure were allayed. He was probably soothing his imagination with prospects of domestic happiness, which his late absence had suspended, when he had the misfortune to lose his wife. The residence of Madrid, which he had so lately regarded as the summit of his wishes, now became insupportable; and scenes which had long been associated in his mind with ideas of present comfort and future reputation served only to remind him of their loss. To fly from such painful recollections he hastily embarked on board the memorable Armada, which was then fitting out to invade our coasts. The fate of that expedition is well known; and Lope, in addition to his share in the difficulties and dangers of the voyage, saw his brother, to whose society he had run for refuge in his late calamity, expire in his arms. If there be any truth in the supposition that poets have a greater portion of sensibility in their frames than other men, it is fortunate that they are furnished by the nature of their occupations with the means of withdrawing themselves from its effects. The act of composition, especially of verse, abstracts the mind most powerfully from external objects. The poet therefore has always a refuge within reach; by inventing fictitious distress, he may be blunting the poignancy of real grief; while he is raising the affections of his readers, he may be allaying the violence of his own, and thus find an emblem of his own susceptibility of impression in that poetical spear which is represented as curing with one end the wounds it had inflicted with the other. Whether this fanciful theory be true or not, it is certain that poets have continued their pursuits with ardour under the pressure of calamity. Some indeed assert that the genius of Ovid drooped during his banishment; but we have his own testimony, and what, notwithstanding all such criticisms, is more valuable, many hundreds of his verses, to prove that this event, however it might have depressed his spirits, riveted him to the habits of composition, and taught him to seek for consolation where he had hitherto only found amusement. Thus, in an

an eclogue which the friendship of Pedro de Medina Medivilla consecrated to the memory of Lope's wife, the lamentations of the husband are supposed to have been actually furnished by our author. Two or three odes on the same subject are to be found in his works, and he informs us himself that during his unfortunate voyage he composed the Hermosura de Angelica, a poem which professess to take up the story of that princess where Ariosto had dropped it. The motive he assigns for this choice is curious. He found in Turpin that most of her remaining adventures took place in Spain, and, thinking it for the honour of his country, related them in twenty cantos.

"To complete what Ariosto had begun was no light undertaking, and the difficulty was not diminished by the publication only two years before of a poem on the same subject called Las Lagrimas de Angelica. This was written by Luis Barahona de Soto, and has always been esteemed one of the best poems in the Spanish language. It is mentioned with great praise by the curate in the examination of Don Quixotte's library."—

"Such was the employment of Lope during this voyage of hardships, which, however alleviated, seem never totally to have been forgotten. The tyranny, cruelty, and above all the heresy of queen Elizabeth, are the perpetual objects of his poetical invective. When in 1602 he published this poem, written on board the Armada, he had the satisfaction of adding another on the death of a man who had contributed to complete the discomfiture of that formidable expedition. The Dragontea is an epic poem on the death of sir Francis Drake; and the reader is informed, by a note in the first page, that wherever the word Dragon occurs, it is to be taken for the name of that commander. Tyrant, slave, butcher, and even coward, are supposed to be so applicable to his character, that they are frequently bestowed upon him in the course of the work without the assistance of an explanatory note.

"He returned a second time to Madrid in 1590, and soon after married again.

"In 1598, on the canonization of St. Isidore, a native of Madrid, he entered the list with several authors, and overpowered them all with the number if not with the merit of his performances. Prizes had been assigned for every style of poetry, but above one could not be obtained by the same person. Lope succeeded in the hymns; but his fertile muse, not content with producing a poem of ten cantos in short verse, as well as innumerable sonnets and romances, and two comedies on the subject, celebrated by an act of supererogation both the saint and the poetical competition of the day, in a volume of sprightly poems under the feigned name of Tomé de Burguillos. These were probably the best of Lope's productions on the occasion; but the concurring testimonies of critics agree that most of his verses were appropriate and easy, and that they far excelled those of his numerous competitors. This success raised him no doubt in the estimation of the public, to whom he was already known by the number and excellence of his dramatic writings. Henceforward the licences prefixed to his books do not confine themselves to their immediate object, the simple permission to publish, but contain long and laboured

laboured encomiums upon the particular merit of the work, and the general character and style of the author. This was probably the most fortunate period of his life. He had not, it is true, attained the summit of his glory, but he was rising in literary reputation every day: and as hope is often more delightful than possession, and there is something more animating to our exertions while we are panting to acquire than when we are labouring to maintain superiority, it was probably in this part of his life that he derived most satisfaction from his pursuits. About this time also we must fix the short date of his domestic comforts, of which, while he alludes to the loss of them, he gives a short but feeling description in his Eclogue to Claudio:

Yo vi mi pobre mesa in testimonio,
Cercada y rica de fragmentos mios,
Dulces y amargos rios
Del mar del matrimonio,
Y vi pagando su fatal tributo,
De tan alegre bien tan triste luto.

"The expressions of the above are very difficult, if not impossible, to translate, as the metaphors are such as none but the Spanish language will admit. The following is rather a paraphrase than a translation.

I saw a group my board surround,
And sure to me, though poorly spread,
'T was rich with such fair objects crown'd,
Dear bitter presents of my bed!
I saw them pay their tribute to the tomb,
And scenes so cheerful change to mourning and to gloom.

"Of the three persons who formed this family group, the son died at eight years and was soon followed by his mother; the daughter alone survived our poet. The spirit of Lope seems to have sunk under such repeated losses. At a more enterprising period of life, he had endeavoured to drown his grief in the noise and bustle of a military life; he now resolved to sooth it in the exercise of devotion. Accordingly, having been secretary to the Inquisition, he shortly after became a priest, and in 1609 a sort of honorary member of the brotherhood of St. Francis. But devotion itself could not break in upon his habits of composition; and as he had about this time acquired sufficient reputation to attract the envy of his fellow poets, he spared no exertions to maintain his post, and repel the criticisms of his enemies. Among these the Spanish editors reckon the formidable names of Gongora and Cervantes."—

"Before the death of Cervantes, which happened on the same day as that of Shakspere, the admiration of Lope was become a species of worship in Spain. It was hardly prudent in any author to withhold incense from his shrine; much less to interrupt the devotion of his adherents. Such indeed was their intolerance, that they gravely asserted that the author of the Spongia, who had severely censured his works, and accused him of ignorance of the Latin language, deserved nothing short of death for such literary heresy. Nor was Lope himself entirely exempt from the irritability which is supposed to attend poets: he often speaks with peevishness of his detractors, and answers their criticisms, sometimes in a querulous, and sometimes in an insolent tone. The word Vega in Spanish signifies garden. In the title-page of his book was engraved a beetle expiring over some flowers, which he is upon the point of attacking. That the emblem

blem might not be misunderstood, this distich was also subjoined.

Audax dum Vegæ irrumpit scarabæus in hortos,
Fragrantis periit victus odore rosæ.

At Vega's garden as the beetle flies,
O'erpower'd with sweets the daring insect dies.

"The vanity of the above conceit is at least equal to the wit.

"But in the prologue to the Pelegrino, and in some posthumous poems, he most unreasonably complains of the neglect, obscurity, and poverty in which his talents have been left. How are the expectations of genius ever to be fulfilled, if Lope, laden with honours and with pensions, courted by the great, and followed by the crowd, imagined that his fortunes were unequal to his deserts?

"He seldom passed a year without giving some poem to the press; and scarcely a month or even a week without producing some play upon the stage. His Pastores de Belen, a work in prose and verse on the Nativity, had confirmed his superiority in pastoral poems; and rhymes, hymns and poems without number on sacred subjects had evinced his zeal in the profession he embraced. Philip IV., the great patron of the Spanish theatre, to which he afterwards is said to have contributed compositions of his own, at the era of his accession found Lope in full possession of the stage, and in the exercise of unlimited authority over the authors, comedians, and audience. New honours and benefices were immediately heaped on our poet, and in all probability he wrote occasionally plays for the royal palace. He published about the same time Los Triumphos de la Fe; Las Fortunas de Diana; three novels in prose (unsuccessful imitations of Cervantes); Circe, an heroic poem, dedicated to the count duke of Olivarez; and Philomena, a singular but tiresome allegory, in the second book of which he vindicates himself in the person of the nightingale from the accusation of his critics, who are there represented by the thrush.

"Such was his reputation that he began to distrust the sincerity of the public, and seems to have suspected that there was more fashion than real opinion in the extravagance of their applause. This engaged him in a dangerous experiment, the publication of a poem without his name. But whether the number of his productions had gradually formed the public taste to his own standard of excellence, or that his fertile and irregular genius was singularly adapted to the times, the result of this trial confirmed the former judgment of the public; and his Soliloquies to God, though printed under a feigned name, attracted as much notice and secured as many admirers as any of his former productions. Emboldened probably by this success, he dedicated his Corona Tragica, a poem on the queen of Scots, to pope Urban VIII., who had himself composed an epigram on the subject. Upon this occasion he received from that pontiff a letter written in his own hand, and the degree of doctor of theology. Such a flattering tribute of admiration sanctioned the reverence in which his name was held in Spain, and spread his fame through every catholic country. The cardinal Barberini followed him with veneration in the streets; the king would stop to gaze at such a prodigy; the people crowded round him whereever he appeared; the learned and the

the studious thronged to Madrid from every part of Spain to see this phœnix of their country this 'monster of literature;' and even Italians, no extravagant admirers in general of poetry that is not their own, made pilgrimages from their country for the sole purpose of conversing with Lope. So associated was the idea of excellence with his name, that it grew in common conversation to signify any thing perfect in its kind; and a Lope diamond, a Lope day, or a Lope woman, became fashionable and familiar modes of expressing their good qualities. His poetry was as advantageous to his fortune as to his fame: the king enriched him with pensions and chaplaincies, the pope honoured him with dignities and preferments: and every nobleman at court aspired to the character of his Mæcenas, by conferring upon him frequent and valuable presents. His annual income was not less than 1500 ducats, exclusive of the price of his plays, which Cervantes insinuates that he was never inclined to forego, and Montalvan estimates at 80,000. He received in presents from individuals as much as 10,500 more. His application of these sums partook of the spirit of the nation from which he drew them. Improvident and indiscriminate charity ran away with these gains, immense as they were, and rendered his life unprofitable to his friends and uncomfortable to himself. Though his devotion gradually became more fervent, it did not interrupt his poetical career. In 1630 he published the Laurel de Apolo, a poem of inestimable value to the Spanish *philologists*, as they are called in the jargon of our day, for it contains the names of more than 330 Spanish poets and their works. They are introduced as claimants for the Laurel, which Apollo is to bestow; and as Lope observes of himself that he was more inclined to panegyric than to satire, there are few or any that have not at least a strophe of six or eight lines devoted to their praise. Thus the multitude of Castilian poets, which at that time was prodigious, and the exuberance of Lope's pen, have lengthened out to a work of ten books, or sylvas, an idea which has often been imitated in other countries, but generally confined within the limits of a song. At the end of the last sylva he makes the poets give specimens of their art, and assures us that many equalled Tasso, *and even approached Ariosto* himself; a proof that this celebrated Spanish poet gave the preference to the latter. After long disputes for the Laurel, the controversy at length ends, as controversies in Spain are apt to do, in the interference of the government; and Apollo agrees to refer the question to Philip IV., whose decision, either from reserve in the judge, or from modesty in the relator, who was himself a party concerned, is nor recorded. Facts however prove that our poet could be no loser by this change of tribunal. He continued to publish plays and poems, and to receive every remuneration that adulation and generosity could bestow, till the year 1635, when religious thoughts had rendered him so hypochondriac that he could hardly be considered as in full possession of his understanding. On the 22d of August, which was Friday, he felt himself more than usually oppressed in spirits and weak with age; but he was so much more anxious about the health of his soul than of his body, that he would not avail himself of the

privilege to which his infirmities entitled him, of eating meat; and even resumed the flagellation, to which he had accustomed himself, with more than usual severity. This discipline is supposed to have hastened his death. He fell ill on that night, and having passed the necessary ceremonies with excessive devotion, he expired on Monday the 26th of August, 1635.

"The sensation produced by his death, was, if possible, more astonishing than the reverence in which he was held while living. The splendour of his funeral, which was conducted at the charge of the most munificent of his patrons, the duke of Sesa, the number and language of the sermons on that occasion, the competition of poets of all countries in celebrating his genius and lamenting his loss, are unparalleled in the annals of poetry, and perhaps scarcely equalled in those of royalty itself. The ceremonies attending his interment continued for nine days. The priests described him as a saint in his life, and represented his superiority over the classics in poetry as great as that of the religion which he professed was over the heathen."

MEMOIRS of Dr. JOHN CLARK.

[From Dr. FENWICK'S SKETCH of his PROFESSIONAL LIFE.]

"BUT little is known of Dr. Clark's early years. His father, Mr. William Clark, was a respectable farmer at Graden in the parish of Roxburgh, at which place John, the subject of this memoir, was born in May 1744. Mr. William Clark had seven sons, (of which John was the eldest,) and three daughters.

"John was first sent to school at Linton, and afterwards removed to the grammar-school at Kelso about the year 1755, where Mr. Dobie, a respectable teacher and good classical scholar, was at that time master. In that situation he remained till 1760. His studious disposition, and the great progress he made in learning, determined his father to educate him for the church, and he was accordingly removed for that purpose, in 1760, to the university of Edinburgh. These views were, however, unsuccessful. Whether his natural turn of mind led him to prefer the study of nature to abstract researches, or he received the bias from the character of the university, where the medical department is so justly pre-eminent, young Clark took no pleasure in the study of divinity, but expressed so strong and steady a predilection for medicine, that his father was induced to comply with his inclination. But this determination and his son's studies were unfortunately interrupted by the accident of a slate falling from a house, and wounding him on the head; which gave rise to very severe head-achs, and general nervous complaints, and was soon followed by a disordered state of the organs of digestion; a disease from which he was destined to suffer through life. Under these circumstances

stances Mr. Clark returned to Graden in the year 1761.

"As soon as he had recovered his health sufficiently, he was, at his own request, bound an apprentice to a Mr. Watson, at that time settled in Kelso, and who had been for many years a surgeon in the navy. From this we may conclude that his views were not then directed to that branch of the medical profession in which he afterwards became so distinguished. It is not known how long he remained with Mr. Watson; but there is reason to suppose that he did not leave him till the autumn of 1766, when he returned to Edinburgh to pursue his medical studies.

"By his diligence and abilities he there attracted the notice of the late Dr. Gregory, at that time professor of the practice of physic; a man not more distinguished by his professional talents, than by his private worth, and by his just discernment and generous protection of merit. The countenance of so eminent a man was in itself highly honourable and advantageous to a young student; but Dr. Gregory does not appear to have confined himself to mere approbation, but to have assisted him with his advice, and interested himself in his welfare with the activity of a friend. Mr. Clark had but too soon occasion for his professional assistance. The complaints in his stomach, which attacked him soon after the accident before mentioned, now increased to an alarming degree, aggravated most probably by his sedentary life and close application; and as they resisted all the remedies employed by Dr. Gregory to subdue them, he recommended it to Mr. Clark, as a last resource, to try the effects of a warm climate. In consequence of this advice, Mr. Clark's friends solicited and obtained for him an appointment, as surgeon's mate, in the East India company's service—a situation in which, with the advantage of a warm climate, he enjoyed that of an opportunity of obtaining medical experience; nor can it be doubted, from his father's circumstances and the numerous family he had to support, that the acquirement of an immediate provision was also a material object with him. I have not been able to learn the precise time of Mr Clark's leaving Edinburgh; but it is certain that he attended a course of medical lectures in London, before he entered on his appointment, as surgeon's mate, on board the Talbot Indiaman. In London he secured the good opinion of the celebrated Dr. William Hunter; and he often, through life, expressed his gratitude to him, for admitting him to his lectures without paying the usual fees. He knew how to estimate the spirit in which Dr. Hunter granted that indulgence, nor would his grateful disposition allow him to forget or depreciate any obligation, however small. It seems to me that such actions should not pass unnoticed: it is honourable to a young person to be thought worthy the patronage of eminent men; while, as proofs of their desire to encourage merit, such incidents, however trifling, reflect additional lustre on their abilities.

"On the 22d of March, 1768, the Talbot sailed from the Downs, and, after touching at St. Augustin's Bay in the island of Madagascar, anchored at Culpee, in the river of Bengal, on the 25th of August. In this situation the ship remained till the 22d of March, 1769; on which day, precisely a year after leaving the Downs, she began her voyage back to England. Mr. Clark, on

on his return, had a tedious and disagreeable voyage, not reaching Scilly till the 5th of January, 1770. During the absence of the Talbot from England, her crew suffered much from sickness, as well in the river of Bengal, as on the voyage home; and Mr. Clark's diligence and judgment appear to great advantage, in the very accurate accounts he has preserved of the diseases, and of the methods of cure. On the 16th of February, 1771, he again sailed for India, in the same ship; reached Madras on the 25th of July, and, after remaining there a month, sailed for China, and arrived at Macao on the 19th of October, and Wampoa on the 25th. Here the Talbot continued till the 7th of March, 1772, when she began her voyage to England, and arrived in the Downs on the 1st of September. I have mentioned these few dates, as they enable us to judge of Mr. Clark's opportunities of making observations on the effects of long voyages, and of the climate of India on the human constitution, and of the diseases to which it is liable. To enter into details would extend this memoir much beyond the prescribed limits; they are preserved in his *Observations on the diseases which prevail in long voyages to hot climates*, a work first published in March, 1773. To what advantage Mr. Clark had turned his opportunities of obtaining professional experience, that work is an honorable proof; in the other object of his voyages, the improvement of his health, he was not so fortunate; his stomach complaints continued without remission in India, and seem indeed to have gathered additional force.

"The winter after his arrival in England was passed in London, and dedicated to a further attendance on the hospitals, and to finishing and superintending the publication of his work. It had been communicated to sir John Sylvester, by whose advice it was published, and was dedicated to the court of directors of the company, from whom the author received a gratuity of a hundred guineas.

"Mr. Clark had no encouragement to return to India for the establishment of his health, and the high reputation which his work deservedly acquired, gave him reasonable hopes that he could derive from his profession, at home, advantages superior to any which the service of the company offered. He now, therefore, resigned his situation, and, turning his views to the medical branch of the profession, procured a diploma from the university of St. Andrew's. He applied there instead of Edinburgh, because the rules of the latter university required a further attendance on the medical schools, which would have retarded his establishment in practice.

"In the course of 1773, Dr. Clark settled as physician at Kelso, and soon acquired a considerable share of practice; but the situation was too limited to bound the views of a man who was conscious of such well-founded claims to public confidence, and he accordingly removed to Newcastle in 1775, upon Dr. Wilson's quitting it for London. He had now a wide field for the display of his abilities; but it must be acknowledged that he entered upon it under no common difficulties. Dr. Wilson, whose removal from Newcastle had induced him to settle there, had had but little business. The powerful recommendation of Dr. Askew had enabled Dr. Brown to take a decisive lead in the profession. Dr. Hall,

Hall, a man of knowledge and talents, had also considerable practice; and besides them there were other medical candidates for the public confidence, of very respectable characters and connections. It is not surprising that Dr. Clark, a stranger, and without introduction, advanced slowly against so powerful an opposition. But though the emolument of the profession was, in a great degree, preoccupied, he had an ample range for medical observation in the diseases of the poor; and neither his zeal for the improvement of his profession, nor his humanity, permitted him to neglect it. In his attendance on them, Dr. Clark could not fail to perceive the hardships which those laboured under from the want of medicines and advice, whose cases excluded them from the infirmary. To relieve this numerous class of sufferers, dispensaries had, for some years, been established in most of the principal towns of Great Britain; and it is manifest, that, without an institution of that nature, the provisions for the relief of the poor in sickness must be incomplete. These considerations induced Dr. Clark to propose the establishment of a dispensary, in Newcastle, in the beginning of April, 1777; a proposal in which he was joined by his friend Mr. Anderson, a surgeon of great respectability.

"Strange as it must now appear, the plan was immediately opposed by the physicians to the infirmary, as threatening destruction to that charity. It is probable the manner in which the proposal was made, might lead them to suspect that the conduct of the medical department was intended to be confined to the gentlemen who originally brought it forward; on which account, Dr. Clark and his friend thought it right to express their desire to act in concert with the rest of the faculty: and thus, after an explanation had taken place between the parties, all opposition ceased, and the plan was, without delay, carried into execution.

"Though Dr Clark's chief object in recommending a dispensary to the inhabitants of Newcastle, was the relief of the poor, he did not overlook those arrangements which might render it the means of extending the limits of our art. He accordingly provided for keeping accurate journals of the patients admitted, and of their cases, by which the nature of prevailing epidemics might be ascertained, the history of diseases illustrated, and the success of the modes of treatment more accurately known. He also drew up, and distributed among the poor who received relief at the dispensary, some very judicious rules for preventing the production and propagation of contagion: but this most important branch of the charity was left incomplete; no means of prevention were carried into the houses of the poor, nor was any board of health established for the purpose of enforcing the execution of the rules. Dr. Clark was, no doubt, aware of this defect; nor could he expect that his plan would prove adequate to the eradication of contagion; but the funds of the charity were by no means equal to the establishment of a board of health, and to the cleansing and purifying the habitations of the poor. He therefore adopted the only means in his power. This deficiency of the funds of the dispensary is very strongly stated in several of the early reports of its proceedings; and a lamentable proof of it is found in the failure of a proposal,

posal, made by Dr. Clark, for a general inoculation, in 1779, which was abandoned solely on that account. This very desirable object was not accomplished till 1786, from which time it has been continued annually.

"In 1783, Dr. Clark published a posthumous tract of Dr. Dugald Leslie, on the contagious catarrh which raged so widely during the preceding summer, together with a letter of his own to the author on the same subject. The work presents a very faithful history of the epidemic, with some judicious remarks on its treatment; but as it does not throw much additional light on that singular disease, his chief object in publishing it was probably to pay a tribute to the memory of his deceased friend, who was snatched by a pulmonary consumption from a profession, of which, had he lived, he would have proved an ornament.

"Doctor Clark's practice had been long increasing, and was now become very extensive; but, unfortunately, while he reaped the fruit of his professional zeal and knowledge, he suffered every year more and more from ill health. His stomach complaints harassed him to a dreadful degree, and were accompanied by so great an irregularity in the action of the heart, especially on walking up an ascent, or other increased muscular motion, that he was led to suspect a local affection of that organ. Combined with this, he laboured under an almost total want of sleep, and all that endless train of sufferings which await on morbid irritability of the nervous system. These exhausting complaints did not, however, induce him to relax in his professional assiduity; and the effect of his great success in treating diseases, was so great an increase of business, that for some time before Dr. Brown's decease he had the most extensive practice of any physician in Newcastle. On that event, which happened early in 1788, Dr. Clark was, without opposition, elected physician to the Infirmary.

"Notwithstanding the bad state of his health, and the multiplicity of his engagements, Dr. Clark found time to revise his work on the diseases which prevail in long voyages to hot climates, of which, in 1792, he published a new edition. The many valuable additions which it contains, furnish satisfactory evidence of the excellent use he had made of his extensive experience; and as he has incorporated into it the substance of his *Observations on Fevers*, it is on this performance that his character as a medical writer rests. From this time the confidence of the public in his abilities daily increased, and soon put him in possession of as extensive business as has ever fallen to the share of any medical practitioner in the north of England.

"Dr. Clark had for some time called the attention of the governors to the defective state of the Newcastle Infirmary. The statutes for its regulation, which were first established in 1751, and of which the second and last edition was printed in the following year, had many of them fallen into disuse; and, from the great improvements in the management of hospitals introduced since that period, were unavoidably defective. A special court was therefore held November 6th, 1800, for their revisal, at which, in consequence of a report laid before them by Dr. Clark, it was resolved, '*That a committee of governors be appointed to take the statutes, rules, and orders, into consi-*

deration, and to frame a code for the future conduct of the charity;' with a further direction, to lay the result of their labours before the next quarterly court, or at latest before the general court in April. The alterations which Dr. Clark proposed were highly important, and extended to every branch of the management of the institution. The original building was itself, in many respects, defective; some of the wards were too large, and incapable of sufficient ventilation; many accommodations for the medical officers, which appear essential, were wanting; no separation of the medical and surgical patients could be made; and, finally, there was not room enough for the numbers claiming admission; and the difficulty of rejecting those who were proper objects, often led to the wards being in much too crowded a state. Dr. Clark proposed many judicious alterations to remedy these defects, and also drew up several very important regulations for the future conduct of the charity. He endeavoured to secure economy in the application of its funds, by the revival of the weekly committee, and by introducing a new mode of appointing the members, calculated to render it effective. A rule was established to prevent the election of medical officers being influenced by private solicitations or party spirit, which, where they take place, must often operate to the exclusion of merit. Nor did he overlook another most important object of hospitals, THE IMPROVEMENT OF MEDICAL SCIENCE. With a view to this he recommended '*the keeping a journal of all instructive cases, or dissections, to be preserved in the hospital for the inspection of the physicians and surgeons; the keeping and preserving monthly and annual returns of the several diseases of the persons admitted; and, lastly, the appropriation of a place in the Infirmary for the reception of anatomical preparations, and of a professional library.*'

"Dr. Clark spared no trouble to make this code as perfect as possible, having not only consulted the best writers on the subject of hospitals, but also corresponded with several eminent physicians, whose situations in improved and well-conducted infirmaries furnished them with the best means of information. Nor did his zeal stop here. Thinking he observed a general lukewarmness towards the arrangements of the new code, he presented to every subscriber—'The result of an inquiry into the state of various infirmaries; a comparative view of the success of the practice in the improved and in the old infirmaries, and a proposal for the improvement and extension of the Infirmary at Newcastle.' It was his ambition to render it a model for the improvement of similar institutions; and he sought to secure the active co-operation of the governors in his measures, by giving them incontrovertible evidence of the great advantages to be expected from them. Dr. Clark's views met with the unanimous concurrence of the committee, who published his explanatory report of the intended regulations, on the 25th of March, 1801. A further committee was appointed by a special court, held June 25th, in the same year, '*to consider the expediency of the proposed internal improvements of the Infirmary, and to procure plans of the intended extension of the building, and estimates of the expense attending the same.*" A report of their proceedings and opinions thereon was ordered to be printed, and

and circulated among the governors before their anniversary meeting in August. At that general meeting it was unanimously resolved, '*That the Infirmary, in its then state, was but ill calculated to answer the benevolent purposes of such an institution; a committee was empowered to carry the projected improvements into execution, and a subscription opened to defray the necessary expences.*'

"In the projected extension of the building, which thus received the unanimous sanction of the governors, were included wards for the reception of persons labouring under contagious fever; a provision without which, Dr. Clark justly observes, 'every infirmary must be very defective.' In the original plan, 12 beds were assigned to this purpose, but considerable deviations from it were found necessary in the execution, and among others, the fever wards were enlarged so as to contain 20 patients. On this scale the building was erected; and as the wards were now sufficiently large for general accommodation, Dr. Clark proposed the formation of a board of health, to carry rules of prevention into the houses of the poor, as the only further measure necessary to eradicate contagion. A committee was accordingly formed in January, 1802, '*in order to promote an institution in Newcastle for the cure and prevention of contagious fevers.*' An object of great magnitude, and only to be effected by a general co-operation.

"The committee entered on the business without delay; but when a proposal to admit contagious fevers into the fever wards annexed to the hospital was made by them to the weekly committee, it was referred by the latter to the physicians and surgeons of the charity, among whom, it then appeared, a difference of opinion prevailed as to its safety. It is to be lamented, that the opinions of all the medical officers of the charity had not been previously ascertained; and that, in the original report, the fever wards are designated as destined to fever cases '*of accidental occurrence.*' Dr. Clark informs us that he relied on his views being understood by the governors, and by his colleagues, from the extent of the fever wards; and it cannot be denied, that it would have been ridiculous to provide 12, and still more to prepare 20 beds, for fevers, if they were to be limited to cases of fever originating within an hospital which can only contain 90 patients. The words '*accidental occurrence*' were introduced (as he states) to prevent the agitation of the question of contagion, which, from the want of proper information, had in several places occasioned much alarm on the proposal of similar improvements; and accordingly, at the first reading of the report, he explained to the committee his reason for using those words. His intentions appear, however, to have been misunderstood; and as soon as the reference of the question to the physicians and surgeons had disclosed their full extent, an opposition to the measure was commenced by some of those gentlemen, and especially by one of much influence, and deservedly high professional reputation. The controversy to which this opposition gave rise, has been preserved by Dr. Clark in his COLLECTION OF PAPERS. In his own papers, the arguments in favour of the limited action of contagion, and the means of preventing the progress of contagious diseases, are stated with great force and perspicuity; and he has supported them by a large

and more valuable mass of evidence on the subject, than is any where to be found in the annals of medicine. As he was aware that the majority of the governors were unacquainted with the nature of the question, he also collected, with great labour, the sentiments of most of the leading medical characters of Great Britain, supposing that the weight of authority would influence the issue of the question. It happened otherwise; his plan, though supported by the unanimous approbation of his very numerous and most respectable professional correspondents, was rejected by a great majority of governors, at a general meeting, held June 24th, 1802.

"The increasing violence of Dr. Clark's complaints (to which the great additional fatigue from his extensive correspondence on the subject of contagion certainly contributed,) now obliged him to consent to a temporary suspension of practice; and as he had, in the preceding year, under somewhat similar symptoms, derived essential advantage from the Buxton waters, he determined to try them again. He accordingly set out for Buxton in the following month. The short period of three weeks, to which he restricted his absence, was certainly inadequate to the removal, or considerable alleviation, of symptoms, which, by long continuance, had become constitutional, and had arisen to so alarming a height. He had, however, no inducement to prolong his stay at Buxton. Neither the bath nor the internal use of the waters were of any use to him, and he therefore obeyed the frequent calls which were made on him for advice, and, after visiting Manchester and Leeds, returned to Newcastle. During this tour he became personally acquainted with some distinguished medical practitioners, who were known to him from their works, and with whom he had corresponded on professional subjects. Among these, the justly celebrated Dr. James Currie met him, by appointment, at Buxton. Their respective writings and medical correspondence had inspired them with mutual esteem; they now became personally known to each other, and a great degree of confidence and intimacy obtained between them, which only terminated by Dr. Clark's death. To the dreadful sufferings which led to that event, Dr. Currie was long a witness; and, while he lamented the fatal progres of a disease which no human aid could remove, admired the unshaken fortitude and placid resignation which his friend displayed, and which he was himself called upon, after so short an interval, to exert. A disease which, at the period of his first interview with Dr. Clark, had already made great progress, has since laid him also in the grave; and in a few months the medical profession has lost two of its brightest ornaments. At Manchester, Dr. Clark saw the truly venerable Dr. Percival, Dr. Ferriar, and Mr. White; and in discourse with them, those sufferings, which no medical aid could relieve, were, for the moment, suspended by the extraordinary interest which he always took in the judicious discussion of medical questions. The vigour which he displayed in these conversations, under so much bodily languor, and so harassing a train of complaints, was remarked with surprise by the friend who accompanied him.

"Besides these distinguished *medical* characters, Dr. Clark shared, at Buxton, the society of the late archdeacon

archdeacon Paley, whom he had advised to go there for the benefit of the waters. That truly eminent man was then engaged in finishing his NATURAL THEOLOGY; but the completion of that great undertaking was frequently interrupted by severe accessions of a painful disorder, under which he had long laboured, and which has since proved fatal. Dr. Clark often expressed his admiration at the fortitude with which he bore the most painful attacks; and at the readiness, and even chearfulness, with which, on the first respite from pain, he resumed his literary labours. When it is considered that the 26th chapter of his work was written under these circumstances, what he has said of the ALLEVIATIONS OF PAIN acquires additional weight. It is not a philosopher in the full enjoyment of health, who talks lightly of an evil which he may suppose at a distance. When Dr. Paley speaks of the power which pain has '*of shedding a satisfaction over intervals of ease, which few enjoyments exceed*;' and assures us, '*that a man resting from severe pain, is, for the time, in possession of feelings which undisturbed health cannot impart*,' the sentiment flowed from his own feelings. He was himself that man: and it is consolatory, amidst the numerous diseases to which the human frame is liable, to find how compatible they are with a certain degree of comfort, and even enjoyment. Something may indeed be attributed, in Dr. Paley, to a vigour of intellect, which is allotted to very few; but it cannot be doubted, that resignation in suffering is less the gift of great intellectual powers, than of well-regulated religious and moral sentiments.

"From the enjoyment of society so well suited to his disposition and pursuits, he was called by his professional duties; and it is to be lamented that with them he resumed his plan for annexing general fever wards to the Newcastle Infirmary. I have before mentioned how much importance he attached to it; and he moreover felt himself bound to his medical correspondents, to neglect no means of carrying a measure, which, at his request, they had exerted themselves to support. Such were the motives which induced him to recommend an application to the bishop of Durham, as grand visitor of the charity, to appoint a general meeting to take into consideration the propriety of the vote of the 24th of June. A requisition, very numerously and respectably signed, was accordingly transmitted to his lordship, who, in compliance with it, directed a general meeting to be held on the 12th of October. At that meeting, a much more numerous attendance of governors took place, than had ever been known; but as the plan for admitting contagious diseases into the fever wards had excited very great alarm, it was not thought for the interest of the charity to press the question. A compromise therefore took place, by which it was agreed, that if a separate fever house, approved by the grand visitor, were not ready by the 31st of October, 1803, he should be empowered to open the fever wards of the hospital for the general reception of patients. Though the plans which Dr. Clark had so earnestly recommended were thus laid aside, he had yet the pleasure to accomplish, in another way, the chief objects which he had in view. By the addition to the building, which he projected and executed, the Infirmary has become adequate

to the purposes of that benevolent institution; and a fever house having been established, it is hoped that it will lead to the appointment of a board of health, and to the adoption of those regulations by which the town of Newcastle, and its populous neighbourhood, may be rescued from the baneful effects of contagion.

"From this time Dr. Clark's health gradually declined. His constitutional stomach complaints became more violent, and the irregular action of the heart which accompanied, and was certainly aggravated if not produced by them, gained proportionable strength. The general languor and irritability of the habit were also greatly increased, and the few hours he allotted to rest were passed in watchfulness or broken and disturbed slumbers. Those who have suffered from similar complaints, will know how to estimate the zeal and vigour of mind which enabled him, under their pressure, to pursue his professional duties with undiminished assiduity. These exertions, and the resistance his constitution (in many respects a strong one) made to his complaints, concealed their progress in a great degree; and his friends and the public were flattering themselves that his most valuable life might be prolonged for many years, when, in the last week of October, 1804, he was first attacked by that disease which was destined to close it. Without apparent cause, he was seized with violent pain of the stomach and bowels, attended by a total interruption of the functions of the latter, and by severe nausea. The means which he employed, however, soon removed these symptoms, and he continued free from them, under the use of very mild remedies, for near three weeks after. On the 18th of November, he had a second and much more severe attack. The violence of the symptoms gave rise to suspicions of inflammation, and excited the most serious apprehensions for his immediate safety. They were again after a few days removed, but not till the most powerful remedies had been employed. Amidst the alarm which this very severe attack awakened in the minds of his medical friends, they observed, with still greater apprehension, both in the mode of its accession and in the symptoms which marked its progress, many strong indications of organic lesion in the stomach, or in some portion of the alimentary canal. The melancholy prospect this opened, of severe and protracted suffering, could not be hidden from Dr. Clark. Even before the attack in October, he had seen reason to suspect the existence of some organic affection in the organs connected with digestion. These suspicions were greatly increased by that attack, and in the course of the second were confirmed to a degree which never after yielded to any steady hope of recovery. He expressed this opinion of his case with firmness and composure; argued, with perfect possession of mind, on the probable origin of its symptoms, on the inadequacy of any means the art of medicine furnishes to their removal, and on the protracted sufferings to which he was probably reserved. To the reasons his medical advisers adduced to remove or weaken this conviction, and which the obscurity that hung over his case in some points furnished them with, he answered with great force and precision. It was not the language of despondency. He admitted that the doubts they suggested had some weight;

weight; but, balancing the difficulties of the different conclusions with a strength of judgment which rose superior to hope and fear, he formed his inference with as much correctness as if he had been called to decide on the case of a stranger.

"It is fortunate for those who are doomed to sink under lingering disorders, when they are ignorant of their nature, and of the sufferings which await them. The present are not aggravated by the anticipation of future evils, and the fatal term to which the disease is tending, opens, often slowly and by almost imperceptible gradations, upon them. To see the inevitable yet slow approach of death; to be aware that the path to it will be marked by excessive pain; nay, to be able, from a knowledge of the nature of the disease, to foresee, in a great measure, the peculiar nature of the sufferings which it is likely to produce in its course, is indeed a trying situation. This trial it was Dr. Clark's fate to experience, from this period to that of his death; and the resignation and fortitude he displayed under it, were proofs of no ordinary mind.

"Though the obstruction which had threatened his life was overcome, there was nothing like a return of health. The functions of the important organs, which had been the seat of disease, were never duly restored; and even the short interval he was allowed from violent symptoms was passed in constant uneasiness. Not only the appetite for food wholly abandoned him, but he felt, in general, an absolute loathing of it; and, for much the greater part of the day, was harassed by a sensation always bordering upon, and often amounting to, real nausea;—the morbid irritability of his nervous system was also much increased, and his nights were sleepless. Under the accumulated weight of these complaints, he returned to his professional avocations. His medical advisers thought it best to consent to this in a limited degree. It was found almost impossible for him to refuse complying with the urgent applications for advice, while he went out for the advantage of exercise, and absolute confinement was found very injurious to him. He gave also abundant proof that his mind had lost nothing of its vigour, and could go through the necessary exertions without fatigue, while he was apt to sink into dejection when perfectly inactive. Dr. Clark always expressed his conviction that this permission was beneficial; and though it may not be wholly safe to draw an inference from his opinion, attached as he was to a life of utility and action, yet certainly every appearance supported it. It is often a question of some difficulty, in the management of chronic diseases, to determine on the degree of mental and bodily exertion which should be allowed. The previous habits and temper of mind must be consulted in forming the conclusion, as well as the nature of the disease and constitution; and when these are duly considered, many more restrictions to the rule of ease and quiet will be found adviseable than are perhaps generally admitted. But though moderate exertions might not only be innocent, but even salutary, there could be no doubt of the pernicious effects of unseasonable hours and fatigue; yet how is a physician to limit his attendance when he engages in practice? To no practitioner would it be an easy task: to Dr. Clark, who, from professional zeal and benevolence, had always

sacrificed his personal ease and comfort to the welfare of those who consulted him, it was perhaps impossible.

"The respite, during which he engaged once more in business, did not last many weeks; the diseased organs were evidently unequal to their offices; and, even under apparently considerable action of the remedies employed, his bowels allowed a gradual accumulation. Total obstruction again ensued; the same harassing train of symptoms returned; and though immediate danger was once more removed, the attack left him with reduced strength, and with additional evidence of fixed local affection. Similar accessions became more frequent during the month of December, while the troublesome symptoms, which continued during the intervals, gained strength, and his increasing debility and waste of substance pointed out at once the dangerous nature of his disease, and the inadequacy of the remedies employed to remove it. Unfortunately those medicines were, not only in the opinions of his medical friends who attended him at Newcastle, but in those of other most eminent physicians who were consulted by him, the most powerful and best adapted to his case. In this urgent crisis they unanimously recommended the use of Cheltenham, and afterwards of Bath, waters; and as he felt that the trial should not be delayed, he set out for Cheltenham on the 22d of January, 1805.

"From the waters of Cheltenham he experienced no benefit; and therefore, as a last resource, about the close of February, quitted that place for Bath. While he remained at Cheltenham, he suffered repeated attacks; during the last of which, for the first time, the nature of what was rejected by vomiting afforded incontrovertible evidence of the inverted action of the stomach being communicated to a considerable portion of the bowels; a symptom from which, Dr. Clark observed, he had only known one or two miraculous cases of recovery.

"The bad accounts which Dr. Clark had transmitted to the writer of this narrative from Cheltenham, had prepared him for an unfavourable change in his appearance, and he accordingly found him much weakened and reduced in substance; but, except in moments of excruciating pain, or of sickness more intolerable than pain, his mind continued calm and unshaken. He evidently entertained no hopes of the removal of his complaints, or even of considerable alleviation to them from the Bath waters; but he seemed to feel satisfaction in proving his respect for the opinions of his medical friends, by a punctual compliance with their advice. At Bath he was attended by Drs. Haygarth and Falconer, who had long been his correspondents, and by his friend Dr. James Currie, whom increasing ill health had compelled to quit his situation at Liverpool for a less laborious practice. Under these distinguished physicians, his friends had at least the consolation to feel that no assistance was wanting which medical ability and knowledge could supply.

"For some time the warm bath, and the internal use of Bath water, seemed of service. His nights were rather better, and he was able to take more nourishment. He had also a respite from an attack of nearly double the length of any which he had enjoyed from the two preceding months. Still, however,

not a day passed without considerable and continued nausea, and frequent pain. His loathing of food, in some degree, continued: he rarely slept for more than half an hour together, and his days were passed in languor, and often in an intolerable state of nervous irritation. Under these unfavourable appearances, though he rather improved in looks and strength, neither Dr. Clark nor his medical friends could be sanguine in their hopes that his disease was yielding, or that they could prevent a return of obstruction. Their apprehensions were but too soon realized;—symptoms of gradual accumulation in the bowels again returned: and notwithstanding every effort was made to avert the evil, complete obstruction took place, and brought with it all the dreadful train of sufferings which he had so often undergone. No previous attack had been so severe: for several days it resisted the most powerful remedies; and he at one time seemed sinking under the violence of the symptoms, and the strong action of the medicines employed to remove them. In this state he sent for his second son, then at Cambridge; the eldest was at too great a distance, to allow a reasonable hope of his arrival before his father's dissolution.

"The relief which Dr. Clark at this time experienced, turned out more considerable than he or his medical friends had dared to expect; nor can it be denied that a faint degree of hope was raised in their breasts. The effect of the remedies by which the action of the bowels was promoted, proved more favourable than on any former occasion: he began to take more food, and to sleep a little better; in short, though he had many distressing feelings, which at once destroyed his comfort and afforded very strong presumption of the unsubdued state of his disease, he certainly had, during this last period, more flattering symptoms than in any former interval. But the close of his suffering was at hand. On the 4th of April he was seized with bilious vomiting, attended by great general irritation of the system, and intolerable languor. These symptoms continued through a great part of the night, but were relieved before morning, and he passed the two following days much in his usual state. On the 7th he had a similar attack, and it became apparent that the disordered state of his stomach was connected with, and in all probability dependent on, accumulation in the bowels. This state was the more alarming, because no means had been neglected to obviate its recurrence. The remedies used to remove it, were not more effectual than those employed for prevention. On the evening of the 11th, symptoms of peritoneal inflammation manifested themselves; and though partial relief was repeatedly obtained, the inflammation ran its course uninterrupted, and terminated on the 19th in mortification. Under this, and absolute inanition from want of nourishment, he sunk in the evening of that day. It is not my wish to dwell on the sufferings which marked this last period of his life. Perhaps no state of disease to which the frame is liable, can produce any more difficult to endure. The most excruciating pain was accompanied by, or alternated with, that harassing sickness which accompanies inflammation of the intestines. Opiates, which for a time allayed the symptoms, at length lost their effect, and

and his nights became almost entirely sleepless. It is surprising that, after so protracted and severe an illness, his constitution should have struggled so long with these accumulated evils; and with so small a portion of food, that it seemed insufficient to support life, even if no morbid action had been present to undermine it. It would not be doing justice to Dr. Clark's memory merely to say, that he bore the trial with fortitude; in truth, he exhibited to the last the leading features of his character—warm attachment to his friends and relatives, general benevolence, and anxiety for the improvement of his profession. He expressed, with unfeigned feeling, his regret that Mrs. Clark and their second son should have the pain of witnessing his sufferings; and studied, by all possible means, (though they were generally defeated by their affectionate assiduity,) to remove them from the painful scene at the most trying moments. Within four days of his death, while labouring under the fatal symptoms which indicated its immediate approach, he inquired into the case of one of his friends with anxious solicitude; examined his complaints with apparently as much interest, and as uninterrupted attention, as if he had himself been at ease and well; and gave his opinion and directions with his accustomed clearness and precision. His attachment to his profession was conspicuous through the whole of his illness. The introduction of a medical topic of importance, had always the effect of calling, for the time, his thoughts from his own situation; nor were the interest and animation they excited, more remarkable than his perfect recollection, unimpaired judgment, and clear discrimination.

"Dr. Clark's remains were, at his own request, deposited, on the 24th of April, in the church-yard of Weston, near Bath; near the grave of his friend, the late Mr. Bigge, of Benton House, near Newcastle.

"Dr. Clark was twice married. By his first wife, who was a widow, he had two children, both of which died in early infancy. In 1783 he married miss Susan Heath, of Newcastle; by whom he had a daughter and eight sons; of whom four and the daughter have with her survived to deplore his loss.

"Though it is chiefly as a professional man that I wish to offer Dr. Clark to the notice of the society, I cannot refrain from touching slightly on his great respectability in private life. We there find him an affectionate husband and father, a warm and steady friend, an indulgent master, a man of unbounded benevolence, and equally inaccessible to suspicion and incapable of practising deceit. This extraordinary simplicity of character is always interesting; and when united with great intellectual powers becomes peculiarly attractive. Dr. Clark was rather hasty in his temper; a fault which is so often connected with great and generous qualities, that it generally meets with too much indulgence in society; nay, is often absurdly considered as an indication of those virtues with which it is not unfrequently united. He was a firm believer in Christianity, and had a pleasure in remarking the effect which a reliance on its truths, and the practice of its duties, have in enabling men to bear the evils of life with resignation, and to meet death with firmness."

Anecdotes of George Morland.

[From Mr. Hassell's Memoirs of his Life.]

"At the time Morland resided at Paddington, he may be said to have been at the very summit of his merit, and also of his extravagances. He kept at this time no less than eight saddle-horses at livery, at the sign of the White Lion, opposite to his house, and was absurd enough to wish to be considered as a horse-dealer, but unfortunately he did not know *quid humeri ferrent, quid non*,—wherein his real strength lay.—Frequently, horses for which to-day he would give a purse of thirty or forty guineas, he would sell on the day following for half that sum, or perhaps for less; but as the honest fraternity of horse-dealers knew their man, and would take his note at two months, he could the more easily indulge this propensity, and appear for a short time in cash, until pay-day came, when lo! a picture was produced as a douceur for a renewal of the notes. Such was the practice until he had accumulated debts to an enormous amount, and brought himself to the brink of that fatal precipice from which he fell

'Never to hope again.'

"This was one source of calamity which neither his industry, for which he was remarkable, nor his talents, which were rare and transcendent, were by any means adequate to counterpoise. His wine-merchant, too, who was a gentleman in the discounting line, would sometimes obtain a picture worth fifty pounds for the renewal of a bill. Can it then be wondered at, when thus beset by picture-dealers, horse-dealers, wine-merchants, attorneys, and a whole string of *et ceteras*, that he should at length have sunk under such accumulated burthens of misery and mischief? This was in reality the fact; he heaped folly upon folly with such dire rapidity, that a fortune of ten thousand pounds per annum would have proved insufficient for the support of his waste and prodigality.

"It has been already observed, that no man was more accessible to flattery than Morland, and the more gross and strong the mode wherein it was served up, the more highly was it relished. An ostler, or post-boy, applauding his observations, was sure to be touched in the palm with half-a-crown, or perhaps to receive a pair of leather breeches, little the worse for wear: his acquaintances of this cast were so numerous, that there was scarcely a driver on the north road, within fifty miles of London, that was not known to him; nor was there a blood-horse of any note, whose pedigree and performances he could not relate with astonishing facility.

"There was an inn at Highgate, a favorite resort of his, where these princes and sovereign judges of the whip, generally stopped upon their return to the country to refresh themselves and their horses. Here our artist used regularly to take his stand, and here, indeed, he was completely at home; receiving the compliments of every one that offered them, in return for which he always, although very imprudently, considered it as his duty to pay the reckoning.

"Frequently, with a pipe in his mouth, he would parade before the door

door of the house, and hail the carriages as they passed in succession before him; and from being so well known, he was generally greeted in return, by a familiar salute from the postillion. The consequence he attached to this species of homage, as an illustration of his great merit, in so very active a scene, is almost beyond belief.

"Among these qualifications, which determine the justness of this artist's character, his knowledge of the horse has been admired as clear and unclouded; and, in truth, it constituted one of his favorite studies. Calling upon the writer hereof one morning, Mr. Stubbs's work upon the anatomy of this animal accidentally caught his eye, and so strongly riveted his attention, that he was induced to request the loan of it; which was readily granted. This work he investigated very minutely, and pronounced it to be the best production he had ever seen upon the subject.

"An objection has been taken to Morland, that he could not draw a blood-horse with fire and accuracy. Compared with Gilpin or Stubbs, the charge may possibly be true, for the latter of these gentlemen was the very god of Morland's idolatry; but those who assert that he could not display the correct form of the race-horse, or the hunter, must have been ignorant of the pictures which he adorned with those beautiful figures, viz. the *First of September Morning*, and *the few Hunting pieces*, engraved by *Bell*. The energy and spirit emanating from the eye of the horse, corresponding to the fire of his passion, in the first of these pieces, is, perhaps, as lively a touch, and in as fine a tone of coloring, as any pencil has ever exhibited.

"Before Morland sought *the pigstye*, he was seldom out of *the stable*; as he degraded himself in life, the efforts of his pencil declined in the same proportion; and after his faculties had become impaired, which was some time antecedent to his death, his pictures became washy, meagre, and unfinished; indeed, a disorder in his hands had rendered him incapable of painting, at least for three years before his death. In this dilemna he had recourse to the chalk and crayon style of drawing, in which he proved as successful as at any former period of his life.

"It will be thought a little singular, that whilst his drawings were so meritorious, and of which in this work we have given specimens, his pictures should fall so far short of his original excellence: such is, nevertheless, the undoubted fact.

"Upon his return from Leicestershire, he found his picture and horse-dealing friends very solicitous to renew their visits: this, however, he would not encourage, but from that moment studiously avoided all society, and with only a single crony to hawk his pictures about the town, was invisible for months together, even to those truly sincere friends who lamented his unpardonable mismanagement, and would have zealously promoted his welfare.

"So strongly was the mind of this ill-fated artist impressed with the idea that he should come to inhabit a gaol before his dissolution, that he actually visited the King's Bench prison *incog.*, to ascertain what kind of a *gusto* he might have for confinement; yet, so great was his dread of the foreseen reality, that he declared nothing short of absolute necessity should ever compel him to yield himself up to the myrmidons of the law.

"It

"It was now that he began to feel the ill effects of having prematurely involved himself in debt; if he was seen to walk the streets, he was sure to be dogged, or at least he thought himself dogged by some lurking creditor, before he could reach his habitation, where, although he made use of every precaution, he was nevertheless frequently discovered; but, whenever he surmised this to be the case, he would suddenly decamp without beat of drum, and in a few days after, his trusty dependents, or HANGERS ON, would be dispatched to fetch away his implements. Thus incessantly harassed by the apprehension of being lodged in a prison, he thought it best to run the gauntlet through the four counties adjacent to the metropolis.

"Amongst the particular excellencies of Morland in the favorite branches of his professional pursuit, we should not forget to enumerate his peculiar, and very nice discrimination of the female form in the fashions of the time in which he lived, so as to give precisely what was proper, without any outrage to nature, or rendering his objects uncouth, in forming comparisons of them with the fashions of other times. Any prejudice in favor of a particular fashion was by him disdained; and what may seem paradoxical, although he dressed his females in the habit of the day, most of them are, nevertheless, just such as they will be seen and admired in a century hence.

"An early study of the works of sir Joshua had taught him the art of avoiding the *superfluous*, and that in order to pourtray an elegant figure upon the canvass, it was absolutely necessary to hit off a free, easy, and unconstrained air.

"Modern habits and costume may suit the dauber of an hour, but a superior ambition should animate the painter, who, like Zeuxis, aspires to paint always for immortality. Such an artist must make his subjects a species of *non-descript*, by rendering them *à-la-mode*, but at the same time contrive them so that they should never be altogether out of fashion.

"It is with the attitude and motion of an elegant woman, as it is with the fleeting images of fancy, her turn and contour must be caught instantly by the phrensy-rolling eye of the painter's imagination, or, like the airy vision, it vanishes to rise no more.

"We have before stated that Morland at his outset in life, and whilst under the instructions of his father, accompanied the old gentleman on a trip to Margate, and that he started there as a portrait-painter, although many of his pieces remained unfinished. In this line, however, he was successful in a certain degree, although the portraits which the writer has seen are not highly to be commended, at least, if that flattery which characterizes the pencil of modern artists, is to be infallibly considered as a criterion of excellence.

"We do not by any means, here, wish to insinuate that artists of the present day compromise their reputation by infusing the resemblance of knowledge or merit into the subjects they delineate; on the contrary, we are inclined to think, that, without proper attention to some little degree of complaisance in this respect, a portrait-painter of the present day must feel the bitter pangs of proud neglect.

"Morland had become from habit so very strict a copier of nature, that even if the depredations of disease had distorted the features of the

the person who sat to him, there is every reason to believe that he would have made a merit of copying a defect, if he could but have produced a correct likeness; for it was impossible for him to resist the impulse that might seize him at the moment, as frequently with the gravest face he has been seen to paint the most ludicrous subject. Of his severity in this particular some notice is taken in another part of this work; we allude here to his satirical touches upon the infamous productions of sign-daubers: let it only be remembered, that when an opportunity offered of producing a sign to his cottage inn, it was sure to be the face of some of his acquaintance, when he would convert the visage of his most intimate friend into that of a dog, a cat, a lion, or any other animal that best suited his whim.

"Morland, from his natural predilection for rural scenery, was neither calculated for, nor did he in any degree court, this department of the art. What he performed was in his younger days, and obtruded upon him by the necessities of his father. Sometimes, indeed, he would spontaneously begin a portrait, but this was more to evince his ability, than from his inclination to gratify the party he pourtrayed. His best portraits were very much in the style of Rembrandt, and it is worthy of note, that he fell into the same error with that celebrated artist—of painting his subjects older than they were.

"A picture of Mr. John Baynes, which Morland painted, may be said more to resemble Rembrandt's manner than even his own. In this piece he has shown a familiar knowledge of that master's practice; the coloring and touching are similar, and we find as great a body of materials as were used in general by Rembrandt.

"The portrait of Mr. Baynes is in appearance considerably older than that gentleman, and the *tout ensemble* is most certainly deficient in what a portrait ought to be; still as a painting it has infinite merit. Portrait-painting, however, it must be candidly acknowledged, was not *his forte*, and he relinquished it in time to make himself a painter of the scenery of his own country, and to qualify himself for that department in which he blazed forth, in the sequel, with unrivalled splendor.

"Rural scenery, although a vast art, yet, it must be allowed, has its limits; and however excursive the soaring fancy of man may be, he must, in order to please, be accurate in his delineations and imitations as a painter.

"In copying nature we are sometimes led to copy a defect, and indeed it is no very easy task to cull all that may please the eye, and avoid every thing formal or distorted. It is by sketching resemblances of nature in the field, and by comparing them with those of the painter's representations, that we shall be enabled to determine the proper choice. The artist from habit may ascertain what will please, but nature all prolific, has so many little, and comparatively uninteresting parts, that a well instructed taste is absolutely necessary to make the selection.

"Morland, at his very outset, shewed a precocity of judgment; he knew that general ideas were more pleasing than local or confined subjects, and this principle he made his guide, uniting to rural scenery all the characteristic costume and excellencies of the rustic.

"In delineating the portraits of 'the human face divine,' his sagacity prevented him from copying the deformities of nature; it was no particular landscape that could afford him entire satisfaction; a voluptuary in his art, he retained only the richest part of what he saw: having sipped the sweets of the flower that was before him, his imagination, ever wild, instantly winged its flight, and sought a fresh repast.

"From the scenery, which he could so charmingly represent in his tableaux, an apparent presumption arises, that his mind was in a continual state of serenity; his rural subjects possess a repose, a tranquillity scarcely ever exhibited in the works of any other English painter. Fond of partial effects, or the accidents of nature, our countrymen appear anxious only to produce what is termed *effect*, not seldom giving a drawing with a patch of light in the centre of *a dark spot*. This ridiculous affectation, since the introduction of the new style adopted by Mr. Turner, has risen to such a height, as to disregard the distinct delineation of every particular object, so that the mind is left to find out, whether such an object is intended for a castle, a rock, or a mill-stone.

"A great writer of antiquity, Longinus, and a more modern author, upon the sublime and beautiful, have both observed, that obscurity constitutes an essential character of the sublime. Waving the discussion of this point, the affectation of many modern artists certainly possesses sublimity, but unfortunately this sublimity, or species of 'darkness visible,' has fairly absorbed all the beauty which we expect to find in this department of the art. But, to resume our subject, clouds, according to the new method, are made to fall with such cumbrous weight upon the hills, as might induce us to believe, that our little island was in the act of being incorporated with the sky; and as if it were fully determined to introduce a new mythology, woods are distinguished by a lump of color, without form, whilst, from its sudden lustre and forky appearance, the representation of a river can be compared to nothing but the zig-zag revolutions of a flash of lightning!

"Murky effects like these are beneath the painter of distinguished merit; this is not the grand style, if we may be permitted to apply this term to landscape-painting, but a vile, sombrous, and affected manner, void of acute discrimination.

"We have already remarked how much the mind of Morland was at variance with his productions; it remains now to consider how very different the character of his mind, as exemplified in his paintings, appears, when compared with that of other artists in the same department. The mind of Morland, estranged from all that was laudable, preyed only upon all that was trifling, whilst his productions were always guided by reason, and clearly beamed forth the intellect of the man, as far as it related to the art which he professed.

"From the habits which Morland had contracted, it may not, perhaps, be digressing from the subject, to shew what it was that created so wide a difference between the man and his works; like to that which appears in the productions of Salvator Rosa; the exuberances of whose pencil were only equalled by his manners; and, indeed, they had so great an affinity, that the mind

mind of such a painter might be denominated that of an outlaw.

"Morland, as we have already seen, was from his infancy initiated in the arts, and by acquiring a refined taste when young, although depraved in morals and manners himself, as he advanced in life, he was not able to vitiate the perfections that are so much extolled in his works: hence we may infer the important consequences which attend an early direction of the studies of youth.

"Salvator Rosa, savage and romantic from the earliest dawn of his reason, was in the character of his pictorial parts the very prototype of our artist: extravagant in all he attempted, he made the art itself subservient to the subject he represented.

"Enthusiastic, but not dignified, all his productions bore a strong resemblance to the character of the man. An uncultivated wild was his forte; his figures, which were generally banditti, were adapted to the country in which they were placed; even his most serious subjects, his hermits and his saints, were little better than assassins in disguise; and what strongly proves that his studies were not commenced at such an early age as to ensure perfection in his art, his method of *handling* also bears the same irregular character as his figures; yet, a lofty, capacious genius may be traced through all his works. We may fitly exclaim, *Ex pede Herculem!* and, except in Zuccerelli and Marco Rici, perhaps there was never any thing like the full majesty of Salvator's handling—grand, but unadorned.

"Morland, from early tuition, was taught to shun what, from his most ardent natural character, he would otherwise have fallen into,—those strong, glaring errors, which are constantly to be seen in the works of Salvator Rosa.

"Rosa of Tivoli, who painted from the country in which he lived, was likewise much in the style of Morland. Cattle was his forte; but aiming in general at powerful effect, and endeavouring to imitate the worst parts of Jacimo Basan, he greatly tarnished the beauties of his pencilling, and his perfections lie buried and obscured under masses of shadow.

"There are several other masters who have traced the same path which Morland chose, and from their admirable designs he profited much;—for brilliancy and clearness of coloring he appears to have followed Cuyp;—for truth and accuracy of delineation, Paul Potter; for grouping and placidity of subject, Bergham.

"In the repose visible in the pictures of Morland, the last of these masters is significantly traced, yet there does not appear Bergham's knowledge in the painting of cows;—every animal, this one excepted, Morland had diligently studied: and why he should neglect this picturesque object, is beyond the reach of our conjecture: perhaps, if we have a Bergham in England, he is to be found in the curious and accurate abilities of Mr. Ibbetson.

"A continued series of embarrassments from the year 1793, to the hour that Morland was secured within the rules of the King's Bench, obliged him to make sudden and frequent excursions into the country; his greatest elongation from the metropolis was, we believe, to the city of York. It is much, however, to be regretted that circumstances had not driven him to the westward, where lake

scenery,

scenery, and its picturesque appendages, would have given a new scope to his laborious and skilful pencil. His natural predilection for coast and water views when in the Isle of Wight bears us out in this conjecture, and justifies the reasons of our regret.

"Morland's frequent visits at the back of that island made him known to every publican and fisherman that resided in these parts. There was in particular a small public-house at Fresh Water Gate, called the Cabin, which may be termed his favorite resort; near that spot he made innumerable sketches, and indeed through all the tract extending from thence to *Black Gang Chine*, *Undercliffe*, *Steephill*, *Bonchurch*, and as far as *Shanklin*.

"Accident once brought Morland and the writer hereof together at the latter village, when the artist drew from his pocket a sketch-book, filled with the most exquisite treasures.

"The following anecdote may be inserted, perhaps not improperly, in this place.—A mutual friend, at whose house Morland resided when in the Isle of Wight, having set out on a journey to London, left an order, upon his departure, with his acquaintance at Cowes, to give Morland his own price for such drawings or pictures as he should think proper to send. The gentleman, intrusted with this commission, although highly respectable both in his moral and professional character, had, nevertheless, a very incompetent knowledge of, and as little true relish for, the fine arts.

"Morland's pictures, however, were always sent in with an accompanying solicitation for cash, in proportion, or according to the nature of the subject; these demands were regularly complied with, until, at length, a small but highly-finished drawing was transmitted, with a demand of cash as usual, in the ratio of its merit: Struck with the apparent disparity between the *size* of the drawing, and the *sum* demanded, which seemed out of all proportion, the conscientious agent positively refused to advance a shilling upon it, until he had transmitted the drawing to his friend, who was then in London. This was accordingly done, and instructions were immediately sent back to take the drawing, and as many others as the artist might offer at the same price. Upon the receipt of this liberal and explicit order, the agent at Cowes hastened to find out Morland, and instantly paid the money, but not without observing, that he thought his friend must be deranged in his intellects.

"At the present period, however, there is not a single sketch in that collection, but what would produce three times its original cost. So much for the want of a just and true discrimination as to the nature, value, and merits of the fine arts!

"During Morland's stay at Yarmouth, he and his fellow-travellers were apprehended as spies, when the former, in his vindication, produced several drawings which he had just finished at Cowes; but these the lieutenants ingeniously decyphered, as confirmations of their guilt, and our travellers were escorted by a strong body of soldiers and constables to Newport; where being brought, and separately examined before the bench of justices, they were at length discharged, after a strict injunction to paint and draw no more during their abode in that island.

"Upon his return to London, 1799, Morland took lodgings at

Vauxhall, and painted several pictures of ships in distress, wrecks, and other subjects, apparently from scenes off the Isle of Wight, many of which he treated in his usual masterly manner; but, notwithstanding all the labor he lavished upon them, few will ever be deemed so pleasing as those executed in his more tranquil style. His land storms are, nevertheless, pregnant with spirit, with fine partial effect, and accidents of a more familiar nature.

"However the eye may be pleased with his other pieces, yet they do not excite those sensations of horror which his sea tempests never fail to present to the mind; still, his coast scenery and light breezes may be considered his best pictures. Conformity to truth and beauty, grounded upon the immutable laws of Nature, constitutes the grand predominating feature of his best works, and from a strict adherence to this principle he pleased every class of individuals.

"Pictures adapted to please only one class of persons, frequently owe their favorable reception to accident, or to some local circumstance; but where ideas apparently contrasted, yet still natural, can be combined upon the easel, and assimilated to the capacity of every observer, this effect certainly and decisively demonstrates the consummate skill of the artist.

"Morland possessed abilities sufficient to reconcile contradictions—his pictures instantaneously struck, and equally delighted the correct eye of the connoisseur, as well as of the uninformed spectator. His superior genius, apparent in his grander compositions, may be resembled to the Moon,

'Stooping from her meridian heaven,
Downward to the waves.'

"The mutability of human affairs brings us now to the painful task of following Morland into the hands of a bailiff, and through the troubles and mortifications of a prison, to which his depravity, still more wretched, had brought him! Yet, even thus fallen, and wallowing in the very sty of filth and debauchery, his talents still preserved him some friends, whose recommendation and security procured him the rules of the Bench. This ill-fated artist seemed to have possessed two minds—one, the animated soul of genius, by which he soared in his profession—and the other, that debased and grovelling propensity, which condemned him to the very abyss of dissipation. Thus may he be justly compared to the beautiful flower, which contains within itself the two opposite powers of healing and charming the senses, and that of blasting and destroying life!

'Within the infant rind of this small flower,
Poison hath residence, and med'cine power,
For this being smelt, with that sense cheers each part,
Being tasted, slays all senses with the heart.
Two such opposing pow'rs encamp there still,
In man, as well as herbs—grace and rude will.
And where the latter is predominant,
Full soon, the canker Death eats up that plant.'

"Too truly, alas! was this verified, and too prominently illustrated in the case of the unfortunate Morland. Sunk, in this *barathrum*, or cavern of misery, he had the fullest latitude for indulging the influence of "rude will," to its utmost extreme: here he could mingle with such companions as were best adapted to his wayward fancy—

fancy—here, in his own way, he could reign, and here could revel. When the writer hereof beheld him thus surrounded by the very "lowest of the low," in a place rendered by dissipation and indolence, more like a brothel-house than the residence of unfortunate genius, he has often been tempted to exclaim, in the language of the poet,

'When I behold a genius *bright* and *base*,
Of tow'ring talents, but terrestrial aims,
Methinks I view her thrown from her high sphere,
The glorious fragments of a soul immortal,
With rubbish mix'd, and glitt'ring in the dust.'

And often has he turned his eye from the melancholy spectacle, with tears of tender pity—with sensations of disgust.

"His constant companion and favorite in this *Castle of Indolence*, was a personage who went under the familiar nick-name of "*My Dicky*," (of whom he painted a most excellent portrait,) as he had a familiar nick-name for all whom he honored with the luxury of his levee festivities.

"Even here, in this miserable abode, that spirit of industry which ever distinguished him in his profession, was not extinguished, and his exertions were certainly not from compulsion, (at least it has been so asserted) for, by a single day's attention, he could with ease have procured a week's competent provision; the fact is, that amidst all his seeming contempt for it, and through all the various frolics and mischances of his life, he still loved and idolized the art.

"Whilst in this place, he painted several pictures for Mr. Jones, the marshal, which we believe are still in his possession; also several for Mr. Graham; a considerable number for dealers; and a still larger number for private gentlemen. The late Mr. Spencer, of Bow-street, had a pretty large collection painted by Morland, during the time of his confinement. One of these was a straw-yard, very highly finished; and to give any degree of interest to such a subject, it was indispensably necessary, that very particular attention should be bestowed on every part of it. On one of the upper rails of the rack, on which a raven is placed, there appears written, in large characters,

"NO MORE STRAW-YARDS FOR ME.
"G. MORLAND."

"This was, perhaps, one of the first symptoms of his slighting, or appearing to slight, the art, although it might merely express his distaste for one particular subject. In proportion, however, as his customers flocked round him, he neglected one essential part—the finishing; some who had purchased his works unfinished, procured some *second hand* to glaze up the fore-grounds, but this has chiefly lain among the picture-dealers, whose skill in supplying half-worn landscapes, with new skies, and in cracking and varnishing historical pictures to produce the appearance of antiquity, can only be rivalled by certain of the productions of the new school of landscape painting.

"Morland, whilst in confinement, retained still a strong tincture of the same vanity by which he had ever been distinguished, and which often placed him in awkward or ridiculous situations. Shutting his eyes upon his own absurdities, he thought the world would be equally complacent, for, although it was a fact of general notoriety, that he was confined within the rules of the King's Bench, he would be

conceited enough, when upon a day-rule in term-time, to ride from house to house, in the country round London, where he would strenuously contradict the report of his imprisonment, and afterwards, with a celerity which he was famed for when on horseback, return to town and exhibit himself at every wretched low pot-house he had formerly resorted to.

"Unluckily, upon some of these occasions, *Little Flannegan*, habited as his servant, has been known to betray his master, by putting in his claim to a share of the conversation, which he would usher in with—'*Give me leave, Mr. Morland—I remember ven I was an officer in the Fleet.*' &c.

"Morland, when distressed, was not barren in expedients. Upon some occasions he might even be considered as witty. The writer remembers once, a brother artist coming in carelessly, the slovenliness of whose dress was an exact contrast with Morland's, begged leave to sit down, saying he was '*a-hungry* and *a-tired*'—to which Morland instantly replied—'Very badly *at'ired* indeed!"

"A whimsical story has been circulated respecting his readiness at finding out resources, and which wears every apparent mark of authenticity.

"Upon his departing from Deal, where he had been making sketches of the coast, he returned to town on foot, accompanied by his brother-in-law, Mr. Williams, the engraver. The extravagant humours of the preceding evening, distressing to relate, had rendered the exchequer pennyless. Morland felt a craving appetite for some refreshment, but the great difficulty was how to procure it. Observing a low-built house by the road-side, over which was placed an animal intended for a bull, Morland, who was seldom at a loss for entering a public-house, soon introduced himself, and under pretence of enquiring his way, expressed his surprize to the landlord, that he did not renew his sign, which time, it seems, had nearly defaced. Boniface alledged his inability to get it repaired on account of the charge, at the same time observing, that it was good enough for his humble dwelling; but, upon Morland's offering to paint him a new one for five shillings, he immediately acquiesced, and commissioned him to make a trial of his skill. Here, however, a new difficulty occurred: Morland was without utensils, which could not be procured at a smaller distance than Canterbury, to which place (not without some difficulty) the landlord was persuaded to send. In the mean time the travellers had bespoke a dinner, and had exhausted several pitchers of good ale, with at least a *quantum sufficit* of spirits, all which could only be paid for by painting the sign.

"The reckoning, however, before the bull was finished, instead of five shillings, the sum contracted for, had increased to *ten*, and the chagrined landlord reluctantly suffered the travellers to depart upon Morland's explaining who he was, and promising to call and pay the landlord at a future day.

"About three years before his death, Morland received a severe stroke from the palsy, which so heavily shook his whole frame, both intellectual and corporeal, that sometimes whilst in the act of painting, he would fall back senseless into his chair—at other periods, he would sleep for hours together. His left hand, also, was so much inflamed

inflamed as to disable him from holding the implements of his profession.

"One consequence of this disorder was, that he found himself compelled to draw in pencil and in chalk, some of which he used to tint lightly. From hence the country has been enriched with drawings of a superior description, and in a style at once bold, original, and new.

"These may be even termed a school of arts to direct the liberal studies of young draughtsmen, as many of them have been engraved in chalk, which approximates the nearest to his own style, and which appears to be the best method of imparting to his works the spirit which they obviously require.

We come now to conclude this "strange, eventful history;" but first order obliges us to pursue the subject of this narration briefly to the moment of his death. The last insolvent act restored him to society; he still, however, continued at his former residence in St. George's Fields, chiefly associating with the lowest myrmidons of legal drudgery, until a family disagreement caused him to separate from his wife, when he took up his residence with a sheriff's officer in Rolls-buildings, for whom he afterwards painted several pictures, and in whose official capacity he once degraded himself so far as to become coadjutor.

"At length he was taken in execution by a Marshalsea-court writ, to the house of Mr. Attwell, Air-street, where having swallowed a large quantity of spirits, this unfortunately produced a fever, and speedily terminated his existence, we are sorry to add, in the very extreme of wretchedness, penury, and distress.

"Thus departed George Morland! that remarkable and excellent master of his art, whose professional life, contemplated from the brilliant side, will doubtless prove to his brethren of the palette, that however inspired by genius, without sedulous application, perfection must not be expected: and may the rising generation be instructed from his fate, that genius itself, however original, or all the high qualities found in a consummate artist, will never shield the possessor from misery, unless accompanied by that prudence, temperance, and integrity which can alone insure respect, esteem, and admiration!"

PARTICULARS of the EARLY LIFE of THOMAS DERMODY.

[From DR. HOULTON'S Letter to MR. RAYMOND, inserted in MR. RAYMOND'S LIFE of him.]

"IT was, to the best of my recollection, in the year 1786, that chance brought me acquainted with young Dermody. Happening, one day, to notice a little country-looking boy, meanly habited, and evidently not more than ten years old, standing at an humble book-shop in Dublin, and reading Longinus in the original Greek text, I was not a little surprised at the occurrence. I entered into a conversation with him, and soon found him an adept in that lan-

guage. I asked him home to dine with me. He accepted the invitation: informing me that his name was Thomas Dermody; and that his father was a schoolmaster in the county of Clare; whom, from a particular cause, he had abruptly quitted, and begged his way to Dublin, where he had arrived only a short time since.

"During dinner, on whatever subject was started I found him intelligent. He conversed in such nervous language, with such a measured pronunciation, pertinency of remark, and justness of observation, that I could not but contemplate him as an infant philosopher, or as a little being composed entirely of mind. To my greater surprise, he informed me that he had been an usher in his father's Latin and Greek school for the last two years, and had commenced that duty at eight years of age. 'Then,' exclaimed I, 'you are doubtless conversant with most of the Latin and Greek authors that are generally read in those seminaries.' He answered that he was; and that if I had any such in the house, he would attempt to convince me of it. I produced Horace and Homer, when he speedily proved that they were among his very intimate acquaintance. I remarked to him, that his application must have been immense. He modestly answered, that he was more ready to ascribe any proficiency he had attained to his father's assiduity in instructing him; he having put him into the Latin Accidence at four years of age, and unremittingly made him pursue his learning (even amidst the drudgery of his ushership) from the above early period till the day he left him.—I trust you will not, sir, think me too minute; since, in characters of extraordinary genius, every trait of their earliest emanations of mind generally becomes no less a matter of curiosity than of interest.

"I now took the opportunity to say to him, that as he appeared to be quite unsettled, I should deem it the greatest obligation if he would make my house his residence, till some better and more agreeable situation could be obtained for the prosecution of his studies. He accepted my offer with many expressions of gratitude: and said he would go to the place where he had slept for a night or two, to inform the people of my invitation; and return in the evening, and bring with him some manuscripts which he wished to submit to my inspection. In the mean time I ordered an apartment to be prepared for his accommodation, and waited with no small impatience the return of my wonderful little guest. He appeared at supper-time, and presented me with a bundle of papers which he begged me to read at my leisure; and after some refreshment said, that as he was fatigued, he would take the liberty to retire to rest. I must confess, I was so anxious to inspect the manuscripts he had put into my hands, that I immediately ordered the servant to shew him to his room, and wished him a good night.

"And now, sir, not having the least presentiment that he was about to display a talent of natural genius, nearly as prominent as his qualifications in acquired learning, fancy to yourself my additional surprise, when I discovered, on opening this bundle of manuscripts, that they were poetical works by this

this boy of ten years of age; consisting of a variety of translations and sonnets, with the head-piece to each 'By Thomas Dermody.' The translations I perceived to be detached portions from Virgil and Horace. The version was more distinguished for a closeness of translation, to express the strict sense of the respective authors, than for that freedom and those little graces in version, which the idiom of the English language would have admitted, and which I had not the least doubt that more mature years and practice would have effected in him. But it is impossible to describe the pleasure I received, when I began to peruse his sonnets; in which his mind was unshackled, and his natural genius at full liberty to take its youthful flights into the region of Poesy. A justness of expression and sentiment, an appropriate imagery (particularly in three or four pastoral pieces), an ease and sweetness of versification, together with the strictest accuracy of rhymes, pervaded the whole of the productions that were the offspring of his own brain.

"At breakfast next morning he asked me if I had done him the favour to inspect any of his manuscripts. 'Every one of them,' said I, 'before I went to bed.'—'Then, sir,' observed he, 'I fear I kept you up late.'—Not so late, I assured him, as I wished; as my only regret was, that, instead of translating merely detached parts of Virgil and Horace, he had not completed a Georgic, an Eneid, an Epistle, or a Satire. He answered, that he made the versions as particular passages struck him; and that he meant hereafter to complete them, particularly Horace's Art of Poetry. I then informed him, that I was much delighted with his sonnets; and greatly so with the one entitled 'The Sensitive Linnet,' of which I begged him to give me permission to take a copy to shew to a friend or two. He replied, I was welcome to do so: but he would take the liberty to request that I would not give a copy of it; as perhaps, one time or other, he might venture to send some of his little pieces to a newspaper or a magazine. I assured him it should remain with me. Had it not been for this observation, I should certainly have desired copies of several others of these early productions. Yet, could I have taken a peep into futurity, and then foreseen his premature loss to the literary world, I should have been tempted to possess myself of more copies without making suit to him for the permission.

"I asked him whether the sonnet of 'The Sensitive Linnet' was a fiction, or occasioned by any real occurrence. He answered, that there was at least as much truth, as of poetic licence in it. He then stated the following particulars; which, though on a subject really pathetic, were delivered by him with such an archness of countenance, that it was not possible for me, during the narrative, to repress a smile. His account of the occasion of the sonnet was, to the best of my recollection, literally as follows: 'That a young lady of his acquaintance, residing at Ennis, was very fond of a linnet; and the linnet appeared equally fond of the young miss: but the young lady soon got a sweetheart; when, instead of singing to the linnet, she sung to her lover.

The poor bird seemed to feel this neglect of its mistress. At length the lover proved false, which put miss deeply in the dumps; the linnet, from sympathy (he supposed), grew dumpish also, and speedily died: and the young lady, whether for the loss of her sweetheart or of her bird (he could not say which), appeared, when he left the country, in a very fair way of following her linnet: that the subject struck his fancy; and induced him to compose these few stanzas, with some other little pieces, during his late journey to Dublin.'

"The following is an exact transcript of the copy I took of the sonnet; which, though marked, in every line, with great simplicity of thought and diction, will incline you, I imagine, to join me in opinion, that it would not have disgraced the pen of a writer of double the age of our then very juvenile poet. You will perceive that he makes the lady address the linnet:

'THE SENSITIVE LINNET.

'My fond social linnet, to thee
What dear winning charms did belong!
On my hand thou would'st carol with glee,
On my bosom attend to my song.
Sweet bird, in return for my strain,
Thou warbledst thy own o'er again.

Love, jealous a bird should thus share
My affections, shot speedy his dart:
To my swain now I sung ev'ry air;
The linnet soon took it to heart.
Sweet bird, in how plaintive a strain
Thou warbledst thy own jealous pain!

But faithless my lover I found;
And in vain to forget him I tried:
The linnet perceiv'd my heart's wound;
He sicken'd, he droop'd, and he died.
Sweet bird, why to death yield the strain?
Thy song would have lighten'd my pain.

Dear linnet, I'll pillow thy head;
In down will I coffin thy breast;
And when thy sad mistress is dead,
Together in peace we will rest.
Sweet bird, how ill-fated our strain!
We shall warble, alas! ne'er again.'

"Day after day did our juvenile literary hero add, in some way or other, to my admiration of his talents. His conversation, in particular, was frequently distinguished for observation so much beyond his years, that at length, whenever he was about to speak, I expected to hear something worthy of matured abilities. After about a fortnight's acquaintance with him, and when we began to be on a familiar footing, I had a curiosity to know his favourite authors among the Latin classics. 'He answered, Virgil and Horace; that he preferred the Georgics of the former to his Eneid, and the Epistles and Art of Poetry of the latter to any other of his works.' In discoursing with him concerning these poets, I found likewise that he was not a little conversant with several of their annotators; particularly Scaliger and madame Dacier. Nay, sir, you may think it scarcely credible, but he absolutely questioned in a few instances, which he one day specified (but which I have in vain attempted to recollect), the justness of their annotations. I asked whether he did not think it somewhat bold in him to make so free with characters of eminence. He replied, that he did not perceive any great freedom in expressing his own conviction; particularly as critics were of opinion that even Homer himself sometimes nodded.

"From the manner which marked his delivery of this last observation (for his physiognomy and even his gestures now became subjects of interest to me), I discovered in his constitution a spark of impatience

tience under gentle rebuke; and an occurrence which took place a few days subsequent to this conversation, tended to confirm the opinion I had formed. The matter was this: The chief deficiency to be found in his Latin classical attainments, was now and then a false pronunciation of a word in point of quantity; and this I intimated to him one day while he was reading an ode of Horace. I instantly perceived a momentary scowl on his brow; but, quickly dispersing it, he said, that 'the great variety of measures which the odes of Horace displayed, occasioned him perhaps to make the slip.'—'Come, come, my friend,' cried I, 'honestly confess, that in your rapid pursuit of learning, you sometimes overleapt your Prosodia and Gradus.' The scowl returned; and he replied somewhat peevishly I thought, 'Well, sir; I don't think that I am too old to amend my error.'—'Certainly not, my dear friend: but excuse me; for I am really anxious to see the utmost correctness in all points, in a genius of such early and great promise.'

"About this time an incident took place, which, I flatter myself, you will not deem uninteresting. Happening to meet a gentleman of my acquaintance, a Mr. French, who was an excellent classical scholar, I informed him that I had a literary prodigy at my house: a boy ten years old, who not only had Horace and Homer at his finger's end, but possessed a strong natural vein for poetical composition. Mr. French, thinking me perhaps somewhat too warm in my account of his abilities, asked me whether I had not a vein of jocularity. 'Come, and see the boy,' I replied; 'and he will astonish you.' My friend promised to call on me soon. On returning home, I informed Dermody that a gentleman of my acquaintance, a man of learning, purposed to pay me a visit, in order to have an interview with him; and that I wished him to be as collected as possible on the occasion, as my credit respecting himself was much concerned. The next day Mr. French called, while Dermody had gone to take a walk in the College-park. He brought with him a Horace of the small Elzevir edition, and seemed much disappointed at not meeting our young hero within. In a few moments, however, Dermody returned; and I presented him to Mr. French. On seeing a lad of so extremely youthful an aspect; of a delicate make, and small size, and with a little frilled shirt-collar open; in short, of an appearance, in every external point of view, almost infantine; my friend said to me in a low voice, 'Pshaw! it is impossible.'—'Try him,' cried I. Mr. French took out his little Horace; and addressing Dermody, told him that 'he had an acquaintance of his, as he understood, in his hand.' Dermody, noticing the small size of the book, whispered me, that he fancied the gentleman was going to exercise him in the Latin Accidence. But when my friend handed him the book, and he perceived it was Horace, it is not possible to describe the animation of the boy's countenance. Scarcely conceiving that so diminutive a volume could contain all Horace's works, his eyes and fingers were equally rapid in turning to the different parts of the book. At length, finding it complete, he exclaimed to Mr. French, 'Bless me, sir! this is *multum in parvo* indeed; but it is without notes, I perceive.'

—'By

—'By the accounts I have received,' answered Mr. French, 'you do not stand in need of notes.' Dermody made him a bow for the compliment.

"Mr. French, eager to satisfy his curiosity, now asked him to construe any ode he liked. Dermody closed the book, returned it to Mr. French, and begged that he himself would fix on an ode. He then opened the volume, and presented Dermody with the eleventh ode of the first book; observing to him that it was a very short one. 'The more suitable, sir,' answered Dermody with a smile, 'to a little scholar.' Our young hero, seeing pen, ink, and paper, on the table, added, that, 'with the gentleman's permission, he would write a translation of the ode.' Mr. French approved; when I desired Dermody to let it be not a close, but a free translation. The boy seated himself at the table, with the ode before him; and Mr. French and myself took a book to amuse us while he was employed, as well as to have an opportunity of observing him. I desired my friend to look at his watch; he did so: and in nine minutes Dermody came and presented him with the translation; which we found, to our agreeable surprise, to be a poetical one.

"Before I state to you the version he had so speedily executed, and of which I afterwards procured a copy from Mr. French, permit me to introduce it with the original text; particularly on account of an interesting conversation that took place between my friend and Dermody respecting some particular passages in it. The Latin ode is as follows:

'Tu ne quæsieris (scire nefas) quem mihi, quem tibi,
Finem Dî dederint, Leuconoë; nec Babylonios
Tentâris numeros: ut melius, quicquid erit, pati;
Seu plures hyemes, seu tribuit Jupiter ultimam,
Quæ nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare
Tyrrhenum. Sapias, vina liques, et spatio brevi
Spem longam reseces. Dum loquimur, fugerit invida
Ætas: carpe diem, quàm minimùm credula postero.'

TRANSLATION.

'Thy search, Leuconoë, give o'er;
For, know, 't is impious to explore
When Death shall summon at thy gate;
Nor ask astrologers thy fate.
Life's storms more firmly thou 'lt sustain,
If thou incurious wilt remain
Whether, by potent Jove's decree,
Tyrrhenian floods thou 'lt live to see
Rebound, one winter's reign, or more,
Against thy mansion's rock-worn shore.
Be wise; and, from life's little Act,
Thy hopes of lengthen'd bliss contract:
For while we speak time flies apace;
Quick, quick, the present joy embrace,
Nor trust to-morrow's flatt'ring face.'

"Mr. French, having read the foregoing with evident marks of admiration and surprise, asked Dermody what induced him to translate *quem tibi finem* by 'When Death shall summon at thy gate?" —'From a passage, sir,' replied Dermody, 'in Horace's fourth ode of the first book.'—'I thought so,' cried Mr. French; 'it was for that very reason I asked you the question. Pray, repeat the passage as well as you recollect it.' Dermody paused a moment, and then quoted:

Pallida Mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas,
Regumque turres.'

'Right, my dear boy!' exclaimed Mr. French; and with rapture again shook him by the hand.

"My

"My friend now took me aside, and intimated that there was an expression in the translation which seemed to imply geographical knowledge, and likewise an historical anecdote which (he must confess) he did not recollect; and therefore was inclined to ask the boy another question or two. 'Do not,' I said, 'be too hard with him; you ought to be content with his ready version of the ode.'—'But I am confident,' resumed Mr. French, 'from what I have already heard and seen, that he will be able to answer me.'—'Then gratify your inclination,' I replied.—Mr. French returned to his seat, and asked Dermody, 'what was his reason, as the ode does not specify any particular shore where the Mediterranean sea beat, why he fixed it at a spot where he seemed to think that Leuconoë had a mansion.' Dermody answered, 'he was sure it was unnecessary to inform him, that Italy stretched out between the Mare Tyrrhenum and Mare Adriaticum; and that a French critic was of opinion that Leuconoë had a handsome house on the Italian shore, for the safety of which she was apprehensive from the violence of the winter's storm and wave.' Mr. French asked, to what critic he alluded. Dermody replied, 'he could not mention his name; but that he perfectly recollected, from a note he had read in Francis's Horace, that the critic was a member of the academy of Belles-lettres.' Mr. French justly remarked, that 'whether the French critic was right or not in his judgment, it did the boy much credit to have noticed his opinion, and justified him in giving the passage that freedom of translation which he had employed.'

"My friend, having again read the translation, intimated to Dermody that he had omitted noticing the *vina liques*. Dermody replied, with much archness of countenance, that 'he made the omission for two reasons; first, because he thought it would be unfashionable to suggest to ladies of modern days, that a fine Roman lady descended to such housewifery as that of filtring wines; and secondly, as it was evident from the whole tenor of the ode that Leuconoë was very inquisitive, our unlearned wits perhaps would say that after filtring the wines she doubtless had the curiosity to taste freely of them.' At this observation, and from the droll manner in which Dermody made it, Mr. French could not contain himself. He held his sides with laughter; and exclaimed: 'Why, you young, sarcastic, wicked rogue, you are more severe on Leuconoë than Horace himself was.'—'There might be a reason,' replied Dermody, 'why Horace did not wish to be too severe on her.'—'What was that, my boy?'—'Why, sir, some critics are of opinion that Leuconoë was a lady of not the greatest virtue; and possibly Horace might have sometimes visited her at her snug mansion on the sea-coast.' My friend burst again into loud laughter; and told Dermody jocosely, that he would one time or other get thrashed if he indulged this satirical vein. 'But come,' cried Mr. French, 'it is time that I should make you some return for the great pleasure you have given me. Here; as you seem to admire this small edition of Horace, accept it from me. It will go into one of your breeches-pockets; and here is something to occupy the other;' giving him a handful of silver. 'I envy your friend, Doctor Houlton, his possession

session of you: but I shall sometimes drop in to have a conversation with you; so, for the present, adieu, my dear little boy.'

"Shortly after this occurrence, Dermody, having noticed a chest of old books in an upper room, asked my permission to go and inspect them. 'Aye,' cried I; 'go, and rummage as much as you please.' He set off with as much pleasure to examine the chest, as many boys feel in laying by their books for the Christmas holidays. In a few minutes he came down stairs, ran into the parlour, and exclaimed, 'Oh, sir! I have found a book which I have long wished to see; a sweet writer I am told: it is Anacreon.' He hardly gave me time to express my satisfaction, before he was seated by the fire; and so intent on reading the Greek bard in the original text, as to appear insensible to every thing round him. I addressed him two or three times; but I might as well have spoken to one in a profound sleep. At length, after having been amused with his motions for some minutes, I took him by the shoulders, roused him from his delicious trance, and told him that I was engaged out to dinner, I would leave him to dine with his new acquaintance Anacreon; whom he would find not only a beautiful writer, but a merry jolly fellow, too fond perhaps of love and a bottle. 'Ah!' cried he, with one of his inexpressible looks, 'it was very hard that a lover of wine should have been choked with a grape-stone; which, from the Latin preface, I see was his fate.' I have mentioned before in this letter, an indescribable archness of countenance that this boy had when he was about to convey a sly insinuation, or to make a droll observation. In general his physiognomy was as serious as the face of a judge; and tinctured with a dash of melancholy; but when he now observed to me that 'it was a pity a lover of wine should be choked with a grape-stone,' he spoke it in so dry and arch a manner, that my risible muscles were irresistibly called into action.

"On my return home in the evening, to convince me how delighted he had been with Anacreon, he shewed me a poetical version of the first three odes, which he had executed during my absence. To say that I was pleased with them, would but ill express my admiration: they would have done credit to a pen of a much riper age; they displayed the sweet easy flow of that tuneful Grecian bard's versification; in a word, they were, even in an English dress, truly Anacreontic. I begged him to proceed: in a few days he had finished the first book, and assured me that he would soon give a poetical translation of the entire volume. And here again I cannot but greatly regret that I did not possess myself of the copies of these his early versions from Anacreon; particularly as a moment was then near at hand, when a sudden call in my professional business to a remote part of Ireland, which detained me from Dublin for many months, put me under the necessity of separating from this most extraordinary youthful genius. But having little doubt of meeting with him on my return, I was less attentive to possess myself of many of those juvenile productions which he had executed in my house. It was my misfortune, however, that from various accidents and circumstances, I never had another opportunity of seeing

ing him from that time to the day of his death.

"A few circumstances remain for me to state, which perhaps may not be unworthy of attention. —My servant informed me that she had repeatedly noticed a light in Dermody's room at very late hours; and that, making an excuse to go in, she found him reading in bed, with a number of loose papers scattered about. Dreading the consequences, particularly from an accident that had nearly proved fatal to myself through an indulgence of this dangerous practice while at college, I desired her, when he retired to rest, to let his candle be little more than sufficient to light him to bed. A day or two after his taper had been thus curtailed, he observed to me one morning, at breakfast, with a very significant countenance, that he believed my maid was very careful. 'Why so, Dermody?'—'Because, sir, she allows me but an inch of candle when I retire to rest; and then added:

'The niggard taper yields its short-liv'd ray,
And leaves the world to darkness and to me.'

The emphasis he gave to the word 'niggard,' and the look that accompanied it, clearly shewed me its direction. But not willing that he should perceive I understood him, I turned the conversation, by observing that he had read Gray's Elegy in a Country Church-yard. 'Yes, sir,' replied he, 'often read it with tears: and I fancy the first verse of the Epitaph will not be unsuitable for my own humble tombstone.'—'Repeat,' cried I, 'the stanza;' which he did with an expression and a pathos that made an indelible impression on my memory*.

"I told him, that his talents, with prudence of conduct, would certainly lead him to a better destiny. He answered with a deep sigh, 'that the contrary presentiment was strong, and he could not divest himself of it.' A few days after this, my servant informed me that she had found some candles in Dermody's room, behind his trunk. In consequence, I now thought it prudent to speak to him explicitly on the danger of reading in bed. He took my remonstrance very ill, threw out a sarcastic observation on the unhappy state of dependance, and appeared sullen the whole of the ensuing day. I was sorry to perceive, at all times, a spirit of resentment, and an impatience under rebuke, which I wished had not dwelt with such very promising literary talents; but which were accompanied at the same time with some interesting remarks, that I fear were too forcibly verified in the subsequent parts of the life of this extraordinary genius.

"From this time he appeared to manifest a restlessness of disposition, as if he wished to be more his own master; so that I am inclined to think, that even if my business in the country had not compelled me to part with my young friend, he would soon have separated himself from me. But, however he might neglect my advice,

* 'Here rests his head upon the lap of earth,
A youth to fortune and to fame unknown;
Fair Science frown'd not on his humble birth,
And Melancholy mark'd him for her own.'

vice, I determined, before leaving Dublin, to do him every service in my power. For this purpose I waited on my friend Mr. French, to consult with him on the means of procuring Dermody some suitable situation: but, unfortunately, that gentleman had sailed a few days before, for England; otherwise, I am confident he would have immediately taken him under his protection.

"As the day was now near when my engagements required my absence from town, I expressed to Dermody my great regret that I could not leave him in a situation worthy of his abilities, gave him what money my circumstances would admit, and wished him every success and happiness.

"Thus, sir, I have furnished you, according to your request, with a minute narrative of such circumstances as I judged most interesting, during a period of about ten weeks which this juvenile genius, so uncommon both in acquired learning and in natural talents, resided with me; a narrative which, though consisting wholly of matters of fact within my own knowledge, I should be timorous in offering, were it not from a full confidence that every part of the history which you are about to give will substantiate my statements."

LAST SCENES of the LIFE of THOMAS DERMODY.

(From the SAME.)

"DURING the period he was enjoying the liberal favours of sir James Bland Burges and the Literary Fund, his genius attracted the patronage of the right honourable Henry Addington, then chancellor of the exchequer (now lord viscount Sidmouth), and his brother the right honourable Hiley Addington.

"It is not a less dignified than pleasing task to relate the generous actions of men; particularly of those who, though placed in stations where access is difficult, and where (as is generally conceived) complaint can be but seldom heard, can yet, amid the bustle and distraction of public business, of framing laws, and deciding on the fate of nations, consider and relieve the distresses of suffering merit.

"Few indeed have experienced so liberal and exalted a patronage as Dermody, and it is infinitely to be regretted that none ever made so unwise a use of it. Unfortunately, he had so connected himself with the lowest associates, that no resolution he possessed could shake off the power which those harpies had gained over his too easy disposition. They knew his foibles; which they nourished in order to profit by them, and this they did at too large a cost. The sacrifice of his happiness was by them considered as trifling and indispensable, provided they were themselves to benefit by it; and even character and honourable feeling (which he sometimes told them were necessary to be preserved) were, when their exigences pressed, to be given up. Such was the degrading condition to which his follies often reduced him, that he was considered by these wretches as in a state of vassalage, and by the dread of punishment to be rendered passive and obedient

obedient to their will. Sometimes he would, however, disregard their authority, and assert his independence: which he did by flying from one miserable lodging to another still more so; and remaining there till the same cause, or the terror of an arrest, compelled him to return to the former spot. Those who gained most by his weakness, were the persons with whom at various necessitous periods he lodged; and such was the power of habit, or such his fatal propensity for this kind of society, that he was continually involved with them in their poverty and low excesses. The little food he required was generally purchased and prepared by them: and no regular agreement having been made, a running account was always kept against Dermody; according to which the sum he owed them might, for any knowledge he had of the justice of the claim, have been at any time one pound or one hundred.

"They found this plan too profitable to adopt any other; and by keeping him always in debt, they kept him always in dread. Whenever he received a sum of money, he honestly brought it to his landlord, who always (as he termed it) "carried it to the account;" and when money was wanted and Dermody had none to give, the request was in general followed by an arrest, which frequently turned out a very profitable speculation. The fear of a prison made him importune his friends, who never suffered him to languish in confinement: and as those who had occasioned his embarrassments were his messengers during such periods, they consequently obtained a knowledge of his patrons; and turned the kind benevolence intended to relieve him, into a source of emolument to themselves.

"The natural consequence of thoughtlessness and dissipation is dependence; and as Dermody had in his exigences no other means of support than what these associates were pleased to afford him, he conceived himself bound when fortune smiled upon him, not only to discharge his debts of this description, but to bestow some signal mark of favour for the kindness thus conferred upon him while pennyless. These returns varied, according as the obligations he laboured under were weighty or trivial; without any consideration of the motive which occasioned them. At one time he might be seen in his garret in company with his hosts the cobler and his wife, and some attic lodger of equal consequence, regaling on a goose which his industry had roasted by a string in his own apartment: while the pallet-bed, which stood in a corner, was strewed with various vegetables; the fire-side decorated with numerous foaming pots of porter; and the cobler's work-stool, bootleg, lap-stone, &c. were commodiously placed as seats. On another occasion, in some neighbouring ale-house, entertaining the same personages with the various rarities which resorts of this description generally afford: where as the astonished guests, enveloped in clouds of smoke, sat listening with rapture to the eloquence of Dermody, the host was to be discovered in the back ground applauding with one hand, while his other dextrously scored an additional item to the bill; which, if Dermody could not discharge it during the following day, was at once put into the hands of some pettifogging practitioner of the law, and the

the unfortunate debtor appeared in the evening through the bars of a spunging-house, like Bajazet in his iron cage.

"A singular circumstance of this kind occurred while Dermody lodged at a mean public-house in Portpool-lane. The author had received a very melancholy epistle from him, in which he deplored his want of proper clothes to visit Mr. Addington in, as he had been requested to do on something material concerning the publication of his Ode to Peace, which in a few days after made its appearance. Business of some consequence prevented the author from attending on him at the time mentioned; and some days having passed before his leisure permitted him to supply the things required, he went one evening to apologize for his apparent neglect, and to mention that the necessary articles were ready. On entering the house his ears were assailed by violent plaudits and huzzas, which appeared to issue from the attic story. Having little curiosity to inquire into the cause of these extraordinary rejoicings, he only requested to see Dermody. The good woman of the house quickly dispatched a messenger to give the proper information: and the author was soon ushered into a room, at the top of which sat Dermody in a new suit of clothes, surrounded by half a score of the landlord's smoking-acquaintances; the table strewed with tobacco, pipes and a plentiful flow of wine and spirits; and the side board loaded with bottles, the late contents of which had left the members of this elevated society in a state of equal jollity and confusion.

"The entrance of the author damped the joy of the meeting: and Dermody, who well knew that the look which accompanied his appearance in the room was a just rebuke for the impropriety of his conduct, began to frame an apology; which being little attended to, he flew into a rage, and repeated the following lines:

'When wit's wild flashes wreathe a smile,
Dimpling on Bacchus' blushy cheek;
Or when, gaunt sorrow to beguile,
Outrageous peals of humour break;

If then, all furrow'd o'er with frown,
With mad-cap jollity at odds,
You strike each quaint chimera down,
A fiend amid the laughing Gods;

Go to the tabernacled clan,
Who drone devotion through the nose,
And hide with pray'r *the inward man*:—
I herd not with such imps as those.

If your pure palate is so nice,
That ev'n in frolic's festive hour
You can't endure a little vice,
To sweeten life's eternal sour;

'Fore heaven! you'll find no saint in me,
From *passion's* furnace glowing hot;
And as for prim hypocrisy,
Hypocrisy! I know her not."

"It was, however, soon discovered that the honourable Mr. Bragge had presented him with the clothes, as well as the money which was thus imprudently lavished upon vipers whose rapacious appetites, could they have by that means derived equal gratification, would have preyed on his vitals.

"It was the author's custom on such occasions to give him a severe lecture; which frequently finished with a strong injunction not to approach his apartment till he had acknowledged his improprieties, and made promises of amendment. An injunction of this kind generally produced a remonstrance like the following:

"To

'To Mr. Raymond, 293, Piccadilly.

'My dear friend,

'I have been infinitely unhappy in incurring your just displeasure. You will distract me if you continue your anger; but to hinder any other similar offence, I give you my honour, *my oath*, I will not taste a glass of intemperate liquor for these ten months to come. My Poems are to be commenced this week; I shall be busy in correcting the proofs, and must be attentive. You will perceive how good I shall be. In the course of to-morrow I shall finish some lines on the death of lord Moira's brother, the honourable G. Rawdon; and wish to get their insertion insured in the Monthly Mirror. How could you be so severe in your note? though indeed I deserve it, I am sure. I can't tell when I shall have sufficient assurance to face you; but I think you will forgive me, and lose such vile folly in utter oblivion. I have not, by heavens! been drunk but twice or thrice, and unhappily have seen and shocked you each time; but if it ever occurs again, I give you liberty to use me equal to my demerits. I stopped all the night before last, and yesterday, at Mr. Allingham's chambers; and could not apologize till now. I am ashamed to sign my name; though it is better to acknowledge, than persist in error. Pray let me hear from you.

'Your obliged and grateful

'THOMAS DERMODY.

'P. S. I expect to get some money from a gentleman in the course of the week; but I am in so much want of the stockings and shoes you so kindly ordered me, and which I so foolishly pledged, that I can't stir out. You know I am very much in your debt; and had I not been drunk and mad, could not have the impudence to ask you for money: but if you can procure me a coat and waistcoat of some kind, and send me the duplicate of the stockings and shoes, you will, my good friend, much oblige me. As I certainly, for the world, would not approach you yet, and as it is too far to send your servant, I wish you could send me them with a note, by some messenger or other, a stranger. Recollect my asseveration of amendment, and forget what has past at this particular crisis. T. D.'

"The avarice of those persons with whom he lodged was more vexatious to him than even the importunities of want. Neither the bounty of his patrons, the sacrifice of health, nor the casual supplies afforded him by the exertion of his talents, could release him from their persecution; and the reflection that his indigence kept him continually in their power, often drove him to commit those wild extravagances which generally ended in riot and intoxication. By their nefarious schemes he was kept in perpetual poverty; and being without that necessary caution and knowledge of the world which teach men to guard against the snares of deliberate villany, his short and eventful life was made one varied scene of calamity and distress.

"These excesses, however, began at last to shake his constitution. He frequently felt much pain and inconvenience from an asthmatic complaint: and being told that it would prove fatal to him if he continued in his course of dissipation, he began to think it was time to reform his way of living; which

he very speedily accomplished, though not without some formidable struggles."——

"Dermody was, however, at this time in a more deplorable condition than he had been in for many months. He found his applications, wherever they were made, disregarded; and his health so much impaired, that a change of air was absolutely necessary for his recovery. Having lost the esteem of many who had liberally and frequently relieved his wants, and being in daily dread of further persecution from those persons whom he had so often pampered, he formed the resolution of freeing himself entirely from a connection which now, at too late a period, he felt to be both degrading and destructive. To effect so desirable a change, money was wanted; and unfortunately he had wearied the generosity of even his warmest friends. The earl of Moira was in Scotland, and therefore immediate relief could not be expected from his lordship. He had slighted Mr. Bragge, and highly offended sir James Bland Burges. The members of the Literary Fund had so frequently attended to the applications made in his behalf, that any further demand in that quarter he deemed imprudent for the present.

"He had likewise neglected his last generous patron, Mr. Addington; nor was he less culpable with regard to the interest which that highly esteemed gentleman's brother took in his pursuits and advancement. Mr. Addington, as Dermody has himself acknowledged in the following lines, not only relieved his wants, but endeavoured to correct his errors: condescending to advise him; and, but for his fatal negligence, doubtless willing to have pointed out a path where prudence and the exertion of his talents would have secured him fame and independance. But he disregarded alike the admonition of those distinguished benefactors, and the prospect of future greatness; and thus again sunk into contempt and poverty.

EXCULPATORY LINES.

TO ATTICUS.

Quo quisque est major, magis et placabilis ira;
Et faciles motus mens generosa capit.
OVID.

'By what strange fate great talents are allied
To greatest faults, whose judgment can decide?
Whether the finer fibres of the brain,
Intensely bent, and stretching ev'n to pain,
Relaxing, may too frequently require
Fresh fuel for the intellectual fire:
Or that rash genius, in its wild career,
All-devious visits each eccentric sphere;
And, conversant with fancied forms of air,
Mocks the cold caution of terrestrial care;—
Now, bravely borne on seraph-wing sublime,
List'ning th' eternal systems' choral chime;
Now mid the gloom of central Hades hurl'd,
Groping the rayless dungeons of the world;
Anon with more effulgent face to rise,
And, sun-like, travel through serener skies,
Till vile Intemperance, of hideous birth,
The struggling pinion chains to native earth,
And reason's spark, irregularly bright,
At length exhausted sinks in mournful night.
How sad the wreck, the triumph how malign,
When Vice allures the Muses to her shrine;
Round her black brow when roses are entwin'd,
And demons revel o'er the ruin'd mind!

'In vain for *causes* would stern prudence seek,
But of the dread *effect* all ages speak;

While

While on full many a minstrel's doom severe,
Relenting pardon streams th' eternal tear.—
Though 'mid the guilty but illustrious band
My humble name unknown must never stand;
Though little praise, alas! to me is due;
Would I deserv'd so little censure too!
Deeply impress'd th' unpleasing theme I feel,
Which conscious blushes, spite of pride, reveal:
Yet, sooth'd once more by thy absolving smile,
Enrag'd compunction's scorpion-sting beguile;
And find my soul from sensual bondage free,
Tutor'd by Virtue, Atticus, and thee.'

"Dermody was not here totally forsaken; Mr. Hatchard the bookseller received instructions from Mr. Addington to print and publish a volume of his poems which was at this time preparing for the press. This liberality was truly honourable to the feelings of his patron, to whom his follies and imprudence had justly made him in some measure obnoxious; but his poverty and his fatal illness now rendered his days and nights heavy and burdensome, and it was hoped that his distresses would be alleviated by the profits arising from the sale of the work.

"Mr. Addington's humane dispositions, however, were in some degree frustrated. The bookseller retained half the profits; and the sum which Dermody received on account of the publication thus highly patronized and *thus shared*, was scarcely sufficient to alleviate in the smallest degree his accumulating distresses. Mr. Hatchard indeed asserts, 'that the account has been settled to the satisfaction of the gentleman who employed him.' This being allowed, it is not necessary that the author of these Memoirs should inquire whether it was the original intention of Mr. Addington that Dermody should be deprived of any of the benefits of the publication. If such was the case, it may well be supposed to have been contrary to the hopes and expectations of the wretched author; who had on every former occasion received an undivided portion of his generous patron's favour and protection; and this supposition agrees with the positive assertion of Dermody on his *death-bed*.

"The principal poems in this collection are the *Extravaganza*, the Pleasures of Poesy, the Enthusiast, and Aribert and Angela; the latter of which, a legendary tale, is dedicated to his generous benefactor sir James Bland Burges, in the following sonnet:

'Again my spirit wakes from deep repose,
Though deep not joyless; and each fairer dream
That Fancy on the pregnant trance bestows,
Bids o'er the page in lasting beauty stream.
But, ah! no dazzling glories shalt THOU find,
Such as illume thy own consummate lay;
No miracles of the effulgent mind,
To guide thee through Invention's Milky-way.

'A shepherd's simple song of ardent youth,
A rude narration, and of Love sincere;
Which Nature's mighty self, and virgin Truth,
Instill'd erewhile into his raptur'd ear:
Nor only shall it charm the village train,
If THOU wilt deign to list so low a strain.'

"Dermody speaks of this collection in the following terms:

'Though it may not be properly my province to discuss the merits of my own performances, yet I shall venture to intrude a few cursory remarks on the additional verses which enlarge this collection;

not, however, presuming to antedate the free right of opinion and judgment vested in the public, whom I esteem as my best patron in the hour of danger.

'The *Extravaganza*, which is perhaps the most original and fanciful poem I ever had sufficient powers to compose, together with the two Imitations of Spenser, have been honoured, while in manuscript, with the very flattering approbation of some of the first literary characters of the day. I do not think myself entitled to particularize the respective names of those celebrated personages: neither might it afford any very favourable idea of my personal modesty; whatever scope it might yield to the emotions of gratitude, and the public avowal of my feelings. My professed aversion to the arbitrary and ill-founded innovations of some modern reformers has induced me to aim at the manly style of our poetical fathers; and to attempt the revival of spirited sentiment, relieved by the chaste and graceful simplicity of forcible diction. How far I have succeeded, and what degree of lenity may be due to the ardour of emulation, must rest entirely on the candid decision of the reader. I shall at any rate have the conscious satisfaction, in case of a failure in execution, of considering that my efforts were laudable and unassuming, untinctured with the slightest hue of critical arrogance; and content myself with the beautiful and appropriate reflection of Silius Italicus:

'Explorant adversa viros; perque aspera duro
Nititur ad laudem virtus interrita clivo.'

"These pieces, however, possess a degree of merit which the poet did not attach to them. The *Extravaganza* is full of that delightful fancy which is the result of superlative genius alone, and which extends its creative powers to visionary worlds.

"There are also many beautiful passages to be found in the Pleasures of Poesy: the whole is strongly conceived; and the sentiments by which he has delineated the powers of his poetical ancestors, are happily combined and fancifully expressed. The moral reflections are likewise calculated to improve the mind, and paint with beauteous imagery the comforts arising from patient resignation under affliction. After enumerating the pleasures which wealth produces, he applies this healing balm to Genius pining in obscurity:

'Then wail not, Genius, thy unworthy lot,
Where'er thou sadly shrink'st from sight profane;
Thy patient labours shall not be forgot,
Nor lost the influence of thy lofty strain.
From Glory's nodding crest, of crimson stain,
The laurel shall forsake its seat sublime;
The prostrate column load the groaning plain;
While rising o'er the wreck, thy sacred rhime
Shall fire to noble feats the sons of future time.

'Vagrant, and scoff'd, and houseless, as thou art,
The powerful spell of thy exalted theme
Shall wake to bolder deed the warrior's heart,
Shall breathe o'er sleeping Love a brighter dream;
From ev'ry line shall fresh instruction stream.
The cottage-hearth thy pensive plaint shall hear;
In regal hall thy glitt'ring harp shall gleam;
The dark cold breast of lonely sorrow cheer;
And start from Frenzy's lid Conviction's frozen tear.'

"The poem of the Enthusiast is such as only an enthusiast in the art could produce, when the unbridled

bridled fancy is set at liberty, and roams through boundless tracts of visionary delight. The first stanza will justify this assertion:

'With hurrying finger smite the fervid wire.
Th' intolerable rapture tears my soul:
I burn with inspiration's fiercest fire;
In lawless liberty my senses roll
Beyond demurer Reason's coy control,
Beyond the sapient bounds by Prudence laid;
And while unwonted fantasies inspire,
Amid th' interminable waste of shade,
In mad delirium lost, my daring tour is made.'

"Danger is finely pourtrayed in these lines:

'High o'er the headlong torrent's foamy fall,
Whose waters howl along the rugged steep,
On the loose-jutting rock, or mould'ring wall,
See where gaunt Danger lays him down to sleep!
The piping winds his mournful vigil keep;
The lightnings blue his stony pillow warm;
Anon, incumbent o'er the dreary deep,
The fiend enormous strides the lab'ring storm,
And 'mid the thund'rous strife expands his giant form.'

"Madness and Love are next described, and Jealousy follows:

'Ah! who is she, of dark unsettled brow,
That bleeding drags an angel-shape behind,
And quaffs the living gore?—I know her now:
'Tis Jealousy; that monster of the mind,
In whom are thousand contraries comb'in'd.
Now moping, melancholy, o'er the wild;
Now fretful, rash, unreas'ning, unconfin'd:
In Constancy's best blood her hands defil'd;
And strangling in its birth her own devoted child.'

"He now floats down the smooth declivity of nether ether, to a sheltered vale, where he mingles with the fantastic beaies of "faery land."

'Minions of moonlight, let my slow step steal,
Unblam'd and guiltless, on your secret sport;
Removing soft the visionary veil
That wraps from vulgar ken the elfin-court,
Where no unhallow'd visitants resort.
Lo, where the lords of faery-lond appear!
Chieftains, and frowning peers of princely port,
Sage counsellors with piercing eye severe,
And less distinguish'd knights fast trooping in the rear.

'The monarch's self majestic terrors grace:
Tipp'd with a horse-fly's tongue, a rush his spear;
A gnat's slight pinion shades his martial face;
A fish's scale his armed shoulders wear,
Lin'd with a scarf of shining gossamer;
Unknown in listed fray the prize to yield,
His rapier is a hornet's sting severe;
Superior to the rest, his shelly shield
Undauntedly he shakes, and overlooks the field.'

"The other pieces in this collection possess sufficient merit to delight the reader of taste; and it will be found also, as the poet has himself modestly expressed, that 'they are neither licentious nor immoral; and though sparingly illuminated by the vivid coruscations of wit, not frequently destitute of ethic observation and salutary precept.'

"But, alas! the period was now fast advancing when the praise or censure of the world could avail him nothing; his poverty and his disorder (a rapid decline) had so destroyed and reduced both his spirits and his frame, that medical aid could only be applied to relieve, not to restore him. He was blind, however, to the alteration which his malady had made in his appearance; and fancied that the strength of his constitution, and proper nourishment, would remove his illness, and renovate his spirits. Unfortunately, his situation was at this time unknown to those liberal

friends who had so often assisted him: he had withdrawn from their notice; and, conscious of his imprudence, would not apply, lest his story should be disbelieved, and his solicitations slighted. The aid afforded by the very few who were acquainted with his present melancholy condition, was not sufficient to procure the comforts his daily increasing malady required.

"To alleviate the evils by which he was so heavily oppressed, he requested the author to write in his name to the earl of Moira, sir James Bland Burges, and his early patron Mr. Smith of Dublin. This was done; and in his wretched apartment he himself dictated the letters to which each of the following answers contains its writer's noblest panegyric.

'To Mr. Raymond.

'Tunbridge Wells, 13th June, 1802.

'Sir,

'On my return from Maidstone I was favoured with your letter of last Saturday. The interest which you take on behalf of the unfortunate Mr. Dermody does infinite credit to your heart. I certainly estimate very highly his talents; and, so far as with propriety I could, I assisted him in his distresses. I am willing to draw a veil over the causes which induced me to break off my acquaintance with him; and if the annexed draft (for ten pounds) can, in your hands, contribute to soothe his present distresses, I shall feel some alleviation of the reflection that their issue is likely to be so fatal to a man of transcendant genius.

'I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

'J. B. BURGES.'

'To Mr. Raymond.

'Edinburgh, June 6th, 1802.

'Sir,

'I enclose to you a bank-note of ten pounds for poor Dermody; and am, sir, your obedient servant,

'MOIRA.'

'To Mr. Raymond.

'Merrion-square, June 29th.

'Sir,

'I am grieved at having been prevented from sooner acknowledging your letter with respect to Mr. Dermody; and thank you for the communication, however disagreeable its nature is, which you have done me the honour of making. Assure Mr. Dermody of the sincere interest which I take in what concerns him; of my sorrow at hearing that his health is so infirm; and the warm and cordial wishes which I feel for his speedy and complete recovery, and success in life. Will you please to advance to him, for the present supply of his necessities, ten guineas on my account? which I shall immediately transmit, on being advised by you that you have done so. Allow me also to request that you will write me without delay an account of Mr. Dermody's state of health, and general situation; and suggest such plans as may occur to you as the most eligible and practicable for his more permanent relief and advancement, to which I shall be very glad to contribute. Let him not despond. He has in England the patronage of my lord Moira. Here (on an inferior scale) I think, what between his own merit and my influence, a good deal can be done for him; enough, if he have health and prudence, to place him beyond the want of any assistance,

and

and in some degree in the situation which his genius entitles him to hold. My father, who has seen your letter, and recollects Mr. Dermody with just esteem for his talents, will cordially join in endeavouring to contribute to his comfortable establishment. I have ceased to be solicitor-general, and am now a baron of the exchequer. My address is, Merrion-square.

"I hope soon to hear from you; and have the honour to be, sir, your very humble servant,

'WILLIAM SMITH.

'P. S. I shall go the circuit on Monday. If you write to my father, he will communicate to me the contents of your letter. I mention his address: 'Right honourable the Master of the Rolls, Harcourt-street, Dublin.'

"The above letters revived the broken spirits of Dermody, and for some time he appeared to have conquered his disorder. The generosity of these friends enabled him to procure necessaries, and discharge many of the debts which had caused him so much uneasiness: though he was not altogether released from the importunities of his low associates; to whom, besides sharing with them the bounty of his benefactors, he had made over his half-pay for the term of three years. The letter from sir James Bland Burges gave him much pleasure: as he had himself previously written the following to that gentleman; and by not receiving any favourable reply to his solicitations, conceived he had given cause of lasting resentment.

'To sir James Bland Burges, bart.

'Sir,

'Whatever may have been my past errors and your just indignation, surely this will be softened by the appeal of extreme sickness and extreme sorrow. For two months I have suffered the most racking torment from an asthmatic complaint, without medical (nay, without common) assistance. In a word, I am plunged in the deepest distress. O sir, my once great and good friend, do not suffer me to languish unnoticed, but exert yourself in my behalf! a very trifle would procure me much comfort, a trifle which by generosity could not be missed. I enclose a paragraph from the Mirror; of which I am proud, as it tells me the world still thinks me possessed and worthy of your protection.

'I am, sir, your obliged and grateful servant,

'THOMAS DERMODY.

'10, Portpool-lane, Gray's-inn-lane, 6th June, 1802.'

"His satisfaction was no less on perusing the letter of his affectionate and early friend the honourable baron Smith. During some weeks he appeared in a state of convalescence: but being attacked by violent nightly coughings, and constantly importuned by his needy landlord, his spirits failed; he again sunk into his former melancholy; and to avoid demands which he could not satisfy, early in the month of July he fled from his wretched lodging; and without giving notice of the circumstance to any of those constant friends who under every difficulty had kindly assisted him, took shelter in a miserable cottage near the village of Sydenham in Kent; from which, when driven to the last dreadful extremity, he sent the author the following letter.

'To Mr. Raymond, 239, Piccadilly.

'My dear friend,

'You no doubt have been great-

ly surprised at my departure. I had neither time nor opportunity to relate my miseries. My poverty, and the importunities of my unfeeling landlord, compelled me to leave those abominable lodgings in Portpool-lane; and I cannot say I have changed for the better. Pray, my dear friend, write to lord Moira again: say I cannot live long, and it will be the last favour conferred on an unfortunate youth. I expect nothing but friendship from you at this fatal period, and therefore will not scruple to ask an extraordinary favour on *my death-bed*. I am in want of every thing; and in saying this, I need not tell you that the smallest assistance will give me comfort—I cannot live, and my last hours are full of misery. The favour I have to beg is, that you will call again upon Mr. Addington, and explain that you have seen me: say his last bounty is expended: he is generous; and though I do not deserve his kindness, I think you will not fail to move him.

'You will write me immediately, as you perceive I employ another to write. Forget me not, my dear friend; I have troubled *you* long, but cannot much longer. God bless you!

'THOMAS DERMODY.

'9th July.

'Direct to me at Mr. Lance's, baker, Sydenham, Kent.'

"This letter, the last he ever wrote, unfortunately did not reach town for several days. On the 15th of July the author, accompanied by Mr. Allingham, went to visit him. They found him in a wretched hovel, leaning over a few embers which hardly gave warmth to his shivering and emaciated body, in a state of the deepest misery and dejection. He had scarce power enough left to express the grateful sentiments which their visit inspired: the words faltered on his parched lips; his eyes became filled with tears; and being unable to give expression to the strong feelings which laboured in his breast, he sunk again into the melancholy position in which they had discovered him, and continued silent for a considerable time. These emotions having subsided, he endeavoured to relate the particulars of his unhappy situation; but was often obliged to pause, in order to gather sufficient strength to encounter the violent and oppressive cough which momentarily returned. The deserted appearance of the house, better calculated indeed for the retreat of a horde of robbers than the abode of a dying person; and the wretched poverty displayed in the few articles of furniture which it contained—(a few shapeless stools; some faggots of wood scattered on the floor, and a crazy bedstead without curtains, placed opposite a door which admitted through its crevices both the wind and rain)—added to the gloom which was observable on entering it, and the reflection that a human being was there struggling with a fatal disorder without either medical assistance, the comforts which sickness requires, or the necessaries requisite for the mere support of nature, occasioned the most painful emotions in his two friends. When he had recovered a little from the agitation which their appearance had occasioned, he raised himself from the drooping posture in which for some time he had placed himself over the fire; and fixing on the author his sunk eyes, said, 'Thank God for this friendly visit! I thought I had given the whole

whole world, and you in particular, cause to forget me. I have deserved the severest censure; but do not now remember I have done so.' The caution was needless; his past errors were buried in the recollection of his present sufferings, and he had little to dread from the chidings of those who had now to perform only the few last offices of friendship. When his disorder allowed him to enter for a moment into conversation, he assumed a spirit which, though faint, was yet mingled with the eccentricity that had on almost every occasion marked his character, and which was equally observable on trivial and on important matters. While the author was stating to him some particulars which he imagined might be conducive to his comfort and recovery, Dermody broke suddenly from the conversation, and observing that Mr. Allingham had taken up a volume of Hudibras which lay on the table, said with a ghastly smile, 'You see I am merry to the last.' A violent fit of coughing succeeded this effort; when, with a presentiment of his approaching dissolution, he said: 'That hollow cough rings out my knell.'

"The comforts which his situation required and admitted having been ordered to be procured for him, his two friends went in search of a more comfortable and commodious lodging; which they speedily procured on the most delightful part of Sydenham-common, where he was to have a careful nurse, and to be removed the following day. Some money was now given to the landlord for his use: and having assured him that they would return the next morning and convey him to the apartments they had provided for him, his visitors took their leave; not without a hope that their solicitude for his happiness, and the anxiety which they had expressed for his recovery, would have soothed his apprehensions, and secured him comfort during the tedious night. Their hopes however were vain, and their labours ineffectual. Dermody expired the same evening, at the age of 27 years and six months.

"The necessary orders having been given for his funeral (the expenses of which were defrayed by those distinguished persons who had so frequently administered to his wants while living), on the day appointed, his body, attended by Mr. Allingham and the author, with a few friends of the latter, was conveyed to the church of Lewisham: where, previously to its being consigned to its native earth, the funeral service, that last solemn awe-inspiring ceremony, was read with much dignity and fervor by the honourable and reverend Mr. Legge (the present dean of Windsor); who afterwards attended the body to a grave formed on a spot the most solitary and romantic that fancy could describe. Over his tomb, at the expense of his generous friends, the author has been enabled to erect a monument to his memory, with the following inscription, extracted from a poem written by the poet, entitled 'The Fate of Genius.'

'No titled birth had he to boast:
Son of the desert; Fortune's child;
Yet, not by frowning Fortune cross'd,
The Muses on his cradle smil'd.

'He joy'd to con the fabling page
Of prowess'd chiefs, and deeds sublime;
And e'en essay'd in infant age,
Fond task! to weave the wizard rhime.

'And though fell Passion sway'd his soul,
By Prudence seldom ever won,
Beyond the bounds of her control,
He was dear Fancy's favour'd son.

'Now

'Now a cold tenant does he lie
Of this dark cell, all hush'd his song:
While Friendship bends with streaming eye,
As by his grave she wends along;

'On his cold clay lets fall a holy tear,
And cries, "Though mute, there is a poet here."'

"The character of this extraordinary youth has been so clearly developed in his actions and his writings, that scarcely any thing is left now to be related of his acquirements and general habits, that has not in some degree been already said in his history. Yet as there are shades of character, and degrees of passion, which do not prominently shew themselves in particular instances of conduct, the author is induced to add the following particulars, gathered from a long intimacy, a thorough knowledge of his disposition, and a close observance of the distinguishable propensities which degraded his genius, and retarded his progress to happiness and independance.

"He was of a middle stature, well formed, and of a spare habit of body; he had a comprehensive forehead, full dark eyes, strongly marked eye-brows, and a countenance expressive of genius, but tinged with reflection and melancholy. He was ungraceful in his deportment, slovenly in his person, diffident in his address, and reserved in his conversation; he had a simplicity and a modesty in his manner that created esteem and even respect: when irritated, he was rather sullen than passionate: yet quick and inconsiderate in his resentment, sacrificing his interest to the impulse of imagined wrongs, and the attachment of his best friends on the slightest grounds of ideal offence. His poetical powers may be said to have been intuitive, for some of his best pieces were composed before he had reached twelve years of age; at which period he united in the full vigour of manhood, the strongest judgment and most unbounded fancy. His language, when he could be drawn into argument (which was always a hard task), was nervous, polished, and fluent. His classical knowledge (which was indeed wonderful, and is on every proper occasion displayed in his writings), added to a memory uncommonly powerful and comprehensive, furnished him with allusions that were appropriate, combinations that were pleasing, and sentiments that were dignified.

"He had an inquisitive mind, but could never resist the temptations which offered to seduce him from his studies. He was easily persuaded to forsake propriety; and paid as little regard to the character of his associates, as he did to the rules of prudence, the dictates of reason, or the opinion of the world; which last he at all times set at defiance. No one ever wrote with greater facility; his mind was stored with such a fund of observation, such an accumulation of knowledge gathered from science and from nature, that his thoughts, when wanted, rushed upon him like a torrent, and he could compose with the rapidity with which another could transcribe. On every occasion he discovers a clear judgment, a fancy filled with the richest ideas, and an intellect capable of delineating the grandest objects. He knew all the various shades of character; and a close observation of the world enabled him to describe the changes of human manners, and the involution of passions, with an energy that was pleasing, elegant, and instructive. His similitudes and his inferences are never spoiled by the glare

glare of false thoughts; and though carelessness may sometimes be discovered, yet by a peculiar propriety of expression, and a nice adaptation of epithets, this fault is not always discernible.

"There is scarcely a style of composition in which he did not in some degree excel. The descriptive, the ludicrous, the didactic, the sublime; each, when occasion required, he treated with skill, with acute remark, imposing humour, profound reflection, and lofty magnificence. He delighted to wander through the romantic pages of antiquity: and had the happy talent of imitating the natural dignity and manly style of his poetical ancestors, with an effect which always gave to his productions the air and grace of originality: though his period, his stanza, and his thoughts, were modelled on the poet whose path he intended to follow. But in the height both of his imitation and of his fancy, the wildest excursions of his muse, he never forgets to make Nature his guide; and it may with confidence be said that no poet at such an early (if at any) period of life, ever copied her with more truth, or more keenly touched the hearts of his readers when his subject required the slumbering passions to be brought into action.

"When the variety, the number, the beauty, and moral tendency, of his juvenile (they may almost be styled infantine) poems are considered; when their pretensions shall be examined, and their merits acknowledged; the follies of his youth will be forgotten or absolved; censure will be corrected with pity, while admiration is mingled with regret. What he had written before he arrived at the age of fourteen (portions of which have been laid before the reader in the course of this work) will surely justify these opinions; and will at the same time create astonishment when it is added, that the poetry which he had already composed at that period, would fill ten volumes of a moderate size. His translation of the Epitaphium Damonis of Milton, his Monody on the death of Chatterton, the Ode to Fancy, the Hymn to the memory of Thomson, the Dirge on Fidele in Cymbeline, the Elegy on himself (the last of which poems the reader has seen in the preceding sheets, and the others will form part of a future publication), with many pieces of equal merit, were produced before he had reached his twelfth year, and are monuments both of his learning and his genius. The early poems of Cowley, of Milton, and of Pope, bear no comparison with these; and will be found to possess less thought, less fancy, and less nature. In the cast of his mind he resembled the unfortunate Chatterton, and in his propensities the eccentric Savage: but in precocity of talent, and of classical information, excelled both them and every other rival; having in the first fourteen years of his life acquired a competent knowledge of the Greek, the Latin, the French, and Italian languages, and a little of the Spanish. Like Savage, he would participate in the pleasures of the lowest company; but had not the same eagerness after money, nor the same effrontery in demanding it of his friends: and notwithstanding Dermody's insatiate desire for liquor kept him in perpetual poverty, yet his applications for relief (though full of lamentations) were never degraded by meanness or fulsome adulation; nor did ingratitude, in his worst excesses, ever sully his character through life. Savage however did not

not refuse by such means to indulge his low debaucheries, and gratify passions which were mean, selfish, and revengeful. No one was more greedy of fame than Savage, or paid more regard to the correction of his works; yet he often sunk the noble spirit of the poet, by praising at one time without sincerity what at another he would ridicule without decency; by flattering him at one time without discrimination, whom at another he would wound without a cause; and at all times valued friendship only as it could be rendered subservient to his wants, conducive to his pleasures, or propitious to his dissipation. Dermody had a nature in some degree opposite to this; and only resembled Savage in his genius, in his misfortunes, and in his habits of living. He was as heedless of fame, as he was indifferent to the reception which his writings might meet with from the public: he seldom corrected his works, but dismissed them with as little ceremony as he would shew to a lecturer on prudence, a stranger who had called to borrow money, or an acquaintance whom he never wished to meet again. The rich blossoms of his genius, from the first moment when they were discovered 'wasting their sweetness on the desert air,' expanded and flourished under the cherishing influence of liberal and exalted patronage, and the nutritious warmth of admiration and encouragement: but the instability of his temper never suffered them to fasten in the rich soil to which they had been transplanted; and by an unhappy fatality of conduct his 'bud of hope' (like Shakspeare's violet, 'sweet but not permanent') bloomed but to perish. Had he qualified those errors which hurt only himself; had his ambition kept pace with the encouragement which he received; had he studied and pursued moral with the same ardour as poetical propriety; had his regard for character and decorum equalled his poverty and his love of dissipation; he might have lived to be the admiration of the great, the wonder of the learned, and the ornament of society; science might have smiled upon his labours, fame might have proclaimed his excellence, and posterity with delight would record his name: but mistaking the way to happiness he plunged into misery, and fell an early victim to imprudence."

LIFE of GIRALDUS DE BARRI.

[From Sir RICHARD HOARE'S TRANSLATION of Archbishop BALDWIN'S ITINERARY.]

"GIRALDUS DE BARRI, distinguished by the name of Cambrensis, or the Cambrian, was descended from an illustrious lineage, being the fourth son of William de Barri, a person of high distinction, by Angharad, daughter of Nest, who was the daughter of Rhys ap Theodor Prince of South Wales. He was born about the year 1146, at the castle of Manorbeer in Pembrokeshire, and at a very early age shewed strong marks of literary talents, and an earnest desire to dedicate himself to offices of religion. Whilst his brothers and their

and their companions amused themselves with tracing fanciful figures on the sands, he was occupied in drawing churches and monasteries. His father, admiring these marks of his youthful propensity, predicted his future progress in learning, decided in his own mind on giving him the advantages of a learned education, and in joke used to call him his little bishop. At a time when the country was alarmed by an hostile invasion, and the youths of the castle rushed forth to arms, the boy Giraldus burst into tears, and requested to be carried into the church as a place of safety; thus, to use his own words, 'with a wonderful foresight for his age, declaring the peace and privileges of the house of God.' All those who heard him were much astonished that he should expect to find more security in a retired church, than in a castle strongly fortified, and well garrisoned with soldiers.

"Associating with his brothers and their companions, who were educated in the military profession, Giraldus had little opportunity of applying his mind to study, until his uncle, David Fitzgerald bishop of Saint David's, hearing of his character and natural inclination, drew him from the paternal roof, and undertook the care of his future education. He seems, however, at first to have made but little progress; for two masters to whom he was consigned, repeatedly jeered him for his slowness and ignorance in declining the Latin words *durus*, *durior*, *durissimus*, and *stultus*, *stultior*, *stultissimus*. These rebukes made so considerable an impression on the young scholar, that, actuated more by a sense of shame than by discipline, he applied with such assiduity to his literary pursuits that he soon surpassed all his fellow students. To complete his education, he went to Paris, where he remained for three years, gave lectures on rhetoric and the belles lettres, and was pointed out by the doctors of the university as a pattern to the young men of his age.

"On returning to England, about the year 1172, he entered into holy orders; and having obtained preferment both in England and Wales, and thinking himself '*non sibi sed patriæ natus*,' he devoted his whole mind and abilities to the public good, and strenuously endeavoured to promote the interests of his church. Observing, however, that, owing to the negligence of the prelates of the diocese of Saint David's (most particularly in the districts of Pembroke and Cardigan), the church did not receive its dues, and that the Welsh paid no tythes either in wool or cheese; he went to Canterbury, and having stated his complaints to Richard the archbishop, was appointed his legate in Wales, for the purpose of rectifying these and other abuses. He executed this commission with great spirit and success; and excommunicated, without distinction, those who refused to pay their tythes. All but the men of Ros, or the Flemings, readily paid their tenths, and in revenge for their non-compliance, the Welsh plundered their farms, and took away their sheep. Amongst those who resisted the demands of the clergy, was one William Karquit, governor of the province of Pembroke, who being jealous of the newly acquired office of Giraldus, took away forcibly from the priory at Pembroke eight yoke of oxen, and drove them to his own castle. Three times he was requested to restore them, and as often refused; at last, being threatened with excommunication, he replied

plied 'The legate may, indeed, be proud and malicious, but I think him not bold enough to excommunicate the constable of the king in his own castle.' He was then informed, that on hearing the bells of the monastery sound three times, he might rest assured that the sentence of excommunication had been passed. When the messenger returned, the monks and clergy were summoned together; the legate, in the most solemn manner, passed sentence of excommunication, and the bells (as is usual on similar occasions) confirmed it with their peals.

"He likewise attempted to reform the morals of the clergy, and was peculiarly severe against all priests who had wives, calling them concubines, and insisted upon their dismission. On entering the diocese of Saint David's in the character of legate, he found at Brecknock an old archdeacon cohabiting publicly with his concubine. Mild entreaties to remove her from his house being ineffectual, he endeavoured by his own authority, sanctioned by the primate, to gain the desired end; but his remonstrances being answered by insolent reflections on the archbishop, Giraldus immediately suspended him from his ecclesiastical benefices, and delivered up to the archbishop (whom he had so contumeliously treated, and whose authority he had spurned) both his archdeaconry and prebendary. Having completed his legation, he visited the archbishop in company with the bishop of Saint David's, who, at the request of the former, promoted Giraldus to the vacant preferment, assigning to the old incumbent a sufficient maintenance for the remainder of his life.

"In discharging the duties of his new dignity of archdeacon, he acted with great rigour, and was involved in frequent disputes and quarrels, in which, according to his own account, he was always in the right and always victorious. He had an early opportunity of asserting, in a very singular manner, the dignity of his own archdeaconry, as well as that of the metropolitan see of Saint David's. Having been settled only a few days in his residence at Landeu, near Brecknock, after a very laborious journey he had taken to correct the abuses that prevailed in the provinces of Melyenith and Elven, he was surprised by the appearance of two clergymen, sent in a great hurry by the dean and chapter of that district, to inform him that Adam bishop of Saint Asaph was coming to dedicate the church of Keri, (which was situated on the confines of the two bishoprics, but of old had appertained to that of Saint David's,) and that unless the archdeacon appeared there in person, nothing would prevent his taking possession of that church, or even the entire province; and they intimated likewise, that if no obstacles intervened, he intended to seize the whole territory between the rivers Wye and Severn, comprehending the districts of Melyenith and Elven. However harassed by his late expeditions, and dissuaded by his former companions and followers, who, more through fear of danger than fatigue, refused to accompany him; he, nevertheless, immediately proceeded on his journey towards the church of Keri. On the Saturday he dispatched messengers to two princes of that country, Eineon Clyd and Cadwalhon, requesting them to send some trusty men of their families, provided with horses and arms, to assist him (if necessity required) in asserting the rights of the church

of

of Saint David, as the bishop of Saint Asaph was reported to be attended by a strong body of men from Powys: he slept that night at Llanbist, and on coming to Keri early on Sunday morning, found that two of the clergy, and partisans of the bishop, had concealed the keys of the church: these being at length found, the archdeacon entered the church, and, having ordered the bells to be rung, as a token of possession, he celebrated mass with great solemnity. In the mean time messengers arrived from the bishop, ordering preparations to be made for the dedication of the church. Mass being concluded, the archdeacon sent some of his clergy, attended by the dean of the province, to inform the bishop, 'That if he came to Keri as a neighbour and a friend, he would receive him with every mark of hospitality; but if otherwise, he desired him not to proceed.' The bishop returned for answer, 'That he was coming in his professional capacity as bishop of the diocese, to perform his duty in the dedication of the church.' The archdeacon and his clergy met the bishop at the entrance to the churchyard, where a long dispute arose about the matter in question, and each asserted their respective rights to the church of Keri. To enforce his claims the more, the bishop dismounted from his horse, placed his mitre on his head, and taking up his pastoral staff, walked with his attendants towards the church. The archdeacon proceeded to meet him, accompanied by his clergy, dressed in their surplices and sacerdotal robes, who, with lighted tapers and up-raised crucifix, came forth from the church in processional form: at length each began to excommunicate the other; but the archdeacon having ordered the bells to be rung three times as the usual confirmation of the sentence, the bishop and his train mounted their horses, and made a precipitate retreat, followed by a great mob, and pelted with clods of earth and stones. This resolute conduct of the archdeacon gained him the approbation of all present, and even of the bishop himself, who was a fellow-student with him at Paris.

"The controversy at Keri being thus happily terminated, Giraldus went to the king at Northampton, and related what had passed between him and the bishop of Saint Asaph, who claimed a parish belonging to the church of Saint David, and which, in fact, at that time (the see being vacant) had lapsed to the crown. The king commended the archdeacon's conduct in resisting the claims of the bishop, and excited a general laughter by telling the story to his courtiers who were at that time assembled.

"Another circumstance will prove his steadiness in the perseverance of his religious duties. Some of his parishioners at Nangle expected absolution on a certain day from the sentence of excommunication that had been passed upon them, for having combined with the men of Rôs in refusing the demand of tenths due to the church. On the preceding night he slept at Carew: the following day was so boisterous and stormy that the bishop of Saint David's, who accompanied him, strongly advised Giraldus to postpone his journey; but he replied, 'That, on such an occasion, delays would be dangerous; for those who had been excommunicated were expecting absolution, and had promised amendment:' and added, 'that when business demanded attention, it was unmanly

manly to watch the state of the weather upon dry land; and that such a precaution was only allowable to those who had a sea voyage to undertake.'

"On the death of his uncle, David Fitzgerald, the canons of Saint David's met in council, and, after a long debate, proclaimed Giraldus his successor; but the archdeacon thinking this election made too hastily and inconsiderately, and not according to the usual forms, went on the following morning to the chapter, and, contrary to the advice of all who were present, renounced the episcopal honours that had been offered to him: for it was not customary to proceed on a new election until the death of the former bishop had been publicly announced, and a previous application made to the king, or his justiciary, and the royal assent obtained. The chapter however persisted in their choice, which so highly displeased king Henry, that he threatened to dispossess them of their lands and revenues. He summoned a council, and submitted the case to the consideration of Richard archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragan bishops, desiring them to recommend a fit person to fill the vacant see: they unanimously recommended Giraldus, as a man of learning and spirit: but the king objected, saying, 'That it was neither expedient or necessary to elect too upright or active a man to the vacant see of Saint David's, as such a choice might prove detrimental to the cathedral church of Canterbury, or even to the crown of England.'

"At the dissolution of the council, the king confessed to the archbishop, and to a few of his confidential servants, that although he entertained a very high opinion of the talents and integrity of Giraldus, yet he thought it not safe to place a person so nearly related to Prince Rhys, and to almost all the nobility of Wales, at the head of the see of Saint David's; and that the pride and pretensions of the Welsh would be heightened by the promotion of so able, worthy, and resolute a man. When this conversation was repeated to Giraldus by Roger bishop of Worcester, he exclaimed, 'That such a public testimony, and given in such a place of audience, was more honourable to him than the best bishopric.' Giraldus, unwilling to persist in opposition to the will of the king, and the canons wishing not to run the risk of losing their benefices, abandoned their claims, and a new election was made in the presence of the king at Winchester, when Peter de Leia, a monk of the order of Clugny, and prior of the monastery of Wenloch in Shropshire, was unanimously chosen, at the recommendation of the king, and took possession of the episcopal see of Saint David's.

"At the conclusion of this business Giraldus returned to Paris, with a view of applying himself to the study of belles lettres: and, to use his own expression, "to raise the walls of the canon law on the foundation of the arts and literature.'

"He dwells with great rapture, and with no inconsiderable share of vanity, on the prodigious fame which he acquired by his eloquent declamation in the schools, and speaks of the crowded audiences of the doctors and scholars, who were unable to decide, whether the sweetness of his voice, the beauty of his language, or the force of his arguments, were most worthy of admiration; they were so fascinated,

nated, he adds, with his oratory, that they hung, as it were, suspended on his mouth, and were never fatigued with the most prolix or tedious discourse.

"After a long and studious residence at Paris, Giraldus returned to England; and on his journey through Flanders was present at a tournament given in the city of Arras, by Philip count of Flanders. Landing safely in England, he proceeded to Canterbury, where, by invitation, he dined with the prior and monks of that place. On this occasion he takes an opportunity of inveighing severely against their luxurious mode of living: he says, 'their tables abounded with numerous and savoury dishes, and with such a variety of the choicest wines, that ale and beer were not allowed to be introduced.'

"From Canterbury he continued his journey to London, and paid a visit to Richard the archbishop of that see, at his villa, where he was entertained with gratifying marks of hospitality. On the following morning he received advice by a messenger, that a separation was on the point of taking place between his sister and her husband, who resided in the diocese of Winchester; upon which he most earnestly beseeched the archbishop to permit him to make use of his authority in staying the proceedings, and to put no bar to a reconciliation, provided he could by any means effect it. Having obtained the archbishop's consent, as well as letters, he hastened to Southwark, where he found a numerous chapter assembled, and his sister and her husband standing before Richard Toclif bishop of Winchester, in expectation of the divorce, which was on the point of being granted. The bishop instantly recognized the archdeacon, and, being much surprised at the sudden appearance of a person whom he imagined at that time to have been in France, embraced him, and placed him at his side. When Giraldus presented to him the official letters of the archbishop, he courteously replied—'That if the archdeacon had appeared alone, and unbacked by such high authority, he would have paid a ready and willing attention to his petition.' By his unexpected arrival the chapter was dissolved, and, by his friendly interference, a perfect reconciliation took place between his sister and her husband.

"On his return to Wales he found the diocese of Saint David's in a state of great confusion, the bishop (Peter de Leia) having been obliged to quit his episcopal residence, owing to some disputes that had arisen between him and the Welsh. By the advice of the archbishop, Giraldus was appointed administrator of all the spiritual and temporal concerns of the church, which he conducted with great prudence and moderation for a considerable time, until the bishop, who had retired to some convent in England, very improperly interfered at Saint David's, by suspending some persons and excommunicating others, without any previous trial; upon which Giraldus resigned the ecclesiastical charge committed to him, and, by the archbishop's interest, caused the sentences of suspension and excommunication which had been so unjustly passed, to be annulled. He was so irritated at the bishop's conduct, that at first he determined, by an accusation before the court of Rome, to procure his deposition; but by the interference of their mutual friends, peace

was at length re-established between them, and the arhdeacon's lands at Landeu and Mathrey were restored to him.

"The fame of Giraldus increasing daily, he was induced by king Henry the second to reside at the court, where he continued for some time, though, he says, with great reluctance; the life he there led being ill adapted to a studious and literary man like himself. About this period he was deputed as a pacificator to Wales, and, after having effectually fulfilled his commission, returned to court, where he was graciously received by the king, who appointed him his chaplain, and made him repeated promises of high preferment in the church, which, however, were never carried into execution. Henry strongly commended him in council, and testified the greatest approbation of his good conduct, modesty, and fidelity; saying, 'that had he not been born in Wales, and so nearly allied to its princes and chieftains, and especially to prince Rhys, he would have loaded him with ecclesiastical benefices, and preferred him to the highest honours.'

"It happened about this time that by an order from the king, Rhys ap Gruffydh was summoned to hold a conference with Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and Ranulf de Glanville, chief justice of England, at Hereford. When seated at dinner in the house of William de Vere, bishop of that see, and Walter, son of Robert, a noble baron, both of whom were descended from the family of Clare; Giraldus, the archdeacon, approached the table, and standing before them, thus facetiously addressed himself to prince Rhys: 'You may congratulate yourself, Rhys, on being now seated between two of the Clare family, and whose inheritance you possess:' for at that time he held all Cardiganshire, which he had recovered from Roger earl of Clare. Rhys, a man of excellent understanding, and particularly ready at an answer, immediately replied, 'It is indeed true, that for a considerable length of time we were deprived of our inheritance by the Clares; but as it was our fate to be losers, we had at least the satisfaction of being dispossessed of it by noble and illustrious personages, not by the hands of an idle and obscure people.' The bishop, desirous of returning the compliment to prince Rhys, replied, 'And we also, since it has been decreed that we should lose the possession of those territories, are well pleased that so noble and upright a prince as Rhys should be at this time lord over them.'

"In the year 1185 he was appointed by king Henry preceptor to his son John, whom he accompanied to Ireland as secretary, and in that situation gave such satisfaction, that the prince offered him the Irish bishoprics of Fernes and Leighelin, and on his refusing each of them separately, the prince proposed to consolidate them into one, provided he would accept them; but to this proposal Giraldus replied, 'If I could improve and exalt the church of Ireland, I would willingly accept the proffered honour; but since that cannot be expected, I had rather continue a private person, than be raised to a high station in which I can be of no service.' He likewise refused at this or a subsequent period the archbishopric of Cashel. During his residence in Ireland he was assiduous in collecting materials for his two works, the 'Topography,' and

and 'Conquest of Ireland;' and when John, after some months residence in that country, returned to England, Giraldus still continued there to complete and digest his collections. He likewise distinguished himself greatly by preaching before the archbishop of Dublin; and in his discourses he strongly recommended sobriety, abstinence, and continence, and as usual inveighed bitterly against the dissolute lives of the clergy. On his return to England, he was indefatigable in composing, revising, and correcting, his work on the Topography of Ireland; and when finished, was anxious to submit it to the public. 'Being desirous,' he says, 'not to put a lighted candle under a bushel, but to place it in a candlestick, where it might give light, I determined to recite my work before a public audience at Oxford, where the clergy were most distinguished for their talents and learning. I accordingly recited for three successive days the three chapters into which the book is divided. On the first day, I entertained with hospitality the poor people of the town; on the second, the doctors of the different professions, and the students of the greatest celebrity; and on the third, the remainder of the scholars, with the burghers and militia of the city. Such a magnificent and sumptuous festival revived the ancient times of classic poetry, and was wholly unknown in England either in the past or present age.'

"In the year 1187, king Henry, with many of his nobility, engaged themselves in the crusading expedition, which at that time was preparing throughout Europe, and Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, was sent on this holy and enthusiastic mission into Wales; Ranulphus de Glanville, chief justice of the realm, accompanied him, and at Radnor they were met by Rhys ap Gruffydh, and by many illustrious chieftains of the country. The archbishop explained to them, and the multitude, the object of his mission, and Giraldus was the first person who took the cross; Peter de Leia bishop of Saint David's, and many others, followed his example, and enlisted themselves under the consecrated banners. The archbishop and archdeacon were equally strenuous in their endeavours to gain proselytes; but the oratory of the latter prevailed more successfully than the high name and authority of the former. The effect produced by his discourse at Haverford was so great, that the archbishop oftentimes during his progress confessed that he never before on one day was witness to so much shedding of tears. At the conclusion of the sermon, near the bridge of Aberteivi, or Cardigan, where prince Rhys and a numerous concourse of people attended, a person by the name of John Spang thus addressed the prince: 'You ought, indeed, to entertain a high opinion of this archdeacon, your son-in-law, for he hath this day enlisted a hundred men or more in the holy cause; and if he had spoken to the people in the Welsh language, I doubt if even one out of the whole number of your attendants had remained unenlisted.' Giraldus compares the effect of his exhortations to those made by Saint Bernard, who preached the word of God to the Germans in the French tongue, and miraculously converted his hearers, although they neither understood a word of what he uttered, nor even required

an interpretation. He insinuates that God assisted his pious endeavours, and relates a saying of some of his auditors, who at the conclusion of his discourse thus addressed him: 'The Holy Spirit hath this day truely manifested relief in your mouth.' King John is also said to have bitterly reproached Giraldus for draining his county of Pembroke of men, by persuading such numbers to take the cross and repair to the Holy Land. But although thus zealous and successful in preaching the cause of the crusade; yet on the death of king Henry, at whose instance he had taken the cross, he applied to the cardinal legate, John of Anagni, on behalf of himself and Peter de Leia bishop of Saint David's, for absolution from the vows which each had made to go to the Holy Land; and which they obtained on the plea of age and poverty, but on condition that they should attend to the reparation of the cathedral church at Saint David's, and give every assistance in their power to the crusaders who undertook the journey to Jerusalem.

"To the enthusiastic zeal, that once animated the breast of the archdeacon, we owe the present Itinerary through Wales, of which a translation is now, for the first time, submitted to the public, and which, amidst a multitude of idle stories and monkish legends, contains many curious and interesting particulars relative to the topography and history of that principality.

"During this journey Giraldus gained the good graces of the archbishop: that prelate highly praised his works, and strongly recommended him to the king; but Henry persisted in his resolution of not advancing him to any high preferment in the church.

"In the year 1189, Giraldus attended king Henry on his military expedition into France, as did also Baldwin the archbishop, and Ranulph Glanville the justiciary. On his return into England after the death of that monarch, which took place in the same year, the following adventure befel him, which he used frequently to relate when the various fortuitous events that had happened to him became the subject of conversation. Finding, on his arrival at Dieppe, the wind unfavourable for his passage, he agreed with the soldiers, his companions, to leave their baggage behind them at that place, and to hasten their journey towards the sea-coast of Flanders, hoping by that means to effect a more speedy passage. The king, with some of his nobility, and many other persons, had fallen a sacrifice to the unhealthiness of the climate, and all the attendants of the archdeacon (one boy excepted) had either returned home ill, or had died abroad. Leaving this boy with his horses and luggage at Dieppe, he hired a stranger, whom he had never seen before, as his valet, and intrusted him with the care of all his valuables. In the morning, having crossed the river at Dieppe, and ascended a hill from whence they had a prospect of the town and harbour; according to the custom of travellers they began to inquire of each other if they had left nothing behind them; upon which Giraldus found his new servant missing. Having waited for him a long time, but in vain: the archdeacon became uneasy, because, as a stranger, he could place no confidence in him; and he recollected that the man had said, that

if he did not engage in his service, he should go to his brother in Hungary. The soldiers advised Giraldus to go back to Dieppe or Rouen, where he had first seen him; but despairing of ever finding him again if he had absconded, he could not be prevailed upon to return. His companions hearing that besides the sum of forty marks in gold and silver, and a good saddle-horse, the servant had the charge of all the archdeacon's clothes, a bag of important letters from earl Richard, and the unpublished Journal of his Itinerary through Wales, still more strenuously urged his return; but the archdeacon could not be persuaded to leave them. Arriving at the town of Abbeville, Giraldus retired to his apartment, reflecting seriously on the adventure which had happened; and he used to say, that on this occasion he had three motives of regret:

"First—The loss of his money was something, but moderate when compared with his other losses; for money was oftentimes lost, and oftentimes recovered.

"Second—The loss of the earl's letters, and of his own appointment as legate in Wales, was still greater; but as he knew the purport of them, he could by similar letters from the justiciary obtain some kind of redress.

"Third—The loss of his journals was by far the most severe, and indeed irreparable, the book not being as yet published, '*non edito, sed edendo.*'

"After many melancholy reflections on the subject, he returned to his companions in the hall, where a boy came running in from the market-place, inquiring what sort of a horse was that of the archdeacon's: having gained the necessary information, he said that he had seen a person riding such a horse, laden with a large package, in the market-place, and inquiring for the archdeacon's lodgings. He was immediately sent for, and received with general satisfaction. Giraldus asked him, 'if all was safe?' to which he answered, 'Yes:' but the soldiers would not suffer him to explain the cause of his delay till after dinner, when he told them, that having crossed the river at Dieppe, he dismounted in order to tighten his luggage, when he found that a bag containing twenty marks or more had dropped, upon which he went back to seek it at the inn from whence he had set out; but his researches not being attended with success, he returned and crossed the river a third time, giving up all hopes of finding the package he had lost; when casting his eyes back on the pebbly shore which he had before passed, to his great surprise and joy he discovered the bag lying amongst the stones, rolled up in the state he had received it from his master, and untouched.

"From this adventure Giraldus draws the following moral: 'That God oftentimes inflicts with heavy tribulations those whom he loves and guides; and at the moment when they are in the greatest distress, shows himself propitious and near at hand.'

"Arriving safely on the coast of Flanders, they obtained a favourable passage, and the archdeacon hastened his journey to London, where he found the boy whom he had left with his baggage at Dieppe. Having delivered the letters of earl Richard to the justiciary, he immediately proceeded into Wales, where he soon restored tranquillity to a country that had

been much agitated by the death of the late king. Shortly afterwards, the earl came to London, and was there crowned king: but his stay in England was not long, for soon after his coronation he returned into Normandy to meet Philip king of France, with whom he was engaged to undertake the crusading expedition to Jerusalem. Richard was so highly satisfied with the zeal and fidelity of Giraldus, that on his departure for the Holy Land, he appointed him coadjutor to William de Long Champ bishop of Ely, in the regency of his kingdom. But Giraldus did not improve this favourable opportunity, for he refused the bishoprics of Bangor in North Wales, and Landaff in South Wales, alleging as a motive for this refusal, his unwillingness to accept any situation that would divert him from his studies; but, by his own avowal, he rather declined these promotions from the hopes of succeeding, on the death of the old and infirm incumbent, to the see of Saint David's. He records an anecdote of himself, alluding to his anxious desire to obtain that see, and to his repeated refusals of other bishoprics which had been offered to him. A priest, who was deranged in his mind, and who, following the court of the justiciary, was accustomed to amuse the young men by ludicrous and ridiculous sayings, feigned a conversation with Giraldus, 'Master Giraldus, will you accept of the bishopric of Guiseford?' 'No.' 'Will you accept the bishopric of Ossory?' 'No.' 'The bishopric of Leighelin?' 'No.' 'The archbishopric of Cashel?' 'No.' 'But do you choose the bishopric of Saint David's?' then replying, with a loud and clamorous voice, 'Yes!' he burst into a fit of laughter.

"Finding that all the royal promises of preferment on his attaching himself to the court were ineffectual, and that his services had not met with their due reward, he determined to quit the busy and tumultuous scene of life, and retire to some more tranquil situation, where he might prosecute his literary pursuits without interruption.

"Having collected all his books, he proceeded on another journey to Paris; but hearing, on his arrival at the sea coast, that war had lately been rekindled between Philip king of France and Richard king of England, he altered his plans, and went to Lincoln, to study theology under William de Monte chancellor of that diocese, with whom he had formerly been acquainted at Paris. There he continued for the space of six years, prosecuting his studies with indefatigable ardour, and composing several of his literary works. During this period he was strongly advised (on the death of Peter de Leia, bishop of Saint David's, A. D. 1199,) to solicit from the king, whose family he had most essentially served, the vacant mitre; but, unwilling to abandon the studious mode of life he had now adopted, he replied, 'That a bishop should be sought after, not seek; and that, as he had a sufficient competency, he would not, for any consideration, quit his present state of ease and tranquillity.'

"About the same time he gave a conspicuous proof of his charity and disinterestedness in selling his best garments to relieve the necessities of the poor at Lincoln, who had suffered severely from a scarcity of provisions.

"On the death of Peter de Leia, the archdeacons and canons of St. David's, by the mandate of Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, proceeded

proceeded to nominate such persons as they thought fit to succeed to the vacant see; and they recommended the following:—

"Giraldus, archdeacon of Brecknock, — Walter, abbot of Saint Dogmaels,—Peter, abbot of Whitland; and to these they added Reginald Foliot, that they might not appear designedly to exclude an Englishman from the ecclesiastical honour, and concluding at the same time that he had little prospect of success.

"The archbishop positively refused to accept the nomination of Giraldus for the same reasons alleged by king Henry on many former occasions; and partly on the same grounds he rejected the other two, as being natives of Wales. To supply their places, he proposed Martin, a Cistercian monk, and Geoffrey, prior of Lanthoni; but the chapter persisted in their long-established right of nomination. King Richard was at this time abroad, and hearing of the dispute between the canons of Saint David's and the archbishop of Canterbury, ordered a deputation of four members of the chapter to appear before him in Normandy, and receive his orders respecting the election of a bishop: but whilst these matters were in agitation, the king died.

"Letters from the chapter of Saint David's, recommending Giraldus, were presented to his successor king John, and favourably received; so much so, that the king ordered Giraldus to come before him with three or four canons of the church, that he might be duly elected bishop; but, unfortunately for the archdeacon, on the king's return to England, the all-powerful influence of the archbishop put a stop to the election. In a letter written about this time to Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, Giraldus complains bitterly of the ill treatment and vexation he had suffered from the court, and expresses a wish that he may be allowed to dedicate the remainder of his life to study and retirement.

"'Hitherto,' says our author, 'I have unfortunately sacrificed too much time to fruitless ambition. Let me therefore be allowed to retire and indulge without further molestation my favourite pursuit of books and literature. Let others anxiously covet the high honours attached to a court, as I myself, labouring under the same vice, once did, and became an useless and unprofitable follower of it. Having more than sufficiently experienced the vicissitudes and vexations resulting from an attendance upon the high and mighty, I desire to be in that situation with respect to them, as if I had never been in their service. May the holy Father and merciful God grant, that, far from the cares and ambition of a court, which always wound, and never heal and satisfy the heart; and far also from the clamorous bustle of the world, by lamenting and redeeming my heavy loss of time, I may be able to pass the moderate remaining portion of my life in peaceful ease and tranquillity!'

"After the repeated disappointments he had received in the attainment of his favourite preferment, and seeing there was little or no prospect of success, he turned his back upon the English court; and, after an absence of many years, revisited Saint David's, where he was received with the greatest joy, both by the clergy and the people. A

convocation was again held for the election of a bishop, and the votes were unanimous in favour of Giraldus, who was earnestly desired to go immediately to the court of Rome, and there to assert the rights of the metropolitan see of Saint David's, and to procure a ratification of his own election.

"On returning to Saint David's, after a short excursion into Ireland, he was informed that letters had been sent from the archbishop and justiciary to the canons of that church, summoning them to appear in England, and elect Geoffrey, prior of Lanthoni, to the vacant see. After a mature and considerate deliberation, the chapter dispatched letters on the appointed day to the bishops of London and Rochester (who during the absence of the archbishop abroad had been nominated his deputies), forbidding them to proceed in the election; and at the same time they sent other letters to the prior of Lanthoni and his fraternity of monks, ordering them, as members of the church of Saint David, not to interfere in this election.

"Giraldus having paid a visit to his brother, Philip de Barri, and explained to him the cause of his intended journey to Rome, proceeded to the abbey of Stratflur in Cardiganshire, where he deposited his library of books; from thence he journeyed over the Ellennith mountains towards Cumhir, and entered England near Keri. He embarked at the port of Sandwich in Kent, and landed in Flanders; from thence he traversed the Alps and Tuscany, and arrived at Rome about the festival of Saint Andrew. He was received by pope Innocent the third, with great kindness and condescension; he accepted the works which Giraldus presented to him with this punning compliment: '*Præsentarunt vobis alii libras, vel nos libros,*' 'Others have presented pounds to your holiness, but I have presented books;' and expressed himself highly gratified with their perusal; yet he did not ultimately favour his suit. The archbishop opposed his promotion with great violence, and his competitor for the see of Saint David's had great success in a court where all things were venal. Giraldus, however, persisted in prosecuting his claim, and was involved in a tedious litigation of five years, by asserting the dignity and privileges of the church of Saint David's against the incroachments and demands of that of Canterbury. He took three successive journeys to Rome at a considerable expense; but was at last defeated in his hopes, for the pope passed a definitive sentence, and declared his election null.

"After the unfavourable decision made by the pontiff, Giraldus thus addressed himself to his eminence in full consistory: 'Thou knowest, O lord and father, that the cause I have had in hand is twofold: first, the cause of my own election; secondly, the cause of our metropolitan church. The validity of the one having, by thy will and judgment, been annulled, I pray and beseech your holiness that the other, on behalf of which I have undertaken so many laborious journeys to your court, may be allowed to follow its legal course.' 'And who,' replies the pope, 'will prosecute that cause?' 'I (says Giraldus); for although not the bishop elect, yet I am archdeacon as well as canon, and a legitimate not a spurious member of that church, and ready, with all my might, to rescue my mother and brethren

brethren from an unlawful state of servitude.' Upon which the bishop of Ostia, the liberal and open-hearted Octavian, thus addressed the council: 'Now, indeed, it evidently appeareth, that the archdeacon is more strenuous in promoting the advantages of his church, than his own self-interest, and that he is more actuated by a sense of charity than of covetousness.'

"The right, however, of Giraldus to the bishopric was deemed so unquestionable, that he was usually called in Wales the bishop elect: and although he does not appear ever to have assumed that title himself, yet king John issued several mandates and letters against him for presuming to take upon himself that character. 'Know ye, that Giraldus, archdeacon of Brecknock, acts openly against our crown and dignity, considering himself as the bishop elect of Saint David's, though we have never assented to his election.'

"This long controversy continued above four years, during which time our author suffered many and very heavy persecutions, one of which I shall now relate.

"The resolute conduct of the canons of Saint David's, in asserting the rights of their church, was strongly supported by the reigning princes of North and South Wales: on the other side, the archbishop of Canterbury not only employed threats but also bribes, in order to soften the temper of the chapter: he sent them threatening letters from the king and justiciary, and, by means of one Osbert, caused gilt rings, costly garments richly ornamented with gold and ivory, and various other presents to be distributed amongst them; which at length had the desired effect. The abbot of Whitland, whom Giraldus calls '*albior exterius quàm interius, habitu quàm actu, nomine quàm omine*,' was the chief author of these corrupt intrigues, and infected the minds of the chapter of Saint David's. Still, however, the archdeacon persevered in a steady opposition to them, supported by the nobles of the country, and by all well-wishers to the church. On his return towards England from a journey through the wild districts of Cardiganshire, he met, on the mountains of the Cantref Bychan, a messenger who had been dispatched from his dean at Brecknock, to acquaint him that all the lands, both at Brecknock and Landeu, belonging to the see of Saint David's, and of which he had the management, had, by a precept of the justiciary, been seized by the servants of William de Braose, on behalf of the king. At Luel, he encountered a second messenger, informing him, that all his own lands and revenues would be shortly seized; and his friends advised him on no account to proceed, for the king's officers had threatened to throw into prison both him and his attendants, if they could lay hold of them. But the archdeacon, by no means alarmed at these tidings, proceeded on his journey homewards; when between the villages of Trallan and Aberyscir he met his own dean, by name Richard (who had been appointed his procurator in those parts), pale and trembling; and he confirmed to him by mouth, all the intelligence he had before communicated to him by letters and messengers. Still, however, Giraldus despising the mighty threats of his adversaries, persisted in his journey, saying to his companions, 'Have we not some good ale at home? Let us go and drink it before it be all gone.'

gone.' '*Nonne domi cerevisiam bonam habemus? Eamus ergo et bibamus eam, prius quam omnino fuerimus destituti.*' On arriving at Landeu, he found all safe and quiet at home; these premature alarms having arisen only from some threats disseminated in that neighbourhood by Reginald Foliot, and his accomplices.

"These disturbances and insults proceeded from the following cause: the justiciary being at Shrewsbury, attended by the barons of that country, heard a heavy complaint preferred against Giraldus, by Robert bishop of Bangor; alleging that he had favoured the cause of his adversary Andrew, who, contrary to the will of the king, considered himself as bishop elect; and declaring in a public audience, that, not only on this, but on every other occasion, he had opposed the inclinations of the king; and he likewise added, that the archdeacon at this present time came into North Wales for the purpose of uniting Llewelyn and the princes of Powys with those of South Wales, and in short the whole country of Wales in a confederacy against the king. Upon the grounds of these false representations, the justiciary deprived Giraldus of all his benefices at Brecknock, and on his journey through Oxford, wrote to the archdeacon of that county, ordering him to do the same. 'Geoffrey Fitz-piers, earl of Essex, to his dearly beloved friend the archdeacon of Oxford, sendeth greeting: Know therefore that Giraldus archdeacon of Brecknock is the enemy of our lord the king, and therefore we command you to take into your hands all the benefices which he holds in your archdeaconry.' The justiciary also wrote letters to the abbot of Whitland, ordering him to consider Giraldus as an enemy to the king, and a rebel, to hold no intercourse with him, or to give any assistance in time of need; for during the many vexatious persecutions that Giraldus had experienced, he had often sought and found refuge within the convents of the Cistercian order.

"The abbot, unable totally to prevent the reception of Giraldus within the gates of the monasteries subject to him, and particularly that of Stratflur, where he had deposited all his most valuable books, and whither, during the tide of his heaviest persecutions, he had frequently retreated, gave orders that no respect should be paid to the archdeacon whenever he came; but that he should be received only in the public hall, amongst the noisy and vulgar guests. He ordered also, that neither monk nor lay-brother, nor even any servant belonging to the convent, should be allowed to conduct him, as a guide, over the wild and dreary tract of country, in which that monastery is situated; a mark of hospitality and kindness not denied even to the greatest strangers. The archdeacon, however, had shortly the means of fully vindicating his character from these unjust aspersions, and of disappointing the abbot of Whitland in his ambitious hopes of preferment. On being ordered by the justiciary to amend his conduct towards the king, and to hold no synod but in his own archdeaconry, he addressed him in the following spirited letter: 'I am much astonished that a man of your lordship's wisdom and discretion, the first counsellor of the kingdom and justiciary of the realm, should so readily have attended to the suggestions of enemies

mies during the absence of the adverse party, and be thus moved to anger; for it is not usual, as you well know, to pronounce judgment upon the assertions of one party, whilst the other is absent. Believe me, I am not such a Sylvester (such a mere man of the woods), as from the misrepresentations of my enemies, you may be inclined to think me; but that whenever a fit time and opportunity offer, I shall know how to exist within a court. I will therefore shortly come to you in England, prepared, through God's blessing, to refute, by true and solemn affidavits, the calumnies which have been trumpeted forth against me; and furthermore to convince your lordship that even the words of bishops are not always to be received as gospel; but that, on the other hand (when devoid of truth), they ought rather to be considered as profane.'

"Not finding the justiciary on his arrival in London, he followed him into Kent. About the same time a messenger came to the court from Llewelyn prince of Wales, who, upon inquiry, related faithfully to the justiciary every thing that had been done by Giraldus, assuring him, that by his influence with the prince and nobles of the country the royal cause had been greatly assisted. The justiciary was completely satisfied with this explanation, and had a long conference with Giraldus, concerning the state of affairs in Wales.

"The persevering contest in which Giraldus was engaged became a frequent subject of conversation both in England and Wales. At a time when Gwenwynwyn, son of Owen Cyveiliog, and prince of Powys, was assembled in council with the chiefs and nobles of his land, and the labours of Giraldus were mentioned; the prince said, 'Wales has indeed been accustomed to wage many and obstinate wars with England, but none so severe as that now carried on by the bishop of Saint David's elect, who, to maintain the dignity and rights of his country, hath not ceased by long and repeated exertions to molest the king, the archbishop, and the whole body of the English clergy and people. Our differences, should they last during the summer, are settled before winter, nor do they often extend beyond the term of a single year; but this contest of Giraldus has continued incessantly for more than five.'

"The election of Giraldus to the vacant see of Saint David's being thus annulled by the court of Rome, he returned to England, and protested publicly against his three rival competitors. He objected to the abbot of Saint Dogmael, as being totally illiterate: to the abbot of Whitland, as being illegitimately born, and of a most ambitious disposition: and to Reginald Foliot, as being but just arrived at the age of manhood, and as a young man of most profligate character.

"On the day appointed for electing a bishop to fill the long vacant episcopal chair of Saint David's, Giraldus appeared at Lambeth; and from thence paid a visit to the justiciary in Westminster, who accompanied him to the chapel of Saint Catharine, at which place the canons of Saint David's, and the clergy of the archbishop, were assembled; for, according to the customs of the English monarchy, these elections were always made either before the king or his justiciary, and not in the presence of the archbishop.

"The

"The justiciary, calling Giraldus aside, endeavoured to dissuade him from nominating a Welshman to the vacant preferment, as during this tedious controversy they had shown themselves so adverse to his interest; and at the same time begged him to recommend some stranger of good character and reputation. The archdeacon readily assented; and that he might not appear to be actuated by self-interest, proposed two natives of Normandy; but the justiciary disapproving of this choice, desired him to think of two other fit persons residing in England, and who were better known to him. Having obtained leave from the justiciary, five or six of the canons of Saint David's retired with the archdeacon, and endeavoured to persuade him to fix upon some member of their church, naming at first some canons, then some abbots, and lastly some priors, to all of whom Giraldus objected. They then mentioned Geoffrey de Henelawe prior of Lanthoni, as being a member of the church of Saint David's, whom he also rejected; because he had always coveted this piece of preferment, and lived in the greatest intimacy with the archbishop.

"Being urged the next day by the justiciary, to nominate some other fit persons who resided in England, not in Wales; he proposed Roger, dean of Lincoln, and Walter Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford; at the same time desiring the justiciary to name some other candidates, who, though not Welshmen, were nevertheless acquainted with the customs of that country. The justiciary having proposed Hugh de Mapenor, dean of Hereford, and Walter Foliot, precentor of the same church (of whom Giraldus approved), asked him why he objected to Geoffrey de Henelawe; upon which he stated the same objections he had before given to the canons of Saint David's. The archbishop, as well as the justiciary, were interested in the promotion of this man, as the one wished to advance his physician, and the other his son-in-law, Henry de Bohun, to the priorate of Lanthoni, which would become vacant by the preferment of Geoffrey to the see of Saint David's.

"The archdeacon could not at first be prevailed upon to listen to this nomination, but, during their procession to the chapter-house, revolving in his mind the abandoned state of corruption into which his church had fallen, and how useless and unprofitable a task it would be for him to encounter fresh troubles and dangers for its sake; considering also, that the person proposed had never openly professed himself to be his enemy, and moreover, was a member of their church; he suddenly changed his mind, and when the chapter was assembled, he thus publicly addressed its members:

'I have hitherto sufficiently contended; I have very sufficiently, and not unprofitably, toiled in endeavouring to bring to life the long dormant and almost expired rights of our church; nor have I been deterred, by any obstacles, from prosecuting its welfare with the utmost diligence and activity: that I may not, therefore, appear to you in the light of a perpetual and obstinate opposer to your wills, I freely give my consent to the person now proposed, provided he meets with the approbation of our brethren, Maurice archdeacon of Cardigan, and the other canons.'

"Giraldus seeing with regret how little good faith and honesty existed

existed in the breasts of his brethren and canons, who, besides their numerous excesses, had so often proved themselves perjured to the church, thought it no longer honourable for him to remain a member of their society; upon which he went to the archbishop, with whom a perfect reconciliation had taken place, and revealing his intentions to him in the most confidential manner, requested him to use his interest with the bishop of David's, on behalf of his nephew, a young man, to whom he wished to resign his archdeaconry and prebendary. The archbishop at first hesitated, but afterwards consented, and procured the appointment of Philip de Barri to the preferment which his uncle Giraldus was desirous of resigning in his favour. Philip appears to have been the youngest son of his brother Philip de Barri, for whom Giraldus had the greatest affection. His father had bestowed upon him a literary education, and had on his deathbed beseeched his brother to advance him in the church, and to procure him the reversion of his own preferment. Thus Giraldus, both affectionately and essentially, complied with the wishes of his departed brother, by bestowing on his son a most ample revenue: he often most appropriately repeated to his nephew those lines of Virgil, in which the poet makes Æneas address his son,

'Discе puer virtutem ex me, verumque laborem,
Fortunam ex aliis.'

"He passed the last seventeen years of his life in Wales; employed in revising his former literary works, and in composing others, of which he has himself given a copious index. In the midst of these avocations, he received once more an offer of the bishopric of Saint David's, and was likely to meet with no opposition from the court; but from the dishonourable terms on which it was proffered, he refused the acceptance of that ecclesiastical dignity, which, during the greater part of his life, had been the object of his most earnest wishes.

"He died at Saint David's, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and was buried in the cathedral church.

"Noble in his birth, and comely in his person; mild in his manners, and affable in his conversation; zealous, active, and undaunted in maintaining the rights and dignities of his church; moral in his character, and orthodox in his principles; charitable and disinterested, though ambitious; learned though superstitious;

"SUCH WAS GIRALDUS.

"And in whatever point of view we examine the character of this extraordinary man, whether as a scholar, a patriot, or a divine, we may justly consider him as one of the brightest luminaries that adorned the annals of the twelfth century."

MANNERS

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF NATIONS.

SKETCH of the CHARACTER and CONDITION of the NATIVES of TURON.

[From Mr. BARROW'S VOYAGE to COCHINCHINA.]

"IN attempting to draw a very general sketch of the character of this nation, I am not unaware of the risk I incur of being drawn into error. To speak correctly of the manners and opinions of foreign nations; to trace the motives of their actions and the grounds of their prejudices; to examine the effects produced on the temper and disposition of the people by the civil and religious institutions; and to inquire into their ideas of moral right and wrong, their notions of taste, of beauty, of happiness, and many other subjects necessary to be investigated before a thorough knowledge can be obtained of their true character and real condition, require not only a long residence in the country, but an intimate acquaintance with all the various classes of society: and, after all, an accurate portrait is hardly to be expected. What can be more ridiculous than a Frenchman attempting to describe English manners, or more preposterous than a German dramatizing the English character? There are, however, certain strongly marked features which, prevailing in the mass of the people, may safely be set down as national characteristics; and from such only the few observations I have to make on the Cochinchinese were derived. Some of them, indeed, might perhaps be entirely local, and applicable only to that part of the sea-coast on which we landed.

"It is scarcely necessary to observe, what I apprehend is generally known, that Cochinchina, until a few centuries after the Christian æra, formed a part of the Chinese empire; and that the general features of the natives, many of the customs, the written language, the religious opinions and ceremonies still retained by them, indicate distinctly their Chinese origin. In the northern provinces, however, they are more strongly marked than in those to the southward. The same characteristics are likewise discernible, but in a fainter degree, in Siam, which is properly *Se-yang*, or the western country; in Pe-gu, probably *Pe-quo*, or the northern province; and in Ava and the rest of the petty states now comprehended under the Birman empire, where, however, from an intermixture with the Malays of Malacca and the Hindoos of the upper and eastern regions of Hindostan,

dostan, the traces of the Chinese character are in many respects nearly obliterated. The Cochinchinese of Turon, notwithstanding the loose manners of the women, which I shall presently have occasion to notice, and the tendency which all revolutions in governments have to change, in a greater or less degree, the character of the people, have preserved in most respects a close resemblance to their original, though in some points they differ from it very widely. They perfectly agree, for instance, in the etiquette observed in marriage and funeral processions and ceremonies, in the greater part of religious superstitions, in the offerings usually presented to idols, in the consultation of oracles, and in the universal propensity of inquiring into futurity by casting of lots; in charming away diseases; in the articles of diet and the mode of preparing them; in the nature of most of their public entertainments and amusements; in the construction and devices of fire-works; in instruments of music, games of chance, cock-fighting and quail-fighting. The spoken language of Cochinchina, though on the same principle, is so much changed from the original as to be nearly, if not wholly, unintelligible to a Chinese; but the written character is precisely the same. All the temples which fell under our observation were very humble buildings; and we saw no specimens either of the heavy curved roofs, or of the towering pagodas, so frequently met with in China; but it seems there are, in many parts of the country, monasteries that are amply endowed, whose buildings are extensive and enclosed with walls for their better security. The houses in general near Turon bay consisted only of four mud walls, covered with thatch; and such as are situated on low grounds, in the neighbourhood of rivers, are usually raised upon four posts of wood, or pillars of stone, to keep out vermin as well as inundations.

"The dress of the Cochinchinese has undergone not only an alteration, but a very considerable abridgment. They wear neither thick shoes, nor quilted stockings, nor clumsy satin boots, nor petticoats stuffed with wadding; but always go barelegged and generally barefooted. Their long black hair, like that of the Malays, is usually twisted into a knot and fixed on the crown of the head. This, indeed, is the ancient mode in which the Chinese wore their hair, until the Tartars, on the conquest of the country, compelled them to submit to the ignominy of shaving the whole head except a little lock of hair behind.

"On the precepts of Confucius is grounded the moral system for the regulation of the conduct in this country as well as in China. Here, however, to the exterior forms of morality very little regard seems to be paid. In China these precepts are gaudily displayed in golden characters in every house, in the streets and public places; but here they are seldom seen and never heard. Were they, indeed, repeated in their original language, (and they will scarcely bear a translation,) they would not be understood. Their conduct, in general, seems to be as little influenced by the solemn precepts of religion as by those of morality. The Cochinchinese are, like the French, always gay and for ever talking; the Chinese, always grave and affect to be thinking: the former are open and familiar, the latter close and reserved.

served. A Chinese would consider it as disgraceful to commit any affair of importance to a woman. Women, in the estimation of the Cochinchinese, are best suited for, and are accordingly entrusted with, the chief concerns of the family. The Chinese code of politeness forbids a woman to talk unless by way of reply, to laugh beyond a smile, to sing unless desired, and as to dancing, she labours under a physical restriction which makes this kind of movement impossible. In Cochinchina the women are quite as gay and as unrestrained as the men. And as a tolerable accurate conclusion may be drawn of the state of their society, from the condition in which the female part of it is placed, and the consideration in which the female character is held among them, I shall be more particular in describing the situation here assigned to them, in so far at least as our limited means afforded us the opportunity of observing, than on other points.

"In some of the provinces of China women are condemned to the degrading and laborious task of dragging the plough, and otherwise employed in various kinds of heavy drudgery. In Cochinchina it would appear likewise to be the fate of the weaker sex to be doomed to those occupations which require, if not the greatest exertions of bodily strength, at least the most persevering industry. We observed them day after day, and from morning till night, standing in the midst of pools of water, up to the knees, occupied in the transplanting of rice. In fact, all the labours of tillage, and the various employments connected with agriculture, seem to fall to the share of the female peasantry; whilst those in Turon, to the management of domestic concerns, add the superintendance of all the details of commerce. They even assist in constructing and keeping in repair their mud-built cottages; they conduct the manufacture of coarse earthern ware vessels; they manage the boats on rivers and in harbours; they bear their articles of produce to market; they draw the cotton wool from the pod, free it from the seeds, spin it into thread, weave it into cloth, dye it of its proper colour, and make it up into dresses for themselves and their families. Almost all the younger part of the males are compelled to enrol themselves in the army; and such as are exempt from military service employ themselves occasionally in fishing, in collecting swallows' nests and the *Biches de mer* among the neighbouring islands, as luxuries for the use of their own great men, but more particularly as articles of export for the China market; in felling timber; building and repairing ships and boats, and a few other occupations which, however, they take care shall not engross their whole time, but contrive to leave a considerable portion of it unemployed, or employed only in the pursuit of some favorite amusement: for they are not by any means of an idle disposition. But the activity and industry of the women are so unabating, their pursuits so varied, and the fatigue they undergo so harassing, that the Cochinchinese apply to them the same proverbial expression which we confer on a cat, observing that a woman, having nine lives, bears a great deal of killing. It is evident indeed, from the whole tenor of their conduct, that the men, even in the common ranks of life, consider the other sex as destined for their use; and those in a higher station,

station, as subservient to their pleasures. The number of wives or of concubines which a man may find it expedient to take is not limited by any law or rule; but here, as in China, the first in point of date claims precedence and takes the lead in all domestic concerns. The terms on which the parties are united are not more easy than those by which they may be separated. To break a sixpence between two parting lovers is considered, among the peasantry of some of the counties in England, as an avowal and pledge of unalterable fidelity. In Cochinchina, the breaking of one of their copper coins or a pair of chop-sticks between man and wife, before proper witnesses, is considered as a dissolution of their former compact, and the act of separation.

"In China the men have sedulously and successfully inculcated the doctrine, that a well-bred woman should never be seen abroad; that she should confine herself constantly to her own apartments; that in the presence of even her nearest male relations she should not expose her neck and her hands, to prevent which her gown is buttoned up close to the chin, and its sleeves hang down below the knee: and so craftily have they contrived their precepts to operate, that the silly women have actually been prevailed on to consider a physical defect which confines them to the house as a fashionable accomplishment. Here, in this respect, there is a total difference with regard to the sex. So far from the Cochinchinese women being deprived of the free use of their limbs or their liberty, they have the enjoyment of both to the fullest extent. It certainly was not in Cochinchina where Eudoxus, in his Travels, is said to have observed the feet of the women to be so small, that they might with propriety be distinguished by the name of the 'Ostrich-footed;' *fœminis plantas adeo parvas ut Struthopodes appellentur*; as, by their bustling about with naked feet, they become unusually large and spreading; but the name might aptly enough be applied to the feet of the Chinese ladies, whose undefined and lumpish form is not unlike the foot of the ostrich.

"Extremes often approximate. The same cause which in China has operated this total seclusion of the sex from society and the abridgment of their physical powers, has produced in Cochinchina a diametrically opposite effect, by permitting them to revel uncontrolled in every species of licentiousness. This cause is their being degraded in public opinion, and considered as beings of an inferior nature to the men. Thus situated, character becomes of little value either to themselves or to others; and, from all accounts, it appears they are fully sensible of its unimportance in this respect. The consequence of which is, that women of less scrupulosity, or men of more accommodating dispositions, are not certainly to be met with in any part of the world than those in the environs of Turon bay. It is to be hoped, however, that the general character of the nation may not exactly correspond with that which prevails at one of the most frequented of its sea-port towns. The singular indulgence, granted by the laws of Solon, of permitting young women to dispose of personal favours, for the purpose of enabling them to procure articles of the first necessity for themselves or their families, is sanctioned by the Cochinchinese without any li-

mitation as to age, condition, or object. Neither the husband nor the father seems to have any scruples in abandoning the wife or the daughter to her gallant. Not Galba, when he politely fell asleep, (as we are told by Plutarch,) for the accommodation of Mecænas, and rebuked his servant for officiously rattling the plates in order to awaken him that he might see what was going on, could possibly have been more at ease than a Cochinchinese husband, to whom may justly be applied the following lines of Horace, wherein he describes the dissolute manners of the Romans:

'Sed jussa coràm non sine conscio
Surgit marito; seu vocat institor
Seu navis Hispanæ magister
Dedecorum pretiosus emptor.'

'The conscious husband bids her rise,
When some rich factor courts her charms,
And calls the wanton to his arms.
Then, prodigal of wealth and fame,
Profusely buys the costly shame.'

"These observations on the indifference, on the part of the men, for the honour and chastity of the sex, and the abandoned and profligate character of the latter which is the necessary consequence thereof, are by no means confined to the common people: they apply indeed more forcibly to the first ranks in society, the officers of government. These men, fully as debauched as the Chinese mandarins, carry not even that appearance of decency which those find it expedient to observe. Of the facility with which they are disposed to transfer their women to strangers our party had several curious instances. From the following, among many others, a tolerably good notion may be collected of the value put upon them in a pecuniary point of view. An officer of the Lion was one day sent on shore to purchase a couple of bullocks for the use of the ship's company. As the price had previously been fixed at ten dollars a-head, the officer had only to count down the money before one of the magistrates of the place, and receive his bullocks. The mandarin, taking up the dollars, dispatched a couple of his attendants, who shortly returned with a fine young girl, whom the magistrate handed over to the officer. Whether this gentleman's modesty was too much shocked at so barefaced and indecent a transaction, or whether he had not a sufficient sum of money to make up the price of the bullocks, is immaterial to the purpose; it is enough to observe that he preferred his duty to the purchase of the lady, to the affected astonishment of the mandarin, of whom he understood her to be either the wife or the daughter. Another gentleman, returning one day from the town to the river-side, was accosted by an elderly woman, who made signs to him to follow her into her cottage, where she presented him with her daughter, very nearly in that state in which she came out of nature's hands; and the eyes of the old lady sparkled with joy at the sight of a Spanish dollar.

"There was little prepossessing in the general appearance and character of the Cochinchinese. The women had but slender pretensions to beauty; yet the want of personal charms was in some degree compensated by a lively and cheerful temper, totally unlike the dull, the morose, and secluded Chinese. An expressive countenance, being as much the result of education and sentiment as a delicate set of features and a fine complexion are of health,

health, ease, exemption from drudgery and exposure to the vicissitudes of the weather, could hardly be expected in Cochinchina. In point of fact, both sexes are coarse featured, and their colour nearly as deep as that of the Malay; and, like these people, the universal custom of chewing areca and betel, by reddening the lips, and blackening the teeth, gives them an appearance still more unseemly than nature intended. The dress of the women was by no means fascinating. A loose cotton frock, of a brown or blue colour, reaching down to the middle of the thigh, and a pair of black nankin trowsers made very wide, constitute in general their common clothing. With the use of stockings and shoes they are wholly unacquainted; but the upper ranks wear a kind of sandals or loose slippers. As a holiday dress, on particular occasions, a lady puts on three or four frocks at once, of different colours and lengths; the shortest being uppermost. A woman thus dressed appears in the annexed print, which represents a group of Cochinchinese, and may be considered as a fair specimen of their general appearance. Their long black hair is sometimes twisted into a knot and fixed on the crown of the head, and sometimes hangs loose in flowing tresses down the back, reaching frequently to the very ground. Short hair is not only considered as a mark of vulgarity, but an indication of degeneracy. The dress of the men has little if any thing to distinguish it from that of the other sex, being chiefly confined to a jacket and a pair of trowsers. Some wear handkerchiefs tied round the head in the shape of a turban; others have hats or caps of various forms and materials, but most of them calculated for protecting the face against the rays of the sun; for which purpose they also make use of umbrellas of strong China paper, or skreens of the leaves of the Borassus, or fan-palm, and other kinds of the palm tribe, or fans made of feathers. Consonant with the appearance of their mean and scanty clothing, as frequently thrown loosely over their shoulders as fitted to the body, were their lowly cabins of bamboo. In short, nothing met the eye that could impress the mind of a stranger with high notions of the happy condition of this people.

"There is, however, such a vast difference in the circumstances under which an European and the inhabitant of a tropical climate are situated, that the former, who for the first time finds himself among the latter, will be very apt to fall into error in attempting to form a comparative estimate of their respective conditions. To the one, fuel and clothing, and close and compact lodging are essential, not only to his comfort, but to his existence; to the other, fire is of no further use than a few embers to boil his rice, or to prepare an offering to his god. For splendid and massy fabrics neither his taste nor necessity incline him; and close thick clothing, so far from being a comfort, would be to him the most inconvenient of all incumbrances. Even the little which he occasionally finds it expedient to use, he frequently throws aside; for where nakedness is no disgrace, he can at all times, and in all places, accommodate his dress to his feelings and his circumstances, without offence to others or embarrassment to himself; an advantage which is denied to the European.

"Although we had neither expected to meet with an extensive

city nor magnificent palaces in the vicinity of Turon bay, yet as this spot was known to have been anciently the chief mart for the trade of this country with China and Japan, we felt rather disappointed on finding a few villages only, in the largest of which the number of houses did not exceed one hundred, and these chiefly thatched cottages. That it had suffered considerably from the late revolutions was evident from the ruins of larger and better buildings than any which now appeared, and from the inequalities of surface indicating a former existence of walls and forts, and which, by our officer's account who was taken prisoner, were still more visible and extensive at Faifoo; from the remains, also, of gardens and plantations of fruit trees and flowering shrubs, that were now run into wildernesses: but no traces appeared to indicate former opulence, or convey the impression of fallen magnificence. It is true, the vestiges of Oriental cities, when suffered to fall into decay, soon disappear. Their best houses, limited to a single story, constructed generally of wood or of bricks that have been dried only in the sun, require an unremitted attention to preserve them from mouldering into dust. Their city walls, constructed of light and imperfect materials, soon crumble into heaps of ruins, and are buried under a rapid and vigorous vegetation. The system on which their city walls are built is but ill calculated for duration. The mass of loose earth heaped in the middle has a constant tendency to push out the brick or stone casing, which, tumbling into the ditch, is lost in a few years in the general surface. If the great and populous city of Pekin, the greatest and most populous perhaps on the whole globe, should by any accident be deserted, many centuries would not be required to blot out every vestige of its situation. It is, therefore, the less surprising that, in the days of Alexander, all traces of the supposed magnificent palaces of Troy had disappeared; and that the proud city of Babylon, once the mistress of the world, should for so many ages past have been laid prostrate in the dust.

"The cottages of Turon were in general snug and clean, and sufficiently compact to protect the inhabitants from the heat of the sun at one season, and the heavy rains at the other. There appeared to be no want in the market of either cotton or silk stuffs for clothing; and the country produced a great variety and abundance of articles, which contribute to the sustenance of the multitude, as well as to the luxuries of the higher orders of the people. Almost every kind of domestic animal, except sheep, appeared to be plentiful. They had small horned cattle, short-legged hogs, kids, and great abundance of ducks and fowls. They eat dogs as in China, and frogs are a common article of food. The sea as well as the land is a never-failing source of sustenance to multitudes who dwell on the coast. Beside a great variety of good fish, they eat at least three different species of the *Balistes*, and as many of the genus *Chætodon*; one of the latter of which, with its purple and yellow bandages and ocellated fin, is a very beautiful fish. The net is in common use, and so are wicker baskets, made like the wire mouse-trap, into which fish running to the bait are prevented from getting out again; and we observed them taking vast quantities of flying fish, by letting down into the sea deep

earthen jars with narrow necks, baited with pork or the offals of fish. Most of the genera of marine worms, belonging to that class which by naturalists is distinguished under the name of *Mollusca*, are used as articles of food by the Cochinchinese; as, for instance, various species of the *Mitulus*, *Holothuria*, *Actinia*, *Ascidia* and *Doris*; some of which, as the *Biches de mer*, usually called *Trepan*, (a species either of *Holothuria* or *Actinia*,) is caught and prepared as an article of luxury and commerce. All the gelatinous substances derived from the sea, whether animal or vegetable, are considered by them among the most nutritious of all aliments; and on this principle various kinds of *Algæ* or sea-weeds, particularly those genera which are known by the names of *Fuci* and *Ulvæ*, are included in the list of their edible plants.

"In the populous islands of Japan the natives of the sea-coasts derive part of their sustenance from various kinds of sea-weeds, and from none more than that species of *Fucus* which is called *Saccharinus*. It would appear from Mr. Thunberg's account of its leaves being used to ornament and embellish packages of fruit or other presents offered to strangers, that this plant is there in high estimation, being considered perhaps as the representative of those resources of sustenance which the sea so amply supplies to such nations as from choice or necessity may be led to avail themselves of its various productions. The *Chi-chau* jelly of China may probably be made, in part, of the *Fucus saccharinus*; for it would appear, from samples brought to England, that the leaves from which this jelly is made are taken from three or four distinct species of this extensive genus. There is reason indeed to believe, that most of the species both of the *Fuci* and the *Ulvæ* might be employed for similar purposes. From the shores of Robben island, at the Cape of Good Hope, the slaves are accustomed to bring away baskets of a species of *Fucus*, whose leaves are sword-shaped, serrated, and about six inches long. These leaves being first washed clean and sufficiently dried to resist putrefaction, are then steeped in fresh water for five or six days, changing it every morning; after which, if boiled for a few hours in a little water, they become a clear transparent jelly, which, being mixed with a little sugar and the juice of a lemon or orange, is as pleasant and refreshing as any kind of jelly whatsoever. And as few countries perhaps can boast of a greater number of species of the *Fuci* and *Ulvæ* than are found on the coasts of the British islands, future generations may discover those nutritive qualities which many of them contain, and not limit the use of them as articles of food to a few species, which is the case at present; for excepting the *Esculentus* or *Tangle*, the *Saccharinus*, better known in Iceland than in Britain, the *Palmatus* or *Dulse*, which the Scotch say is not only rich and gelatinous but communicates to other vegetables with which it may be mixed the fragrant smell of violets, and that species of *Ulva* well known on the coast of Wales by the name of *Laver*, all the rest seem to be neglected.

"But the *Chin chou* of China, called more properly *Hai-tsai* or *sea-vegetable*, is not only used as an article of food, but is employed both in China, Japan, and Cochinchina, as a gummous or gelatinous substance, for giving additional

transparency to large sheets of paper or coarse gauze used for windows or lanterns. The latter, made sometimes of slips of bamboo crossed diagonally, have frequently their lozenge-shaped interstices wholly filled with the transparent gluten of the *Hai-tsai*.

"The Cochinchinese collect likewise many of the small succulent or fleshy plants, which are usually produced on salt and sandy marshes, as the *Salicornia*, *Arenaria*, *Crithmum maritimum* or samphire, and many others, which they either boil in their soups or stews, or eat in a raw state to give sapidity to rice, which, in fact, is with them the grand support of existence. Of this grain they have the art of making a kind of vermicelli, usually called *Lock-soy*, which is perfectly transparent, and held on that account in high estimation both in Japan and China; to the latter of which it is exported in considerable quantity. It communicates to soup a gelatinous consistence, but at the same time preserves its form and transparency, qualities which would lead one to doubt if rice be the only ingredient in its composition. The Chinese *Lock-soy* is opaque.

"By the natives of warm climates animal food is seldom ranked among articles of the first necessity, and is sparingly used. And though fish is the common sustenance of those who inhabit the sea- . sts, yet rice made more gustable by a little salt, a pod of capsicum or pepper, or a leaf of some of the acidulous maritime vegetables abovementioned, furnishes a grateful meal to the great mass of Oriental nations. All beyond this article and its accompaniments, even the areca nut and betel leaf, as well as opium and spirituous liquors, may be considered in the light of luxuries. Of rice, in Cochinchina, they are almost certain of two plentiful crops every year, one of which is reaped in April, the other in October. Fruits of various kinds, as oranges, bananas, figs, pine-apples, guavas, pomegranates, and others of inferior note, are abundantly produced in all parts of the country. They have very fine yams, and plenty of sweet potatoes. Their small breed of cattle does not appear to furnish them with much milk; but of this article indeed, like the Chinese, they make but a very sparing use, not even as food for their young children. These little creatures were very numerous in Turon, and appeared remarkably healthy; and till the age of seven or eight years were entirely naked. Their food seemed to consist chiefly of rice, sugar-cane, and water melons. The mass of people in Cochinchina, like the common Chinese, have but two meals in the day, one about nine or ten in the morning, the other about sunset; and these are usually taken, in the dry season, before the doors of their cottages, on mats spread in the open air. Where all fare alike, none feels ashamed to expose his humble meal.

"In the neighbourhood of Turon we observed several plantations of sugar-canes and tobacco. The juice of the former, having undergone a partial refinement, is exported to the China market in cakes, which in colour, thickness and porosity resemble the honeycomb; the latter is consumed in the country, as all degrees of every age and sex indulge in the habit of smoking. The face of the country exhibited, however, but feeble marks of tillage; and arts and manufactures were evidently in a languishing state. The cottages contained little

little furniture, and that little was rude in its construction, and as if intended only for temporary use. The matting which covered the floors was ingeniously woven in different colours; but the art of making mats is so common in all the nations of the East, that the most beautiful are scarcely subjects of admiration among themselves. Their domestic utensils consisted chiefly of an earthen stove, an iron pot to boil their rice, a pan of the shape of a watch-glass to fry their vegetables in oil, and a few porcelain cups or bowls. Their vessels of cast iron were equal in quality to those of the Chinese, but their earthen-ware was very inferior. They seemed to work in metals with a tolerable degree of neatness. The handles of the officers' swords were mostly of silver, and by no means ill finished; and their articles of fillagree were equal to those of the Chinese. In fact, both the one and the other possess quick and comprehensive talents, and, under due encouragement, are already in that advanced stage to make a very rapid progress in the arts, sciences, and manufactures. Under every disadvantage of a bad government, their ingenuity occasionally breaks forth in a surprising manner. The man at Canton who could make a watch at first sight had neither a weak head nor an unskilful hand.

"Their arts and manufactures did not, however, appear to be in a state of progressive improvement. There is in all the Oriental governments a radical defect, which no advantages of soil or climate or other favourable circumstances can compensate, and which must for ever operate against their attaining the character and the condition of a great and happy people. This insuperable bar to their grandeur and felicity is owing to the want of a permanent security to property. Where the right of inheritance is a weaker claim than the state of possession; where the hand of arbitrary power can at any time, without the forms of legal process, dispossess a man of the piece of ground on which the support of himself and his family wholly depends; where only the law of the strongest is acknowledged, and where neither person nor property has any effectual protection against the designs of the vindictive or the rapacious entrusted with power,—what possible encouragement can the subject have to build an elegant house, to improve the cultivation of his land, to aim at perfection in any branch of the arts, or to extend his ingenuity or his industry much beyond the mere supplying of the necessaries of life. An Oriental sage has observed, that the proof of a just government and a well-regulated police is, when a beautiful woman covered with jewels can travel abroad in perfect security.' What would this sage have said of that government and that police, where a helpless and wealthy old woman, surrounded by a set of lusty and indigent servants, commits herself and her property to them and to the world with as much composure and confidence, as if her physical strength was not in the least inferior to theirs;—or, where the property of a still more helpless infant orphan is not only secured till he arrives at years of discretion, but cultivated and improved sometimes to the double of its original value? However strange such a relation might appear to an inhabitant of the eastern hemisphere, we have the satisfaction of knowing it to be strictly true in many parts of the western world,

and in none more so than on the highly favoured island of Great Britain.

"That particular branch of the arts in which the Cochinchinese may be said to excel at the present day is naval architecture, for which, however, they are not a little indebted to the size and quality of the timber employed for that purpose. Their row-gallies for pleasure are remarkably fine vessels. These boats, from fifty to eighty feet in length, are sometimes composed of five single planks, each extending from one extremity to the other, the edges morticed, kept tight by wooden pins, and bound firm by twisted fibres of bamboo, without either ribs or any kind of timbers. At the stem and stern they are raised to a considerable height, and are curiously carved into monstrous figures of dragons and serpents, ornamented with gilding and painting. A number of poles and spears bearing flags and streamers, pikes ornamented with tufts of cows' tails painted red, lanterns and umbrellas, and other insignia denoting the rank of the passenger, are erected at each end of the boat. And as these people, like the Chinese, differ in most of their notions from the greater portion of mankind, the company always sit in the fore part of the boat; but as it would be a breach of good manners for the rowers to turn their backs on the passengers, they stand with their faces towards the bow of the boat, pushing the oars from them instead of pulling towards them, as is usually done in the western world. The servants and the baggage occupy the stern of the boat. The vessels that are employed in the coasting trade, the fishing craft, and those which collect the *Trepan* and swallows' nests among the cluster of islands called the *Paracels*, are of various descriptions; many of them, like the Chinese *Sampans*, covered with sheds of matting, under which a whole family constantly resides; and others, resembling the common proas of the Malays, both as to their hulls and rigging. Their foreign traders are built on the same plan as the Chinese junks, the form and construction of which are certainly not to be held out as perfect models of naval architecture; yet, as they have subsisted some thousands of years unaltered, they are at least entitled to a little respect from the antiquity of the invention. As these vessels never were intended for ships of war, extraordinary swiftness for pursuit or escape was not an essential quality; security rather than speed was the object of the owner. And as no great capitals were individually employed in trade, and the merchant was both owner and navigator, a limited tonnage was sufficient for his own merchandize; the vessel was therefore divided, in order to obviate this inconvenience, into distinct compartments, so that one ship might separately accommodate many merchants. The bulk heads by which these divisions were formed consisted of planks of two inches thick, so well caulked and secured as to be completely watertight.

"Whatever objections may be started against the dividing of ships' holds, and the interference in the stowage seems to be the most material one, it cannot be denied that it gives to large vessels many important advantages. A ship, thus fortified with cross bulk-heads, may strike on a rock and yet sustain no serious injury; a leak springing in one division of the hold will not be attended

attended with any damage to the articles placed in another: and by the ship being thus so well bound together, she is firm and strong enough to sustain a more than ordinary shock. It is well known to seamen, that when a large ship strikes the ground, the first indication of her falling in pieces is when the edges of the decks begin to part from the sides; but this separation can never happen when the sides and the deck are firmly bound together by cross bulk-heads. In fact, this old Chinese invention is now on trial in the British navy, as a new experiment. Other schemes have likewise been proposed in this country for propelling ships in a calm, by large scullers, by water wheels placed at the sides or through the bottom, and by various other modes; all of which, though taking the name of *Inventions*, have been in common use among the Chinese for more than two thousand years.

"Although the present king of this cnoutry has to a certain degree broken the fetters of custom, as far as regards the construction of ships of war, yet, in doing this, he has not been unmindful of popular prejudice, which, in Asiatic countries in particular where they are wholly guided by opinion, is stamped with a character too sacred to be torn up at once by the roots. Out of deference to this prejudice, he caused that part only of the hull or body of the vessel to be altered which is immersed in the water; all the upper works, the masts, sails and rigging, remaining Cochinchinese. Indeed it may be questioned if the pliant bamboo, which forms so material a part of the upper works of their vessels, could be displaced with any advantage by solid timber, than which it is more light and equally strong. It is impossible not to admire the good sense of this wise and active prince, who, in steering this middle path, obtained a real advantage without introducing any visible change.

"Of tenacity to ancient custom a curious instance appeared on the part of the emperor of Japan, when the Dutch carried to this sovereign from Batavia, a few years ago, among other presents, the model of a ship of war. The ambassador happening to observe the emperor casting his eye upon this model, and conceiving the occasion might be turned to the advantage of his employers, ventured to make a proposal for sending to Japan a number of proper artificers from Holland, for the purpose of instructing his subjects in the art of ship-building according to the practice of Europe. The emperor desired he might be asked how long his countrymen had been acquainted with the art of constructing ships on the model he had brought. The ambassador replied, about three hundred years. 'Tell him,' says the emperor, 'that my people have built such ships as he sees floating in my harbours for as many thousand years, and that I have not yet heard of any complaints against their utility. I shall not, therefore, pay so ill a compliment to myself or to my people, as to lay aside the test of ages for an invention of yesterday. The Dutch ships may suit the Dutch, but not the Japanese. Tell him, therefore, I would advise him to take back this part of his present.'

"The Cochinchinese having effectually preserved the written characters of the Chinese language, we found no difficulty in communicating with them on all subjects, through this medium, by our Chinese

nese priests. The spoken language, however, has undergone a very considerable change, which is the less surprizing, as the inhabitants of the northern and southern provinces of China are unintelligible to each other; but though it has been altered, it does not appear to have received any improvement, neither from additions of their own, nor from the introduction of foreign words.

"To these people we found less difficulty in making ourselves intelligible than we had to encounter in our future intercourse with the grave and solemn Chinese, whose dignity would be thought to suffer debasement by their condescending to employ the pencil in delineating objects, notwithstanding its alliance with their mode of writing; or by attempting to indicate, by signs and gestures, such ideas as are capable of being interchanged without the aid of language. This was by no means the case with the Cochinchinese, who always seemed anxious to enter into our views, and to facilitate a mutual understanding. Those Chinese, however, who traffic with or engage as servants to Europeans at Canton, are as ready, as ingenious, and as fertile in inventions for making themselves intelligible to their employers, and in meeting the ideas of those whom it is their interest to please, as any other people possibly can be. A captain, for instance, of one of the East India Company's ships pointing one day at table towards a dish, which he supposed to be hashed duck, desired his Chinese servant, who had only learned a little of the jargon which this description of persons are usually taught by their masters, to get him some of the *quaak-quaak*. The servant, having looked at the dish, shook his head, and, by way of correcting his master's mistake, observed significantly that it was not *quaak-quaak*, but *bow-wow*, the dish happening to be a preparation of *dog* instead of *duck*.

"It is scarcely necessary to observe that the religion of the Cochinchinese, like that of almost all the Oriental nations, is a modification of the widely extended doctrine of *Budha*, appearing, however, from the little we had an opportunity of seeing as to the devotional part, more simple and less disguised with the mysteries and machinery of oracular worship, than that which is practised popularly in China. From a sentiment of gratitude to the benevolent and bountiful spirit, the Cochinchinese, like the Jews of old, manifest their piety by offering to the image of the protecting deity the firstlings of their living flocks and of the fruits of the earth. The first ears of rice, the first ripe nut of the areca, the first cup of sugar, or whatever the nature of the produce may be, is taken to the shrine which contains the sacred image, and is there deposited with becoming reverence, as an humble acknowledgment of the divine goodness. I was much gratified in the opportunity of being present at an offering of this nature. Landing from our boat one serene evening, in a little cove on the northern shore of Turon bay, I observed a person in a long yellowish coloured robe reaching to the ground, his head bare and closely shaved, marching with a kind of measured step towards a large spreading tree, and followed by a few of the peasantry. On arriving at the foot of the tree they all halted. Just at the head of the main trunk (for it was a species of *Ficus Indica* or Banyan tree, called *Da* in Cochinchina, whose branches take

take root and become stems) I observed a large cage of latticed work, with a pair of folding doors, fixed between two boughs, and partly hidden by the foliage. Within was a wooden figure of *Buäba* or *Fo*, of the same corpulent shape and in the usual sitting posture as he is represented in the temples of China. A little boy attending on the priest stood close before him with a burning coal on a brazen dish. One of the peasants carried a ladder of bamboo, which he placed against the tree; and another mounting it deposited in the cage, before the idol, two basons of rice, a cup of sugar, and one of salt. The priest in the mean time, with arms extended and eyes turned towards heaven, muttered something in a low tone of voice, when the man who had carried the ladder on his knees and nine times prostrated his body on the ground, according to the custom of the Chinese. Several women and children remained at a distance, as if forbidden to approach too near; though, as priestesses are said to be common in this country, it is not probable there was any restriction on account of the sex.

"That the ladder was the property of the priest, and that at a suitable time he would take care to remove the sacred deposit and appropriate the offering to his own use, like the priests of the idol Bel in times of old, as related in the apocryphal writings, there is little room for doubting; but the offering was not, on that account, less a token of the piety and gratitude of him who made it. And although it might have been more dignified, on the part of the priest, to take his due fairly and openly, yet there are not perhaps any class of men who are better entitled to a remuneration for their services than those whose time is occupied in keeping alive the duties of religion. At all times and in all nations the disposal of the first fruits seems to have been vested in the hands of the priests. From sacred history it clearly appears to have formed a part of the Jewish dispensation; and we are informed by Pliny that no one ever thought of tasting new fruits or new wine until the priests had first performed the customary libations—*Ac ne degustabant quidem novas fruges aut vina antequam sacerdotes primitias libassent.*

"On the skirts of every little grove of trees near Turon bay small boxes of wood or baskets of wicker work were either suspended from or fixed among the branches, some containing images made of various materials, and others painted or gilded paper cut into different shapes, inscriptions on slips of wood in the Chinese character, and many other indications of their sacred destination. Trees, in fact, appear to have been among the first of temples that were consecrated to the deities. To man, but little advanced beyond a state of nature, the grandest objects that present themselves are those most likely to arrest his adoration. Such on the plains are trees of venerable antiquity, and on the mountains their high peaked summits of solid rock. But man, more vain and ambitious in proportion as he became more civilised, conceived a Babel whose summit should reach to the skies. The most sumptuous and magnificent temples were consecrated to the deity by most of the polished nations of antiquity, and this practice has universally been adopted by the professors of Christianity; but the Chinese and their neighbours differ in their opinions on this subject.

subject, as on most others, from the rest of mankind. They are content to worship

'——that Spirit that does prefer
Before all temples the upright heart and pure,'

in all places and under all circumstances. A little casket not larger than a snuff-box frequently enshrines a favourite divinity. Solitary devotion, it is true, requires not the space that is necessary for congregational worship. A tutelar deity may be placed in any corner of the house, or carried about in the pocket.

"The Cochinchinese are extremely superstitious, and their devotional exercises, like those of the Chinese, are more frequently performed with the view of averting an ideal evil, than with the hope of acquiring a positive good; or, in other words, the evil spirit is more dreaded than the good one revered. In various parts of the country are large wooden stakes or pillars erected, not only for the purpose of marking the spot where some great calamity, either of a public or a private nature, may have happened, as the loss of a battle, the murder of an individual, or other unfortunate event, but as a propitiation to the evil spirit by whose influence it is supposed to have been occasioned. So also when an infant dies, the parents are supposed to have incurred the displeasure of some malignant spirit, which they endeavour to appease by offerings of rice, oil, tea, money, or whatever they may imagine to be the most acceptable to the angry divinity. From such sentiments one may venture to hope that the horrid practice of infanticide is not among the bad customs they have retained of the Chinese.

"Beside the spontaneous offerings which individuals conceive it necessary to make on various occasions, it seems that a yearly contribution, levied by government, is paid for the support of a certain number of monasteries, in which the priests invoke the deity for the public welfare. This contribution consists of produce in kind, as rice, fruits, sugar, areca nut, and other articles; in lieu of which, in towns, are collected money, metals, clothing, and such like. The priests here, as in China, are considered to be the best physicians; but their art lies more in charms and fascinations than in the judicious application of sanative drugs.

"It may be inferred that the fundamental principles of the Cochinchinese government are the same as those of China; that they have the same laws and the same modes of punishment: but on this subject I am unable to communicate any information. In the open building adjoining that where the ruling mandarin resided, we saw both the *Tcha* and the *Pan-tsé* (the cangue and the bamboo); but whether the execution of the laws are here less rigidly attended to, or the morals of the people less corrupt, than in China, I will not pretend to say: it may be observed, however, that not a single punishment of any description occurred to our notice, whereas in China we scarcely ever passed a town or village in which our eyes were not offended at the sight of the cangue, or the ears assailed with the cries of persons suffering under the stroke of the bamboo. There, indeed, the mandarins, however corrupt and debauched in private life, assume in public an austerity of conduct, which gives a sanction to their corrections; but a mandarin of Cochinchina, who openly violates the

the rules of decorum, and sets in his own person the example of levity and licentiousness, could but with a very bad grace direct and superintend the punishment of another less guilty than himself. At all events, the spirit of the people of Turon did not appear to suffer any depression from a too severe exercise of the hand of power.

DESCRIPTION of the BOSJESMEN of SOUTHERN AFRICA.

[From the Same.]

"'HAVING received from his excellency lieutenant-general Dundas, acting governor and commander in chief of the castle, town, and settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, our credentials and instructions, examined the invoice of the several articles intended to be given in exchange for cattle, and arranged the contents of our six waggons, we this day,' says Mr. Truter, 'the first of October 1801, commenced, under God's good providence, our long and interesting journey.' After a minute detail of every particular circumstance that occurred, and a relation of the ordinary events of such a journey; the names of the several farms and their occupiers where they halted for the night, or for obtaining refreshment or a change of draught oxen; the little interruptions and mortifications they met with, owing to the want of punctuality in the boors in bringing their fresh relays of oxen, to the breaking of axletrees, yokes, and traces; the difficulty of ascending Roode Sand Kloof; the impracticability of passing the Witsenbergh or Mostaert Hoek, which compelled them to take the circuitous route over the Hex, River Kloof, (in their progress through which, Mr. Truter observes, they crossed the rapid stream of the same name rushing down its rocky channel no less than seven times); their passage of the Bokkeveld, and that corner of the Great Karroo or desert between it and the Roggeveld, where the absence of all human habitations compelled them to sleep for several nights in their tents and waggons; their ascent, from those plains, up the steep and lofty mountains called the Roggeveld:—after surmounting these and many other difficulties they arrived, on the evening of the 14th, on the south bank of the Great Riet river, opposite the Bonteberg, where they pitched their tents for the night, the weather being extremely cold, boisterous and rainy. In this river they caught an abundance of a particular species of fish, the flavour of which was tolerably good; but the bones being something of the same kind as in the herring, and the fish small, made it the less acceptable to hungry travellers. Here also, for the first time, they observed the fresh prints of the paws of a lion.

"Pursuing their journey from hence, after crossing the river several times, they halted at a deserted farm-house called the Ganna-Kraal, which place had previously been appointed as the rendezvous for the escort of boors that were summoned to attend the expedition,

pedition, as well as for the relays of fresh oxen to draw the waggons over the desert. But having waited here for two days without receiving any intelligence either of the boors or the oxen, they resolved to proceed without them; and accordingly, on the 18th, after crossing the Karree river, which is here considered to be the boundary of the colony, they made a short day's journey and encamped for the night near the Brakke fontein, where they presently had the great satisfaction to perceive, at some distance, a party of boors and Hottentots and cattle hastening towards them over the plain. Their joy, however, was of short duration, and followed by vexation and disappointment; for, on examining the oxen, the greater part were found to be very young, totally unaccustomed to the yoke, and not a single good team could be selected from the whole drove.

"Determined, notwithstanding this grievous disappointment, to prosecute the journey they had undertaken, and being now advanced beyond the limits of the colony, it was deemed expedient, in the first place, to muster the party, to ascertain the strength of the expedition, and to prescribe certain regulations for their conduct, which were rigidly to be adhered to during the journey before them, whose distance and duration were equally uncertain.

"The account of the whole expedition was found to stand as follows:

Mr. Truter, Mr. Somerville, } commissioners.
Mr. Daniell, secretary & draughtsman.
Mr. Borcherds, assistant-secretary.
Mr. Scholtz, superintendant of the waggons.
Seven Dutch boors, inhabitants of the Roggeveld.

Making in the whole twelve Christians.

24 Hottentots and *bastard* Hottentots.
4 Slaves.
120 Draught oxen.
18 Saddle-horses, and
20 Large muskets.

"'With the blessing of God,' observes Mr. Truter, 'we considered these our numbers and our means of defence to be fully sufficient for our protection and preservation; and, confiding in his goodness, we launched upon the Karroo or desert plains, on the 20th October.' Little occurred in their journey over these dreary solitudes to engage the attention, except their uncommon sterility, and now and then a few quachas or wild horses, a solitary gemsbok, an eland, a hartebeest, or a pair of ostriches, which might perhaps be observed grazing at a distance, or scouring away to avoid the party, when they happened to approach them unperceived. In the course of the third day they passed the ruins of an earthen building of considerable dimensions, surrounded by a number of demolished huts, which they were informed were the remains of an establishment attempted to be formed by the two gospel missionaries Kicherer and Edwards, under the direction of the society for sending missions into Africa and the East. Proceeding slowly till midnight, they halted on the bank of the Sack river, near which, the next morning, they observed another kraal or hamlet in ruins, where these missionaries had held a temporary residence. At this place two miserable

able-looking wretches, of the tribe of men usually called Bosjesmen by the colonists, perfectly naked, and apparently perishing with hunger, advanced towards the encampment, and accosted the party in a language wholly unintelligible: but the signs they made use of could not easily be mistaken. They gave them something to eat, which, with a little tobacco, had an instantaneous effect on their spirits, and caused them to dance for joy. They were just able to make the party understand that their names were Jacob and Jeptha, and that they had been disciples of the two missionaries above-mentioned.

"Pursuing their journey over these dreary and desolate plains, where few living creatures except a quacha, a harte-beest, or an ostrich were occasionally seen browsing at a distance, the party arrived on the evening of the 23d at a brack or saltish river, where they pitched their tents for the night. Here they were again accosted by a solitary Bosjesman, who called himself *Willboy*, indicating by signs, for not a creature could comprehend the meaning of a single syllable he uttered, that he was extremely hungry. Having ordered as much food to be given to him as was sufficient to satisfy the craving of his appetite, he stole away in the course of the night, and they saw no more of him.

"At a little distance from the next halting-place, the Lion's fontein, one of the party had the good fortune to shoot a quacha of a larger size than what any of the boors had ever recollected to have seen, of which Mr. Daniell made a very accurate drawing. It was the first wild quadruped they had procured. In the midst of so extensive and dreary a desert they were not a little surprized, though by no means an unusual thing, to meet with a Dutch boor of the name of Kok, who, with a waggon and his whole family, his slaves, his Hottentots, his cattle, and his sheep, was travelling leisurely from the Orange river towards the skirts of the colony. The disinclination of these people to establish themselves on a particular spot, and to live in any sort of comfort, is very remarkable, and can only be explained on the principle of an irresistible charm which unbounded liberty and unrestrained possession exert on the human mind, and which operates most powerfully on him who has never known the pleasures of social life. It is a well-known fact, that numbers of the French officers in America, led by the impulse of this principle, retired into the Indian settlements, threw aside their clothing, painted and tatooed their bodies, and became, in every respect, savages of a much worse description than the natives, by uniting with their new condition all the vices of civilized life. To rove about the desert wilds of Africa, to harass and destroy the harmless natives, to feast on game procured by their Hottentots, and to sleep and loiter away the day while jolting in his waggon, are to the Dutch boor among the most exquisite pleasures he is capable of enjoying. By indolence and gluttony, from the effects of a good climate and a free exposure to the air, these people usually grow to a monstrous size; and if suffered to continue their present uncontrolled mode of life, they may ultimately give birth to a race of Patagonians on the southern extremity of Africa, not inferior in stature to their tall brethren on the opposite coast of America.

"Continuing

"Continuing their journey on the 28th and 29th over a rugged country and a constant succession of hills, whose surfaces were strewed with a greater abundance of stones than of vegetation, and on which two or three of their waggons broke down, they were under the necessity of halting on both nights, without finding the least grass or any kind of food for the cattle and without a drop of water. This hilly part of the country was called by the boors the Karree bergen. From the feet of these hills a plain of vast extent stretched out to the northward, of a nature altogether different from the Karroo desert over which they had just passed: the latter being a solid bed of clay on which little vegetation appears, except a few straggling weak and sickly succulent plants; but the former was thickly covered with long withered grass. On the skirts of this plain our travellers observed at a distance a party of natives intending apparently to approach them. It consisted of eight persons, some partially covered with skins, and others naked; but all of them armed with bows in their hands, quivers an their backs, and arrows stuck in a fillet bound round the head forming a kind of coronet. Having advanced pretty near the waggons they stopped short; and on being beckoned to come forwards, they made signs, by pointing to the ground, that somebody should first go to them. Accordingly some of the party proceeded towards them, on which they betrayed evident marks of fear. They were presented with some lacquered brass medallions, a couple of grenadiers' caps, a few gilt rings, a little tobacco, and, as they appeared to be greatly in want of food, with a whole sheep, which they immediately killed by cutting the throat; and having divided it among them in shares as nearly equal as they could contrive, including both the skin and the entrails, they walked off with great satisfaction. Shortly after this, three others of the same tribe made their appearance; but all the endeavours of the party to bring them to a conversation were unavailing. Two of them retired, and the third, after much persuasion by signs, advanced near enough to receive a ration of tobacco for himself and two for his companions, when he also instantly vanished.

"On the midst of this grassy plain our travellers came to an extensive lake, the water of which was so very salt as to be wholly unfit for use either by man or beast. At the distance of five miles beyond this lake they came to a second, and farther on to a third, all of the same description. Rising by a gentle ascent from this plain to one of much greater elevation, they arrived on the 1st November at the entrance of a *poort* or chasm in a ridge of high hills, where, for the first time since leaving the mountain of the Roggeveld, a distance not much short of two hundred miles, they had met with any species of plant which could be said to bear the resemblance of a tree. From these lonely wastes of Africa, 'where,' as Dr. Johnson observes of part of Scotland, 'the traveller has nothing to contemplate but grounds that have no visible boundaries,' nature seems to have withheld her bounteous hand and doomed them to cheerless, irremediable, and consequently perpetual, sterility. On the spot, however, where the travellers were now arrived the sides of the hills were enlivened by shrubby plants and straggling trees, and

and whole forests appeared in many of the vallies. The face of the country began now to assume a pleasing and an interesting aspect, and still more so towards the middle of the same day, when the party arrived on the southern bank of a river of very considerable magnitude, called by the natives the *Gariep*, but by the colonists the *Orange* river. Numbers of Hottentots came forward to meet them; and on the opposite bank they could perceive an extensive village, composed of decent looking huts.—After passing the long and dreary Karroo desert, it was an interesting and a cheerful event to mix with a very considerable population, apparently of a much superior class of beings, though probably of the same race, to those few miserable wretches which had hitherto occasionally shewn themselves in the course of the journey.

"A river of such unusual magnitude in this quarter of the globe was also a subject which afforded them no small degree of pleasure. At this spot it was divided into two branches by an island in the middle, each of which was not less than six hundred yards in width. The water, by sounding, was found to be deeper than the height of the bottom of the waggons; it became necessary, therefore, to raise their contents, by means of billets of wood, in order to keep them dry. The whole cavalcade got safely over the two streams, except one waggon, the oxen of which, having by some accident turned their heads down the stream, got into deeper water, where they soon lost their legs; and the whole machine being swept away with great violence, both oxen and waggon would inevitably have been lost, but for the active exertions of the native Hottentots who, by cutting the yokes and traces, freed the oxen and brought all except one safe to the shore; and afterwards succeeded in dragging out the waggon, which was overturned by the stream. 'The Dutch boors,' observes Mr. Truter, 'were as helpless as children, and of no manner of assistance whatever.'

"The native inhabitants which are settled on the banks of the Orange river, where our travellers crossed it, (namely in latitude 29° N. and longitude between 23° and 21°E.) are a variety of the Hottentot race, whose particular horde, in their own language, is called the *Korai*. In estimating their comparative condition with the different tribes of this nation, they may fairly be reckoned to rank much higher than any of the others that are known on the southern extremity of Africa. The wide desert Karroo between them and the colony has hitherto protected them in a considerable degree, though not altogether, from the oppression of the Dutch boors, under whose lash their brethren less remote from the colony have so severely suffered. Their abode being stationary on the banks of the Orange river, their huts were constructed with greater care, and with a view of being more durable; in their persons they were more cleanly, and in their dress and domestic utensils neater, than the Hottentots usually are. This superiority may probably be owing, in a certain degree, to the advantages of local situation. A running stream in South Africa is a great rarity. To the want of water may probably be attributed the origin of the custom of greasing the skin, which this grand river renders unnecessary. The *Korai* accordingly exhibit none of that

filthy and squalid appearance which characterizes the Hottentots on the skirts of the colony. Their features are also of a superior cast. What the *Gonaquas* were on the eastern coast the *Koras* seem to be to the northward, a mixed breed between the Hottentot and the Kaffer.

"Their dwellings, in the shape of hemispheres, generally about six feet high, and eight in diameter, are constructed on the same principle as those of the *Namaqua* Hottentots, and covered with several folds of neat matting made of rushes or coarse grass. They used vessels of wood, hollowed out from blocks of willow, for containing milk and water. They seemed to have no knowledge of agriculture, but had considerable possessions of horned cattle, sheep, and goats. They had also plenty of dogs. Like the Kaffers they live in a great measure on curdled milk, on berries and roots, and like those also are particularly attentive to their cattle, which they train in habits of strict subordination and command. When a cow is supposed to withhold her milk, they practise the method which the ancient Scythians, as we are told by Herodotus, made use of to force the milk out of the udders of their mares. Indeed both the Kaffers and Hottentots have recourse to this method, when the animal is stubborn and supposed to refuse giving her milk. One of the old writers on South Africa, by way of convincing his readers of the truth of the practice, has embellished his work with a print on this elegant subject, exhibiting a Hottentot in the act of blowing up a cow.

"Their dress consisted of skin cloaks, like the other Hottentot tribes; and the women wore square ornamented aprons suspended from the waist, with copper chains and beads of glass round the neck, the wrists, and legs. These chains were probably procured from the Damaras, a nation of Kaffers to the north-westward, dwelling at the foot of the copper mountains. This metal, indeed, is said to be found in many places near the banks of the Orange river, and the party picked up what appeared to be a specimen of native gold: but mines are of little value in a country where there are no materials necessary for working them, no navigable rivers nor passable roads, by which their produce can at any reasonable expence be transported to a market. Those who set any value on this part of Southern Africa, for the mines it contains, know very little of the nature of the country.

"Some of the men among the *Koras* were observed to be *Monorchides*; but whether the defect was in consequence of some operation submitted to while young, on superstitious grounds, or occasioned by accident, or the sport of nature, does not appear to have been ascertained.

"In swimming across this wide and rapid river, and transporting at the same time their sheep, or other articles, the *Koras* make use of a curious contrivance. They take a log of wood from six to eight feet in length, and at the distance of a few inches from one of its ends, fix a wooden peg. On this log the person intending to cross the river stretches himself at full length, and holding fast by the peg with one hand, whilst with the other, and occasionally with his feet, he strikes to keep the end of the log in a certain direction (which is that of an angle of about 45 degrees with the stream) the obliquity

of the log opposed to the current causes it, in floating down the stream, to push gradually over to the opposite side in the hypothenusal line of a triangle, whose base is the width of the river.

"Both the banks of the Orange river were at this part of it thickly covered with mimosas and willows and a great variety of other trees, whose names and descriptions are not mentioned. A little beyond the right bank the great quantity of a species of shrubby mimosa, seldom higher than seven or eight feet, with a small white leaf, was very remarkable. It was the prevailing feature on the surface of the country for twenty or thirty miles, though not a single plant of the kind had appeared on the Cape side of the river. Here also they found, growing in great abundance, a species of wild onion, of a taste as strong and pungent nearly as that of garlic; notwithstanding which it was so highly acceptable to the travellers, that they laid in an ample supply for future use on the journey. The leaves, flowers, and seeds resembled those of the common cultivated species. On the margin of the river they found, in great plenty, a small and delicate orange-coloured poppy; and, creeping over a great extent of surface, a very fragrant species of Clematis or Virgin's bower. The agate, onyx, sardonyx, and chalcedony abounded on the pebbled bed of the river, of which they collected some very beautiful specimens. Several *hippopotami* were observed rolling about, blowing and snorting in the deep parts of the river, at a little distance below the ford; and one was severely wounded by a musket ball, but it escaped.

"Leaving the river on the 6th, they travelled till the 8th before they met with any water; when, after pushing their way where neither traces of waggons nor tracks of any kind appeared, and in constant anxiety and doubtful suspense whether they might not be entangled and finally stopped by mountains, deep chasms, or thickets, they came to a village of *Kora* Hottentots, situated in a deep defile of the mountains; and a little farther on, to a second horde of Bastaards and Bosjesmen, under a chief of the former description whose name was Kok. This man was a kind of volunteer missionary who, to the great astonishment of our travellers, delivered a very able discourse to his people in their presence, from a text out of the gospel of St. John, on the subject of regeneration, which was preceded and followed by an extemporary prayer and by singing of hymns. The missionary Edwards and his wife and a boor of the name of Kruger had joined the party on the right bank of the Orange river; and a little beyond the kraal of Kok was the Aakaap or Rietfonteyn, the then residence of Mr. Kicherer. On their arrival at this place on the 8th, being Sunday, they found this zealous teacher of the gospel engaged in the duties of his office. His church was a temporary building of poles, wattled with twigs, plaistered over with clay and cow dung both within and without, and covered with a thatch of reeds. A smaller hut of the same construction served for a school, and a third for his habitation. A number of other huts of an inferior kind, shaped like bee-hives and consisting chiefly of grass matting, were scattered over the plain; but on the strangers approaching towards them, their inhabitants, men, wo-

men and children, all fled and hid themselves in the bushes. Mr. Kicherer received the travellers with great kindness and affability. He was assisted in the labours of his mission by two other missionaries of the names of Anderson and Cramer, all of them sent out by the African Society in London for the propagation of the gospel among the heathen. How far the subjects of faith, of regeneration, of the Trinity and other mystical doctrines, can consistently be preached with advantage, either temporal or spiritual, to a race of men the most savage, and the most miserable perhaps on the face of the earth, the missionaries themselves ought to be the best judges; but from their own account of them it would appear that their zeal is woefully misapplied, and that the benevolent intentions of the society at home, after an enormous expence, can only end in disappointment. The condition, indeed, of the poor wretches which compose the congregation of these missionaries is such as to require worldly comforts rather than spiritual consolation. 'They take no great care of their children,' says Mr. Kicherer, 'and never correct them except in a fit of rage, when they almost kill them by severe usage. In a quarrel between father and mother, or the several wives of a husband, the defeated party wreaks his or her vengance on the child of the conqueror, which in general loses its life. The Bosjesmans will kill their children without remorse on various occasions, as when they are ill-shaped, when they are in want of food, when the father of a child has forsaken its mother, or when obliged to fly from the boors or others; in which case they will strangle them, smother them, cast them away in the desert, or bury them alive. There are instances of parents throwing their tender offspring to the hungry lion, who stands roaring before their cavern, refusing to depart till some peace-offering be made to him. They also frequently forsake their aged relations, leaving the old person with a piece of meat and an ostrich egg-shell full of water: as soon as this little stock is exhausted, the poor deserted creature must perish by hunger, or become the prey of wild beasts.—Many of these wild Hottentots live by plunder and murder, and are guilty of the most horrid and atrocious actions. Such,' says he, 'are the people to whom the providence of God has directed our course.'

"Setting aside the sheer nonsense of the lion roaring before the cavern, which the easy credulity of Mr. Kicherer led him to believe as a fact, it is evident on the face of the above statement, that the chief, and perhaps the sole, motive for destroying or abandoning the helpless and the destitute, the infants and the aged, is their extreme indigence. Without any covering to protect his body from the vicissitudes of the weather, without possessions or property of any kind except his bow and his quiver of arrows, the Bosjesman exists from day to day on what the fortune of the chase may throw within his reach, on a few bulbous roots which the barren soil scantily supplies, on the eggs of ants and the larvæ of locusts; and when these all fail, he is glad to have recourse to toads, mice, snakes, and lizards. To satisfy the present craving of the stomach is his grand object; and this accomplished in its fullest extent, he seems to enjoy a short-lived species of happiness, which either

either shews itself in an exhilaration of spirits not unlike that which usually attends the first stage of intoxication, or throws him into a profound sleep. Among such a people it is not surprizing that infants and aged persons should be left to perish. If the dread of pinching poverty and the horrors of absolute want are sufficient to urge the civilized Chinese to the commission of infanticide on their own offspring, it is the less surprizing that a similar or a still more hopeless condition should operate similar effects on the savage Bosjesman. Human nature is every where the same. When the Moravian missionaries first landed in Labrador, the same inhuman practice, though with the most benevolent intention, prevailed among the natives of putting to death the widows and the orphans; not because it was an ancient custom, or that the shedding of human blood was agreeable to their nature, but for a much stronger reason: improvident of their own families, they could not be supposed to supply the means of support for the helpless orphan or the desolate widow of another. And here the superior advantages resulting from the system of the Moravians over that of the Gospel missionaries are most forcibly demonstrated. Instead of encouraging the natives in their rambling disposition from place to place, they laboured to fix them to one spot; instead of preaching to them the mysterious parts of the gospel, they instructed them in useful and industrious habits; instead of building a church, they erected a store-house. They caused this common store to be divided into as many compartments as there were families, leaving one at each end larger than the rest, to be appropriated solely to the use of the widows and the orphans; and having taught them the process of salting and drying the fish caught in vast multitudes in the summer months, the produce was collected into this general depository of their industry, to serve as a provision for the long and dismal winter which reigns in this inclement climate; deducting, however, from the compartment of every family a tenth of the produce, to be deposited in those of the widows and the orphans. Their labours were crowned with complete success. From this time a provision was made sufficient for the preservation of these desolate and helpless creatures. Thus the Moravian Society has been the means of converting the inhabitants of Labrador into useful citizens as well as good christians, whilst the African Society has not reclaimed a single Bosjesman from the wild and savage state in which its zealous missionaries first discovered him.

"If zeal alone was sufficient for the conversion of these miserable creatures to christianity, and consequently to a state of civilization, no man has more merit nor better deserves success than the missionary Kicherer. He is in every respect a truly worthy character, but he is an enthusiast; and he feels and assumes to himself more merit in being able to relate some little anecdote of a savage applying or quoting a scripture passage, than if he had accomplished all that the Moravians have done for the Hottentots (and they have done much) at Bavian's Kloof. He observes, for instance, in one of his reports to the society, that the Bosjesmans made a fire by twirling the point of a stick on the surface of another; that one of his people in a rainy

night, not being able to succeed, bethought himself of calling on Jesus, when he was immediately answered, and struck up a good fire, notwithstanding the rain.

"Every account that has been given of the Bosjesmans tends to confirm the opinion of their being among the most miserable of the human race, and in their present condition wholly incapable of profiting by the doctrines of Christianity. Their number is, however, very inconsiderable. In travelling through the heart of the desert occupied by them, the present party did not in the whole journey see fifty persons, and of course had but little opportunity of making and comparing their observations on their character and condition. Of the few they saw it was remarked that several had attained a very considerable age; that the oldest had not lost a single tooth, but that in many instances they were worn down in a remarkable manner to mere stumps; that out of the number seen at least half-a-dozen were blind in one eye, which they pretended to have been occasioned while young by accidents from fire; that the greater part wanted the first joint of the little finger, which they said had been taken off as a charm against misfortunes, or to stop an incipient disorder; that the sting of a scorpion, which to Europeans or colonists is always attended with dangerous consequences, and by which one of the present party suffered severely, has no ill effect on this people, which they endeavoured to explain by saying that, while children being accustomed to be stung by these insects, the poison in time ceases to have any effect on them, as the small-pox virus loses its action on a person who has had the disease."

DESCRIPTION of the CLIMATE, CUSTOMS, and INHABITANTS of BARBADOES.

[From Dr. PINCKARD'S NOTES on the WEST INDIES.]

"BARBADOES is the most windward of the West India Islands; and is in that division of them known by the appellation of Charibbee Islands—a name they have obtained from one of the nations of Indians, who formerly inhabited them.

"It is about twenty-one miles in length, by fourteen in breadth; lying in latitude 13° North, longitude 59° West. The English have occupied it nearly two centuries, having taken possession of it in the reign of James I. At the time of being settled by our countrymen, it was covered with wood, and had no appearance of having been, before, occupied by man; but it now appears under a very different aspect, —the destructive axe having converted its deep and heavy forests into even characteristic nakedness.

"West Indians regard it as of low and level surface: but this can be only comparatively speaking, and in reference to the neighbouring islands whose bold summits pierce the skies: for Barbadoes has all the pleasant variety afforded by hills and broken land, and, and in some parts, is even mountainous, though less so than Grenada, St. Vincent, or St. Lucie.

"It

"It is considered as an old island, and, from having been long in cultivation, is said to be much exhausted, and wearing to decay. Those concerned in the culture of more recent, and now more prolific colonies, seem to compassionate Barbadoes as the venerable and decrepit parent of the race; while its inhabitants pride themselves upon its antiquity, and, like the feudal lords of still more ancient states, assume a consequence, I might almost say claim hereditary rank and privilege from priority of establishment. This sense of distinction is strongly manifested in the sentiment conveyed by the vulgar expression so common in the island—"neither Charib, nor Creole, but true Barbadian," and which is participated even by the slaves, who proudly arrogate a superiority above the negroes of the other islands! Ask one of them if he was imported, or is a Creole, and he immediately replies—'Me neder Chrab, nor Creole, Massa!—me troo Barbadian born.'

"Perhaps the late decline of this island may be still less the effect of exhaustion of the soil, than of the extensive emigration, and the diversion of commerce consequent on the cultivation of new islands and colonies. In the early period of its culture Barbadoes yielded a produce, and gave rise to an extent of commerce, not known in any other island, and its population increased to a degree, perhaps unprecedented in any part of the globe. Within the first fifty years the trade of the island had become sufficient to employ four hundred sail of shipping; and the number of inhabitants amounted to no less than one hundred and fifty thousand, being upwards of five hundred to every square mile.

"To enable the land to continue the bountiful produce it now afforded required much labour, and a great and expensive supply of manure, therefore as new colonies were settled, and new land brought into cultivation, which was capable of yielding equal returns with less labour, and less of artificial supply, it became an object to individuals to emigrate from the neighbouring island of Barbadoes, and engage in the culture of the more recent, and less exhausted settlements; and thus, with the population, the commerce, which before had been confined to the parent island, was necessarily diverted into new and various channels.

"At this day the Dutch colonies of Guiana, and the captured island of Martinique, are a continual drain upon the population of Barbadoes. But notwithstanding its decline from what it once was, it is still the most populous, and one of the most important of our West India possessions. From situation, and from its fine bay for shipping, even independent of its produce, it must ever be valuable to us, and indeed may be considered as the key of the West Indies. Some of the Creoles of the island, not barely sensible of this, commit the excess of attaching to it a degree of importance beyond even England itself. —'What would poor old England do,' say they, 'were Barbadoes to forsake her?' This adage you will believe expresses only the veneration of the illiterate; but you will admit that it arises from a very natural feeling: for those who have seen but one spot readily fancy that to be of the first importance! And there are multitudes in Barbadoes who never saw any other soil, and who, no doubt, from the same laudable sentiment which we so

honor in Britons, regard their native isle as pre-eminent above all others.

"Barbadoes contains a numerous class of inhabitants, between the great planters, and the people of colour, a circumstance which forms a striking difference between this island and the more recent colonies. Of these, many are descended from the original settlers, and have no precise knowledge of the period when their ancestors first arrived. Through several generations they have been born, and have constantly lived upon the island. They regard it as their native, and only abode, and do not, like their more wealthy neighbours, look to England as another and a better home. Of some of these old families I may, perhaps, speak more particularly in another letter.

"If in point of produce Barbadoes now yields to other settlements—if its population and commerce have decreased—if its thick woods have fallen before the rueful axe—and if its mountains are less aspiring than the towering summits of some of the neighbouring islands; still its trade and produce continue to be important; its population great; and the picturesque scenery of its surface, perhaps, unrivalled. Nor are these its only advantages; for, in consequence of being more cleared, and more generally cultivated, than the other islands, its temperature is more equable, and its air more salubrious. Damp woods do not interrupt, nor stagnant morasses empoison the breeze.—Every part is exposed to the full perflation of the trade-wind; by the coolness and salubrity of which, this is rendered the most healthful of the islands; insomuch that it is common, in sickness, to make a voyage from the other colonies to Barbadoes, as the Montpelier of the West Indies. Being situated to windward of the other islands, it receives the uninterrupted breeze, brought to it in all its purity immediately from a wide extent of ocean, unimpregnated by the septic exhalations of stagnant waters, or polluted soils.—Its temperature has been far less inconvenient than we had expected. We have felt but little oppression from heat; and have continued our habits of exercise without interruption. In the harbour, and placed in the shade, the thermometer has seldom been higher than 84, and at no time has exceeded 86 degrees.

"Yet blessed as the island is in its exemption from excessive heat, from noxious miasmata, and from great and general sickness, it has its peculiar ills; being visited with an endemial affliction, so much its own as to have obtained the appellation of *the Barbadoes disease*. It appears in form of the elephantiasis, or what is here termed the 'glandular disease,'—and is a most unsightly and distressful malady.

"Bridge-town is the capital of the island, and is situated on the S. W. bank of Carlisle bay, which is one of the finest harbours, for shipping, in the West Indies; but is not considered to be secure during the hurricane season. It derives its name from the circumstance of a royal grant of the island having formerly been made to the earl of Carlisle. The other towns are Speights-town, Austin-town, and Hole-town, all of which are much inferior to Bridge-town.

"Both the scenery and the population of the island are more indebted to the number and variety of mansions, cottages, and huts, thickly spotted over its surface, than to its towns; which, as is too commonly the case in all countries, are

are built with less regard to general appearance, and the health of the inhabitants, than to the convenience of trade, and the profit of individuals.

"On all quarters of the island are seen numbers of wind-mills, store-houses, and other buildings for sugar, coffee and cotton, houses of planters, the smaller dwellings of cottagers, and the huts of negroes, all of which improve the scenery, while they convey the idea of extensive population, and delight the mind with images of rural enjoyment, and of generally diffused comfort and tranquillity. The numerous buildings, together with their protecting shades about them—the luxuriant tropical vegetation—the constant verdure of the fields—the evergreen foliage of the trees—the broken irregular hills, lofty mountains, and cultivated rich-yielding plains—all surrounded with extensive views of shipping and the open sea, create an effect more varied and affecting than is often to be met with, and contribute to render Barbadoes a most pleasant and picturesque island; and from this, added to the examples I have given you of the hospitality, and friendly urbanity of its inhabitants, you will discover how highly it is calculated to call forth the attention, interest the feelings, and secure the attachment of those who visit it.

"In speaking to you of the situation of Barbadoes, it occurs to me to notice the confusion which has arisen in the minds of individuals, from the term commonly employed to distinguish the two grand divisions of our expedition. To discriminate what is literally the *windward* army from that intended for St. Domingo, we hear it denominated the 'Leeward Island' division, than which it had been difficult to have found a term more pointedly incorrect. If the distinction be intended with regard to the course of the trade-wind, it should have been directly the reverse, for the islands, occupied by the troops of what is called the 'Leeward Island' armament, happen with respect to St. Domingo to be every one very far to *windward!* If the term regard only the common nautical division of the Charibbee islands themselves, it is still inappropriate, for the windward, no less than the leeward of these islands, are possessed by what is termed the *leeward* army.

"Any person consulting a map of the West Indies must discover St. Domingo to be among the most leeward of the islands, and would necessarily be led to conclude that the Leeward Island division, was the St. Domingo division, *i. e.* that they were synonymous, for no one could imagine that the troops occupying Barbadoes, and the more immediately neighbouring islands, could belong to an army designated 'Leeward,' in contradistinction to the army of St. Domingo. Perhaps the terms Charibbee Island division, and St. Domingo division had been more accurate.

"Led by this circumstance we have taken some pains to inform ourselves, which are the islands known under the term 'Leeward,' according to the common acceptation: but we find this to be a question difficult of solution, almost every one dividing them differently. Scarcely any two persons, from whom we have sought intelligence, have given the same reply; nor does it seem to be accurately known where the line should be drawn. Some regard the distinction as respecting only the direction of the trade-wind;

wind; some derive it from the course taken by the ships from Spain to Carthagena; and others, from various other sources and circumstances; yet all agree that Barbadoes is the most to windward; and all allow that the Charibbee islands are less to leeward than St. Domingo.

"But to return to my notes concerning Barbadoes! I have before remarked to you the principal variations of its soil:—near Bridgetown it is of rich black earth, mostly spread on a base of calcareous rock, formed of madripores, and other marine concretions: in some districts it is of a red earth, of greater depth, but less rich: in others the soil is of a light whiteish earth, broken into a grey-looking mould, or hardened into lumps resembling chalk—but actually consisting of indurated argille, bleached by exposure to the weather.

"From this variety in the soil, together with that which attaches to situation, as being flat, or mountainous,—protected, or exposed, it will necessarily happen, that the produce will differ in different parts of the island: and as the whole has been long under cultivation, it is manifest that if a supply of manure, proportionate to the crops obtained, cannot be procured, a degree of exhaustion, bearing a certain ratio to the deficiency, must result.

"It is established, from the mode of agriculture adopted in some counties of England, that, by an adequate supply of manure, land may be continued in a constant round of cultivation, yielding as prolific crops as upon its earliest culture: and this is now found to be no less certain, than that if the land be subjected to continued tillage, without such supply, it will be so exhausted, in the course of a few years, as not to give sufficient produce to compensate the labour and expence of cultivation.

"The same facts equally apply to Barbadoes, where, if the artificial supply be not commensurate with the produce removed from the land, a gradual diminution of the crops will succeed, or, in order to have these in their usual abundance, the acres in cultivation must be reduced to such a number as the island shall be capable of furnishing with an adequate quantity of manure; and we accordingly find that great herds of a small species of cattle, mostly steers, are kept upon the plantations, for the purpose of supplying this indispensable addition to the soil. These are employed instead of horses in the heavy labour of the estate, and we often see from twelve to twenty-four of them yoked in a waggon, drawing a single hogshead of sugar, or some other small load, such as in London would be conveyed with facility by two horses in a cart.

"At night the cattle are penned upon a bed of trash, collected from the refuse of the canes and other waste materials of the estate, by treading upon which, and mixing it with their own dung, they trample the whole into an useful compost for the fields.

"It necessarily follows from such numbers of these cattle being required, for the purpose of manuring the land, that a greater supply of beef and veal is raised for the markets, and that fresh provisions are more plentiful than in most of the other colonies. Of the custom of buying the veal in live quarters for the pot I have already spoken—and I may now remark that the beef is too commonly killed very young—forming neither beef nor veal,

veal, but a something of flavor and appearance between the two.

"The seasons here are not divided into winter and summer, but into wet and dry: yet are they, by no means, what many from these terms would believe, who might imagine that half the year is drowned with incessant rain, and the other half parched with constant drought. Such a construction of the terms *wet* season, and *dry* season, though not unfrequent, is far from correct, and leads to a very inaccurate idea of the climate; for, although it has been the dry season, during the whole time we have been in Barbadoes, we have scarcely had two successive days without refreshing rain: although the showers are not so heavy at this period as at that of their greater frequency, termed the wet season, when the torrent which falls might often convey the idea of a sudden rupture of the clouds, letting forth their waters *in streams* to the earth.

"The quick evaporation which succeeds to rain in these climates creates a most agreeable and refreshing coolness. The extreme ardor of the sun's rays is also counteracted by the ever-grateful breeze, which sets in from the sea about eight or nine o'clock in the morning, and continues throughout the day, ceasing only as the sun forsakes us at evening; when we are again defended from oppressive languor by a breeze springing up from the land. This sets in as the sea-breeze subsides, and diverging, as it were from a central point, is felt on all quarters of the island.

"Without these beneficient provisions of nature no tropical climate could have been habitable: nor does that great parent in any thing more admirably display her guardian care, nor more strikingly exhibit the universal consistency, or the happy order and arrangement of her works. The intense heat between the tropics must have been destructive to animal life, had not an antidote been offered in the refreshing trades; which, forming the suite of a burning sun, moderate the effects of his too effulgent rays.

"The day is nearly of equal length throughout the whole circle of the year. We have none of the short dark days, of an English winter, nor of the still shorter light nights of a Scottish summer. Nights of one or two hours, and days of six or seven are here equally unknown: until nearly the hour of six fair Aurora opens not her gates to spread around her eastern beams, and solemn Vesper, with little variation throughout the year, closes the spangled brightness of the west about the hour of seven. Evening is scarcely known. The sun traversing his vertical course sinks at once from the horizon, and, refusing his oblique beams to protract or soften the decline of day, robs us of the gentle crepuscule hour, and suddenly throws around all the obscurity of night.

"This uniformity of the diurnal round scarcely exceeds that of the general temperature of the climate, which brings us one perpetual summer. The fields and the trees are always green. Live nature ever smiles. Uninterrupted by the torpor of winter she is neither chilled with frost, nor buried in snow. But, for these advantages, we forgo the sprightly delight, and genial comfort of a summer's evening, the all-animating pleasures of a returning spring, and the soft and placid joys of gentle twilight's hour. Had I time for such discussions, I might here enter into a long

long digression upon the comparative excellence of the climate we have left, and that we now inhabit: yet should I yield the palm to my native island, for all the delights of climate in other countries, however great or durable, I know none that can stand in competition with the sweet and animated softness of England's spring.

"Of this soul-enchanting season the effect, no doubt, is much heightened by its periodical return; and from its succeeding to the chilling blasts, and all the long and dreary suspension occasioned by winter. It is in fact the resuscitation of nature, and is calculated universally to enliven,—while it forms the high repast of feeling and contemplative minds.

"What combination—what scenery can man contemplate capable of affording the tender delight felt in a solitary ramble, across the rich and neat enclosures of England, at the happy period, when nature, reanimated by the genial orb of May, displays, in gentle mildness, all her loveliest form, and regales every sense with her softest banquets! Perhaps no scene is known so sweetly grateful—none that so calms the bosom with soft feelings of peace and comfort, or that ministers such copious streams of genuine delight. All around unites in sweetest harmony. The eye, the olfactories, the ear, the very senses of feeling, and of taste—all are gratified.—The fields, spread with green-shooting herbage, appear enchantingly variegated with the cowslip, the yellow crocus, and the daisy.—While the fleecy herd patiently crop the succulent plant, the young lambs are seen skipping, innocent and playful, at the sides of their dams. The hedges protrude the verdant bud and swelling blossom to dress their chilly nakedness, and the trees, casting off the dull coat of winter, assume the soft livery of the season. The fragrant odours of the apple blossom, the hawthorn and the violet are exhaled around—the blackbird, the thrush, and the nightingale, warbling soft carols amidst the budding bushes, enchant the ear. The very organs of taste are regaled with freshness from the mild salubrious breeze; and to the whole frame a genial feeling is imparted by the fostering rays of a temperate and cheering sun.

"In mental retrospect do I oftimes contemplate a scene which every Englishman of feeling must have frequently enjoyed. Taking him from the busy hum of the world, my fancy leads the lover of nature into the enclosed fields of England, in one of the mild mornings of May, and seating him under a green-budding hedge, upon a mossy and sun-warmed bank, surrounded with violets, bids him look down the sloping mead to the crooked brook which winds in gentle current along the bottom, and there behold the thick wood of the opposite bank, reflecting the dark semblance of its branches in the stream, and bursting forth its protecting foliage to conceal the harmonic songsters of the season. It also directs his eye to the green carpet of shooting herbage, enriched with the tender cowslip and the humble daisy, and invites his regard to the playful innocence of the young lambkins skipping before him. To his ear it conveys grateful melody in the bleating of distant herds; the lively whistling of contented hinds; or the happy milkmaid's simple song: even the loud cawing of the rooks perched on the lofty elms, the soft note of the in-

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nocent robin hopping under the hedge, and the very chirpings of the merry sparrow excite congenial feelings, and improve the general harmony—while the bright sun, occasionally obscured by fleeting clouds, exhibits the varied interchanges of light and shade, and gives a higher interest to all around. Having thus placed him, appealing fancy earnestly demands if any thing in the eternal summer of other regions can equal the soft delight—the genial harmony of soul and sentiment inspired by this tender vernal scene?

"Some fair friends of ours would place at his side the mistress of his heart, and thus give perfection to his happiness, as Buffon perfects the existence of his infant of maturity. But excuse me, ye fair, should I hazard the suggestion whether to be left alone, to think and wish towards her, might in such a situation be less soul-delighting; for anticipation is said to sweeten our highest joys, and, perhaps, it were the very life and essence of such like moments to feel the tender privation of having yet a something to wish, and to hope.

"THE uniform returns of day and night in this climate appear to induce a regularity of habit in the hours of rising, and going to rest. It is common to leave the pillow at six in the morning, and few persons remain out of bed after eleven at night. The coolest and most pleasant part of the day is from six to about half-past seven o'clock in the morning: about eight an oppressive closeness is often experienced, arising from the decline of the land breeze, before that from the sea has become sufficiently strong to diffuse its influence. A similar period, likewise, occurs at evening, between the abatement of the sea breeze, and the setting in of the breeze from the land. Some days the closeness of these hours is so slight, as to be scarcely perceptible, but commonly they are by far the most oppressive in the twenty-four.

"Respecting the mode of living it may be remarked that in all countries said to be civilized, and among all people calling themselves cultivated, too much of time and attention are devoted to the business of eating and drinking. Perhaps the majority of diseases in social life may be traced to this source. Were it possible to convey, in a single sentence, the frightful train of ills, the melancholy interruptions of health, and the immense consumption of time, thus produced, men would be shocked to read it! They would be terrified to behold the magnitude of an abuse, to which, unheeding, they had so long been devoted. This remark but too correctly applies to the island from whence I am addressing you, and where, from the degree of indolence induced by tropical heat, the ingesta taken to excess may be expected in a peculiar degree to oppress the human frame.

"The people of Barbadoes are much addicted to the pleasures of the table. We have sometimes thought that, in eating, they might put to the blush even the turtle countenances of our London fat citizens.

"The breakfast usually consists of tea and coffee, or chocolate, with eggs, ham, tongue, or other cold meat. Bread is seldom used, but substitutes are found in roasted yams or eddoes, both of which a good deal resemble roasted potatoes. They are used hot, and eaten with butter, which is sometimes made in

in the country, but more frequently barrelled and brought from Ireland; that made in the island being of cream-like softness, and not always of good flavor. In the course of the forenoon are used fruits, or sandwiches, with free libations of punch and sangaree. Immediately preceding dinner, which is usually at an early hour, are taken punch and mandram. The dinner, for the most part, is profuse, and many hours are commonly passed at table in full and busy occupation.

"After a more than plentiful consumption of food, a free indulgence in fruit, and a bounteous supply of wine and other good liquors, to crown the repast, the appetite and thirst are further provoked by a dish of sprats, or other broiled fish, and a large bowl of milk punch. Tea and coffee are next served—and lastly comes the supper, which forms no trifling meal. After this the bottle, the glass, and the punch-bowl know no rest, until the silent hour when Morpheus, with rival powers, dethrones the Bacchanalian god.

"From the nature of the climate we had expected to have found the inhabitants men of meager figure, half dissolved in perspiration, and exhausted almost to shadows: nor, indeed, are such figures rare, but they are to be found, mostly, among the clerks, the book-keepers, and those orders of white people below the managers; those who are employed in active and busy occupation, and have but little time to devote to indolence and the luxuries of the table. Among the merchants and planters are many of as fat and portly figure as well-fed aldermen; to whom, indeed, they are scarcely second in Epicurean devotion.

"We observe that condiments are used very generally, and in great quantity. Acting as stimulants they appear to have the effect of causing the relaxed and enfeebled stomach to receive and to digest more than it would, otherwise, require—more, indeed, than it would, otherwise, take. The various species of red pepper, known in England under the common term Cayenne, are used in quantities that would seem incredible to people of colder climates.

"A mixture of food is often taken, of a nature scarcely less heterogeneous than is commonly consumed at the varied feast of a French appetite; and with this melange of solids, are used wine, punch, porter, cyder, noyeau, and other good liquors in free libation; yet are there specimens of health and vigour, amidst all these indulgences, which might stagger the doctrines of the advocates of abstemiousness.

"In the order of the feast plenty more prevails than elegance. The loaded board groans, nay almost sinks beneath the weight of hospitality. That delicacy of arrangement now studied in England, under the term œconomy of the table, is here deemed a less perfection than a substantial plenty.—Liberality is more esteemed than delicacy in the supply; and solids are, sometimes, heaped upon the table in a crowded abundance that might make a London fine lady faint.

"The repast not unfrequently consists of different kinds of fish—a variety of soups—a young kid—a whole lamb, or half a sheep—several dishes of beef, or mutton—a turkey—a large ham—guinea fowls—and a pigeon pie; with various kinds of puddings; a profusion

fusion of vegetables; and multitudes of sweets. I was lately one of a small party, where, precisely, this dinner was served, and where the half of a sheep, kicking its legs almost in the face of the master of the house, adorned the bottom of the table—forming the most unseemly dish I ever beheld.

"Perhaps we may find it to be common to the West Indies, but, hitherto, it has appeared to us peculiar to Barbadoes, to put on table three or four large substantial puddings of different kinds, and four or five dishes of the same sort of meat, differently dressed. Unaccustomed to this, an English eye, on looking into the dining-room, is surprized at the continuation of mutton, mutton, mutton, pudding, pudding, pudding, from one end of the table to the other, and which the crowd of other good things seems to render unnecessary.

"The generous board is often supplied wholly from the produce of the estate, and on the occasion of giving an entertainment it is not unusual to kill an ox, a sheep, or, literally, the fatted calf: hence it occurs that various dishes of the same kind of food, under different forms, sometimes make up the principal part of the dinner, and, thus, it becomes explained why we sometimes see upon table, at the same time, roasted mutton, mutton ragout, boiled mutton, mutton chops, and a mutton pie. The puddings mostly used are of citron, coco-nut, yam, lemon, and custard, and do great credit to the Barbadoes cookery-book. The dessert is not less plenteous than the dinner, consisting of a variety of fruits, and preserves, served in crowded supply. The bottle and glass pass freely, and the fluids are in full proportion to the solids of the feast.

"The liquors most in use are Madeira and claret wines, punch, sangaree, porter, and cyder.—Punch and sangaree are commonly taken as the *diluents* of the morning. The latter forms a most delightful drink. A glass of it, taken when parching with thirst, from heat and fatigue, may be ranked among the highest gratifications of our nature! At such a moment, a draught of sangaree approaches nearer, perhaps, to god-like nectar, than any other known liquor. It consists of half Madeira wine, and half water, acidulated with the fragrant lime, sweetened with sugar, and flavored with nutmeg. A stronger sort of it is sometimes drank under the superlative name of *sangrorum*. This differs from the former, only in containing a greater proportion of wine.

"The too prevalent English custom of *sending away* the ladies, or, according to the politer term, of the ladies *retiring* after dinner, for the gentlemen *to enjoy* their bottle, prevails also at Barbadoes; and, we have thought, even to a greater extreme than in England. They leave us very soon after dinner, and, often, we see no more of them during the evening. Frequently they do not, even, join us before dinner; but we find them all assembled, at the head of the table, when we enter the dining-room; and, even there, we have little of their company, for the party is often so badly arranged, that we have scarcely more of the society of the ladies, and the people of the island, than if we had remained on board ship. Instead of the different persons being, pleasantly, intermixed, it is too common

mon to see the ladies grouped together in a crowd at the upper end of the table—the officers and strangers, just arrived from Europe, placed at one side—and the gentlemen of the island, who are mutual and familiar acquaintances, at the other side—implying that it is considered a rule of politeness to place each person nearest to those with whom he is best acquainted. But this arrangement confines the conversation of each person, too much, to those with whom he is in the daily habit of associating. To me, it is always a disappointment, for I can converse with my comrades in my usual round, when strangers are not nigh; but, when thrown into society, in a foreign country, I always feel a desire for the conversation of the people residing therein, expecting to obtain information from them, both of the country itself, and of the manners and customs of its inhabitants.

"The attendants at the dinner table are very numerous. In addition to those of the family, almost every gentleman has his own slave; and, thus, it often happens that the room is quite crowded with sable domestics, whose surfaces emit an odour not less savory than the richest dishes of the board. How long it may be before our olfactories become reconciled to this high-seasoning of a West India feast I cannot conjecture; but, at present, we find it extremely offensive.—Poor Master is particularly annoyed by it, and always takes care to obtain a seat as much to windward as possible. Cleghorn and myself suffer no less from a most filthy custom of the negroes—of taking a plate from the side-board, before it is wanted, and standing with it under the arm, ready to give it the moment a change is required. On account of this dirty habit, we are obliged to attend with eagle watchfulness to avoid receiving as a clean one, a plate which a slave has been holding for some time closely pressed to, certainly, not the sweetest part of his naked skin.

"In its supply of fresh provisions, particularly what is here termed stock, such as poultry and the like, Barbadoes exhibits a degree of plenty unknown in the neighbouring islands. This would seem to be the happy effect of allowing the slaves to raise poultry for sale; together with there being a number of small settlers, distributed about the country, who find their support chiefly in breeding stock for the markets. Poultry has been our principal food. Turkies, guinea fowls, and chickens, we have had in great abundance. When we arrived, in the month of February, they were sold in the public market at little more than a bit (about 5½d.) per pound, but from the increased demand consequent upon the arrival of so many troops, and such crowds of shipping, the price is now raised to nearly double. The Moscovy ducks are also bred in great numbers upon the island, and are so large as to appear like geese, when dressed for the table. Next to poultry they have veal and pork in the greatest plenty. In Bridge-town they have also a fish-market, which at times is well supplied, but not so regularly, as, from the insular situation of the country, might be expected,

"Of the immense quantity of poultry raised on this little island, you will form some idea, when I tell you that not only the ships of war, and the transports, but most of the West India trading ships, recruit their stock at Barbadoes; and that in addition to this constant

and

and extensive drain it furnishes occasional supplies to the other islands. Since we have been in Carlisle bay, we have seen, at various times, great quantities of stock shipped for the island of Martinique.

"In point of clothing the people of Barbadoes deviate less from the habits of England than the difference of climate would seem to warrant. Their dress resembles that worn in our more northern latitude, being for the most part a cloth coat, with white cotton waistcoat, and nankeen pantaloons. In some instances people of very active employment, or those who are much exposed in the fields, have the whole suit made of nankeen. Their night-clothing seems more appropriate to the greater heat of climate than the apparel of the day. It is common to sleep on a hard mattress in a long cotton shirt, without any other covering, except in the coolest season, when they make the slight addition of a simple cotton sheet.

"One of the most prominent characteristics of the island is the tedious languor in which the people of Barbadoes pronounce their words. Nothing perhaps is more annoying to strangers. To convey to you, by the pen, any idea of their manner of speaking is utterly impossible: to be comprehended, it must be heard. The languid syllables are drawled out as if it were a great fatigue to utter them; and the tortured ear of an European grows irritable and impatient in waiting for the end of a word, or a sentence. 'How you do to da—ay,' spoken by a Barbadian Creole, consumes nearly as much time as might suffice for all the compliments of the morning! Nor is this wearisome pronunciation confined to the people of colour only. It occurs, likewise, among the whites, particularly those who have not visited Europe, or resided for some time away from the island. In the same lengthened accent do the lower orders of Barbadians, in unrestrained impetuous rage, pour forth vollies of uncommonly dreadful oaths, which, in their horrible combinations and epithets, form imprecations so strikingly impious, as to entitle them to the *merit* of peculiarity.

"In manner, also, and in movement, as well as in speech, a degree of indolence and inaction prevails, beyond what might be expected, merely from heat of climate, and which has in it a something extremely annoying to Europeans.

"The state of the negroes in Barbadoes varies, as the state of slaves must ever do, according to the disposition and circumstances of the master. Under such benevolent and humane characters as Mr. Waith, and many others whom we have visited, they may justly feel themselves a favored race, for their situation might be envied by the poor of nations, where freedom is better known! But under severe and cruel masters it becomes a state of ceaseless vexation and misery.

"On the very important question of general slavery I do not feel that my experience, hitherto, in the West Indies either warrants me to speak with confidence, or enables me to judge with accuracy. But I will take care to note for you such facts as, from time to time, shall occur to my observation, and may some day, perhaps, obey your commands, by giving you the reflections they create in a separate letter.

"Very much to the discredit of

Barbadoes, numbers of old, diseased decrepit negroes, at once objects of compassion and of horror, are seen lying at the corners, or begging about the streets. This, like the toleration of the swarms of mendicants in England, is an evil, and a nuisance, for which there is no excuse. If these poor unfortunate negroes are free, they should be relieved by a general tax upon the island: if slaves, the law should compel every master to provide for his own. Should the laws of humanity be insufficient, and those of justice inadequate, a law of coercion should constrain the unfeeling owner to protect and cherish the being whose youth and vigour have been expended for his benefit; and who, having worn out his days in the heavy toils of bondage, is grown aged and infirm!

"What can be so unworthy! what so culpable or disgraceful, as the cruel inhumanity and sordid injustice, which render a master capable of neglecting in old age, the slave from whom he has exacted all the labour of youth, and all the vigor of manhood! Perhaps nothing pourtrays in more melancholy demonstration, the possible depravity of the human heart! No longer able to exert himself to his owner's profit, the aged slave, enfeebled by years, and exhausted by toil, is left to beg his *yam* from door to door! abandoned by his cruel master, he is a pensioner upon promiscuous charity, or is allowed to fall a prey to disease, and to want!

"Without some compulsory law the slaves of the avaricious and of the lower orders, who are, themselves, scarcely removed from indigence, must ever be subject to this hard lot of neglect and cruelty.

"The first specimen we saw of West India negroes—the first example of slaves was singularly calculated to impress us with sentiments of compassion and disgust. It occurred at the very moment too when the impression would be most powerful, and consequently will ever remain indelible. Immediately on our coming to anchor in Carlisle bay, a woman appeared alongside the ship in a small boat with some bad fruit, tobacco, salt fish, and other articles of traffic: She was rowed by two negroes, who, we learned, were her slaves. Two such objects of human form and human misery had never before met our eyes! They were feeble, meagre, and dejected; half-starved, and half-naked; and, in figure, too accurately resembling hungry and distempered grey-hounds!—They crouched upon their heels and haunches in the boat; their naked bones almost pierced their filthy and eruptive skins; their wasted frames trembled with debility; and while their hollow eyes and famished countenances rendered them ghastly images of horror, their whole appearance shocked humanity, and appalled the sight! Are these, we exclaimed, what are called slaves? Is this the state to which human beings are reduced in bondage? Afflicting and cruel indeed! Well may slavery be deemed a curse! Can it be possible that these spectres once were men? Are such the objects we are to see—are these the wretched and deplorable beings who are to appear every day and every hour before our eyes? Forbid it Humanity; forbid it Heaven!—Such was the apostrophe of the moment, and I feel a sincere gratification in being able to inform you that the melancholy subjects of this first impression were not correct specimens of the general

general mass of slaves. Still is it grievous that any such examples should be seen; but we hope to find them only rare instances: for we learn that the large gangs of negroes kept by the great merchants, and the planters, are generally treated with kindness and humanity, and appear contented and in comfort.

"But it is easy to distinguish the slaves of the opulent and respectable inhabitants from those of the poor and needy people of the town. The latter, being in poverty themselves, can only give to their negroes a scanty allowance of food, while their indigence induces them to exact an over-proportion of labour. Hence the slaves of this class of people appear too often with sharp bones and hungry flavid countenances, having eruptions about the body, and their skins of an unhealthy obfuscate hue. Their general appearance indeed is dirty and unwholesome, and strikingly marks their neglected state. Want and wretchedness are deeply stamped in every line of their persons; and they may not inaptly be said to resemble the worn-out horse, or the starved and jaded ass, too often seen trembling under a heavy burden; or reeling in an old tattered cart upon the roads of England.

"It is not the practice to load the slaves with superfluity of clothing. A shirt, and a pair of breeches, or only the latter, for the men; and a single petticoat for the women constitute the whole apparel. Bedding and bed-clothes find no place in their list of necessaries: they usually sleep on a hard plank, in the clothing of the day. Repose is both ensured and sweetened to them by labour; and the head needs no pillow but the arm. Some, who by means of industry and œconomy, are more advanced in their little comforts, procure a kind of matting, a paillasse of plantain leaves, or some other species of bedding, to defend them from the rough plank; but this is an indulgence self-attained, not a necessary provided by the master. The architecture of their little huts is as rude as it is simple. A roof of plantain leaves, with a few rough boards, nailed to the coarse pillars which support it, forms the whole building. The leeward-side is commonly left in part open, and the roof projects to some distance over the door-way, forming a defence against both the sun and the rain.

"Notwithstanding the great heat experienced by Europeans, the negroes feel the evenings chilly, and we frequently see them crowding round the bit of fire which they make for cooking their supper. This is commonly in the open air near to the door of the hut; but they sometimes place it upon the middle of the dirt floor within-side the building, where they seem to have great enjoyment in squatting round it, amidst the thick cloud of smoke, to whiff additional fumes from the short pipe or sagar, and to join in loud and merry song.

"Smoking is an universal custom among them. In order to be at all moments provided for, this enjoyment, they carry in their breeches pocket a short pipe, about an inch in length from the bowl; or instead of this a leaf of tobacco rolled into a sagar. Very often the pipe is so short, or the sagar so closely smoked away, as to be in danger of burning the nose, or even the lips. I have frequently seen them smoking with the pipe so short as to hold it in the mouth by pressing

with the lips upon the lower part of the bowl. They often kindle their pipes from one another's mouths, by putting bowl to bowl and nose to nose, and smoking into each others eyes, until the tobacco has taken fire.

"The food of the negroes is issued to them weekly, under the inspection of the manager. It is very simple and but little varied; breakfast, dinner, and supper being similar to each other, and for the most part, the same throughout the year. It consists mostly of Guinea corn, with a small bit of salt meat, or salt fish. Formerly a bunch of plantains was given to each slave as the weekly allowance; but the plantain walks being mostly worn out, this is become an expensive provision. Rice, maize, yams, eddoes, and sweet potatoes form an occasional change, but the Guinea corn is, commonly, issued as the weekly supply; and in order to obtain some variety of food, they barter this in exchange for other provisions, or sell it for money, and with that they buy salt meat or vegetables. We occasionally see them offering the Guinea corn for sale; and on being asked why they sell it, they thus express themselves —'Me no like for have him Guinea corn always! Massa gib me Guinea corn too much; Guinea corn today; Guinea corn to-morrow; Guinea corn eb'ry day; Me no like him Guinea corn; Him Guinea corn no good for gubyaam.'

"The weekly supply being issued to them on the Sunday, it becomes their own care how to husband it so as to have a sufficiency of food until the following Sabbath. Those who are industrious have little additions of their own, either from vegetables grown on the spot of ground allotted to them, or purchased with the money obtained for the pig, the goat, or other stock raised about their huts in the negro yard.

"A mess of pottage, or very hot soup, called pepper-pot, is one of their favorite dishes, and one indeed which is generally esteemed by the inhabitants, and by strangers. It is prepared by stewing various kinds of vegetables with a bit of salt meat, or salt fish, and seasoning it very high with capsicum, or some species of red pepper. The vegetable called squashs is much used in these pepper-pots. Bread, which is esteemed so essential, and held as the staff of life by the people of Europe, is unknown among the slaves of the West Indies: nor, indeed, is it in common use among their masters, but they find very excellent substitutes in the yam, the cassada, and the eddoe.

"The common round of labour of the slaves is from sun-rise to sun-set, having intervals of rest allowed them at the times of breakfast and dinner.

"The negroes are generally sad thieves; they appear to know no sense of honesty. Ignorant of all moral principle, they steal without feeling any sense of wrong, and without any apprehension, except that of being detected. The planters are obliged to employ one or two of the most trusty of them in the capacity of watchmen, to guard, by close and constant attention, the orchards, plantain walks, provision stores, and the like, from the depredations of their own and their neighbours' slaves. Although they have no remorse in stealing whensoever and wheresoever opportunity offers, still they feel peculiarly prone to robbing their masters; and this they do not even consider

consider a theft, as is too evident by an expression very common among them, viz. "Me no tief him: Me take him from Massa."

DESCRIPTION of a SLAVE SALE and of NATIVE INDIANS at BERBISCHE.

[From the Same.]

"SINCE writing to you last, I have been present at the sale of a Dutch cargo of slaves, at the new town of Amsterdam, Many of the officers went from the fort to witness this degrading spectacle; and although my feelings had suffered from a similar scene at Demarara, I could not resist the novelty of observing the Dutch mode of proceeding in this sad traffic of human cattle.

"On arriving at the town, we were surprized to find it quite a holyday, or a kind of public fair. The sale seemed to have excited general attention, and to have brought together all the inhabitants of the colony. The planters came down from the estates with their wives and families all arrayed in their gayest apparel: the belles and beaux appeared in their Sunday suits: even the children were in full dress; and their slaves decked out in holyday clothes. It was quite a gala-day, and greater numbers of people were collected than we had supposed to have been in the colony. Short jackets, with tawdry wide-flowered petticoats, and loose Dutch slippers, formed the prevailing dress of the females. Scarlet, crimson, and poppy, with all the bright colours used in a northern winter, rivalled a tropical sun, and reigned conspicuous in the flaming broad-patterned petticoat. To the inhabitants it seemed a day of feasting and hilarity, but to the poor Africans it was a period of heavy grief and affliction; for they were to be sold as beasts of burden—torn from each other—and widely dispersed about the colony, to wear out their days in the hopeless toils of slavery.

"The fair being opened, and the crowd assembled, these unpitied sable beings were exposed to the hammer of public auction. A long table was placed in the middle of a large room, or logia. At one end was seated the auctioneer: at the other was placed a chair for the negroes to stand upon, in order to be exposed to the view of the purchasers; who were sitting at the sides of the table, or standing about the different parts of the room. All being in readiness, the slaves were brought in, one at a time, and placed upon the chair before the bidders, who handled and inspected them, with as little concern as if they had been examining cattle in Smithfield market. They turned them about, felt of them, viewed their shape and their limbs, looked into their mouths, made them jump and throw out their arms, and subjected them to all the means of trial as if dealing for a horse, or any other brute-animal. Indeed the ineligacy shewn towards the poor defenceless Africans, by some of these dealers in their species, was not less unmanly and disgusting than it was insulting to humanity.

"We were shocked to observe women in the room who had come to the fair for the express purpose of purchasing slaves. Nay, even children were brought to point the lucky finger, and the boy or girl, thus chosen, was bought by papa at the request of superstitious mama, to give to young Massa or Missy!

"The price of these poor degraded blacks varied from 600 to 900 guilders, according to their age and strength, or their appearance of being healthy or otherwise.—The boys and girls were sold for 600 or 700 guilders; some of the men fetched as high as 900; and the women were knocked down at about 800.

"In the course of the sale, a tall and robust negro, on being brought into the auction-room, approached the table with a fine negress hanging upon his arm. The man was ordered to mount the chair. He obeyed, though manifestly with reluctance. His bosom heaved, and grief was in his eye. The woman remained in the crowd. A certain price was mentioned to set the purchase forward, and the bidding commenced: but on the slave being desired to exhibit the activity of his limbs, and to display his person, he sunk his chin upon his breast, and hung down his head in positive refusal; then, looking at the woman, made signs expressive of great distress. Next he pointed to her, and then to the chair, evidently intimating that he desired to have her placed by his side. She was his chosen wife, and nature was correctly intelligible. Not obtaining immediate acquiescence, he became agitated and impatient. The sale was interrupted, and as he could not be prevailed upon to move a single muscle by way of exhibiting his person, the proceedings were at a stand. He looked again at the woman; again pointed to the chair; held up two fingers to the auctioneer, and implored the multitude in anxious suppliant gestures. Upon his countenance was marked the combined expression of sorrow, affection, and alarm. He grew more and more restless, and repeated signs which seemed to say, 'Let us be sold together. Give me my heart's choice as the partner of my days, then dispose of me as you please, and I will be content to wear out my life in the heavy toils of bondage.' It was nature that spake, and her language could not be mistaken! Humanity could no longer resist the appeal, and it was universally agreed that they should make but one lot. A second chair was now brought, and the woman was placed at the side of her husband. His countenance instantly brightened. He hung upon the neck of his wife, and embraced her with rapture; then folding her in his arms, and pressing her to his bosom, he became composed; and looked round with a smile of complacency, which plainly said 'Proceed! I am yours, yours, or yours! Let this be the associate of my toils, and I am satisfied.' The bidding was renewed! They exhibited marks of health and strength, and quickly the two were sold together for 1650 guilders.

"'Enough!'—you will say. 'Give me no more of slaves, nor of slavery!' For the present I obey, and, leaving the dusky Africans, proceed to introduce you to the copper-colored Indians; thus, leading you to the opposite extreme of human life, and placing you among those of our species, who spurn alike the shackles of slavery, and the slavish

slavish trammels of society. I have lately had an opportunity of seeing several parties of the wild and naked inhabitants of these woods; men who range, at large, in the fullest freedom of nature; neither suffering their liberty to be effaced by bondage, nor abridged by civilization. Being one day at the town of New Amsterdam with the acting surgeon of the garrison, we took a walk down to the Bush, on the border of the creek or river Kannye. Nigh to the water we met with a party of Indians, and observing that they made no attempt to avoid us, we went so near to them as to mix in the group. We found them engaged in various pursuits; and remarked that none of their occupations suffered any interruption from our presence. A woman and her son, who were in the river, continued to bathe before us, and seemed greatly to enjoy the water. Some were cutting wood for firing—some collecting the Bush water with a calabash, for the purpose of drinking, or of cooking—some, with their pot of baked clay upon the fire, were stewing crabs, together with capsicum and cassada juice into pepper-pot—and some were eating the raw tops of the mountain cabbage. To the latter I held forth my hand, implying a desire to partake of their repast. They immediately gave me a part; and seemed pleased on observing me eat of it. A better salad I never tasted. It was very crisp and white, much superior to the best lettuce or endive; and, in flavour, somewhat resembling the filbert. Perceiving that they were not incommoded by our society, we remained a considerable time attentively watching their proceedings; but their curiosity was not commensurate with our own, for they scarcely looked at us, or appeared to be, in any degree, interested concerning us. With indifference they saw us approach; they regarded us with indifference whilst we remained; and with indifference they witnessed our departure.

"Two days after, I saw a much larger party of Indians, who came to the Government-house to ask for rum, as a compensation for cutting down timber: and the same evening, on walking towards the creek with some of the officers, we met with a still more numerous body of these inhabitants of the forest, who had been employed by the governor to cut down wood preparatory to clearing the land near the town for cultivation. They were busied in packing up all their little store of implements and utensils, in order to return to their native abode in the woods. Bows and arrows, apparatus for preparing cassada, the clay cooking-vessel, hammocks, calabashes, and crab-baskets constituted their whole list of stores and furniture. All these were light in structure, or made of light materials, and, being arranged in compact order, were easily carried on their backs. The women were made to bear the burden; while the men took no share of the load. One man, who had three wives, very neatly packed upon their backs, the whole of what he had to carry away; then taking up a long staff, he marched on before with lordly step, the wives following him in silent train, one after another. We walked gently behind a party of about forty as far as the creek, and there saw some of them embark in their canoes, and paddle up the river, while the others took a narrow path

leading into the depths of the forest; and presently the whole body of them were out of sight, leaving not a trace of their visit behind.

"They come down, occasionally, in parties, and enter into an engagement to cut wood for a certain compensation; but no dependance can be placed upon them for a single day, for they sometimes pack up all belonging to them, and return suddenly and unexpectedly into the woods; from whence they come not again for several months, perhaps not at all. They are naturally indolent, and, being tenacious of freedom, they become impatient of the restraint imposed by daily labour; wherefore, they hastily cast it off, and fly back to the woods to range in their native liberty, which knows no bounds, nor controul. From possessing a degree of expertness in the felling of timber, they might be highly useful in forwarding the cultivation of the colony; but they have no sense of industry, nor do they seem to acquire the least disposition to emulate the colonists in any of their pursuits: content with finding food and pepper in the woods, they have no ambition to become planters. Cotton is not necessary to protect their naked skins; nor are their appetites so refined as to require either coffee or sugar.

"At the fort we have also had a visit from an Indian family, who came to us in the true style of native accommodation, exhibiting the full equipage of the family canoe, and forming a scene of high interest and novelty. Before the canoe reached the fort, we observed the long black hair and naked skins of the man, his two wives, and several children, who were all stowed about the vessel with the strictest attention to equipoise, *trimming* it most exactly. The canoe was large, and, in addition to the family, was loaded with cedar and other kinds of wood for sale or barter. On the top of the cargo appeared a ferocious-looking animal, setting up his bristles like the quills of the porcupine. It was a species of wild hog caught in the forest, and hence called a *bush-hog*. A small monkey was likewise skipping about the canoe. At one side sat two very fine parrots, and on the other was perched a large and most beautiful mackaw, exhibiting all the rich splendour of his gay plumage. On the canoe arriving at the landing place, the bow and arrows, the clay cooking-vessel, calabashes, hammocks, and crab-baskets, were all brought into view, and we gazed on the whole, as forming a very complete and striking specimen of original equipage and accommodation. The whole family—the household apparatus—the bow and arrows—the canoe and paddles—the hammocks—in short all the furniture and implements for cooking, for sleeping, for shooting, fishing, and travelling were here moved together in one compact body, so at to render it indifferent to them, whether they should return to the home from whence they came, or take up a new abode in any other part of the forest."

Climate, Productions and Customs of Shetland.

[From Mr. Neil's Tour through the Islands of Orkney and Shetland.]

"Aug. 26. EARLY in the morning I found that we were off Noness Head in Shetland, having had a favorable breeze through the night. The general aspect of the country, as we coasted along towards Lerwick, was hilly, bleak, and steril. At 9, we anchored in Brassay Sound, opposite to Lerwick. It being Sunday, the colours were displayed from Fort Charlotte, a fortress situated to the north of the town. We had scarcely landed, when some of the inhabitants asked of me, whether we were direct from *Scotland?*—a question that rather surprised me, as seeming to imply that the Shetland islands themselves did not constitute a part of that country. In Lerwick there is only one established church, and there are no dissenters. The church appeared to be well attended, and the common people were in general very neatly dressed.

"The town of Lerwick consists of one principal street next the quay, with several lanes branching off. No regularity has been observed in former times in the position of the houses, some of which project almost quite across the street. The general appearance of the town has of late years been much improved by several handsome houses built in the modern style. The town is computed to contain about 1000 inhabitants. Fort Charlotte is a great ornament to it. Several large cannon command the harbour and protect the town. This fortress is said to have been originally erected during the protectorate of Cromwell: it was completely repaired, by order of government, in 1781, and named Fort Charlotte, after our gracious queen. At present (1804), it is garrisoned by a part of the 6th royal garrison battalion.

"Upon a little island in the midst of a fresh-water lake, about a mile west from Lerwick, are situated the remains of a Pictish fort, in a better state of preservation than most others that we saw in Shetland. It consists of a thick circular wall, inclosing an area of about thirty feet in diameter. In the wall itself, which is about twelve feet thick, are several oblong recesses or little chambers, ten or twelve feet in length, by three in width. No kind of cement or mortar appears to have been employed in these rude structures. All around the banks of this lake I found abundance of a dwarfish variety of Jasione montana (hairy sheep's scabious), both with blue and with white flowers. This is by no means a plant generally found in Scotland; but here it grows abundantly on all the dry turfs which form around half-sunk stones, or which project on grassy banks. Upon this little lake, one of the officers from Fort Charlotte, about this time, shot a truly northern bird, the red-throated diver (colymbus septentrionalis), which was politely presented to me. The Shetlanders name it the *rain-goose*, its shrill and harsh call, as it flies along, being thought to prognosticate rain. The *black*-throated diver is generally seen in company with the *red*, and is perhaps the female. They breed in Shetland.

"Near

"Near Fort Charlotte there is a quarry of very hard sandstone breccia, in which vast numbers of large water-worn nodules of red granite, some of them (as remarked by the quarriers) most exactly resembling the common round Dutch cheeses, are compactly imbedded. About half a mile south from Lerwick, below a projecting eminence called the Knab*, at the entrance of Brassay Sound, several thick strata of sandstone have been exposed to view by the action of the sea. Imbedded in the upper strata of this sandstone, I observed a few scattered nodules of the same kind of granite. The lower strata are whiter, and are freestone, (i. e. may be hewn in any direction,) and are therefore quarried for the new buildings in Lerwick. On the grassy banks of the Knab, Scilla verna (vernal squill) grows in profusion. At this time I gathered some of the ripe seeds, which have since vegetated in one of the stoves of the Botanic Garden at Edinburgh. I also brought home some of the bulbs, which have grown freely. (April, 1805.) The vernal squill is considered as rather a rare plant in Scotland.

"The hills around Lerwick have a gloomy look, being but thinly clad with stunted heath, and many naked rocks appearing. The soil is a wet peat-turf, unfavourable to the vegetation of the better kinds of grasses, and yielding only a few of the coarser sorts, (such as nardus stricta and festuca vivipara) mixed with carices and dwarfish rushes. There are two chalybeate springs in the neighbourhood of the town; one somewhat stronger than the other, but neither highly impregnated.

"At Lerwick there is a straw-plaiting manufactory, but not on so extensive a scale as that at Kirkwall. When we visited it, more than fifty girls were at work, in two rooms, which however were rather crowded. They receive 1d. per yard, and can make, as we are told by the manager, from 12 to 16 or even 20 yards a day. This manufactory is carried on by a London company. Before its introduction, there was no kind of manufacture in Lerwick, in which young women could advantageously exert their industry; the knitting of stockings being only a waste of time.

"Mackerel were at this time very common at Lerwick, and were sold very cheap. Eggs were brought aboard to us in Lerwick Roads, at 2d. a dozen; but they were very small, even the poultry partaking of the diminutive size of all the domestic animals of Shetland.

At Lerwick, and indeed throughout Shetland, Dutch and Danish coins are more common than British. A stuer, or stiver, (a small piece of base metal silvered over,) passes in circulation for one penny; the Danish 6-skilling passes for 5d. &c.

"Aug. 27.—We visited Brassay island, which lies immediately over against Lerwick. All along the western shore of this island, seabeet (beta maritima) grows naturally in great plenty; together with Danish scurvy-grass (cochlearia Danica.) Intermixed with these we observed many strong

* From Fort Charlotte to this point, called the Knab, Government has caused a road to be made, by means of which cannon could be brought hither in the course of a few minutes; and here they would effectually command the southern entrance of Brassay Sound, at least against an enemy's cruiser or privateer.

stems of wheat and of white oats, which had sprung from seeds accidentally cast ashore. In a gentleman's garden here too, we observed that several shewy annuals had reached perfection in the open border, particularly convolvulus tricolor (coloured bindweed) and crepis rubra (red hawkweed). Jasione montana and scilla verna are very common natives of this island. Near the church of Brassay are situated the quarries which supply the town of Lerwick with slates. These quarries consist of beds of laminar micaceous schistus. Such slates may make a very secure roof; but it must also of necessity be a ponderous one. Great quantities of black compact peats are dug from the mosses of Brassay, and sold to the inhabitants of Lerwick.

"This island forms the eastern protection of Brassay Sound, the safe and commodious harbour or roadstead of Lerwick, where, it is believed, the whole British navy might ride in safety. Brassay Sound is the resort, in time of peace, of several hundred Dutch busses, which annually rendezvous here at the beginning of June, preparatory to the herring-fishery.

"On the 28th of August we left Brassay Sound, in a large open boat, for Unst, the most northernly of the Shetland islands. In passing out by the north entrance of the sound, the site of the Unicorn rock was pointed out to us; but it was at this time covered by the sea. When Bothwell was driven to extremities, he, as is well known, commenced pirate. Kirkaldy of Grange was sent in pursuit of him, in a vessel called the Unicorn. While Kirkaldy entered Brassay Sound by the south, Bothwell narrowly escaped by sailing out at the north entrance. Bothwell's pilots, it is said, had the cunning to sail very close by a sunk rock, with which they were familiar; thus leading their pursuers, who, in the hurry of the chase, would naturally follow their track, to a hazard which actually proved fatal to them, and which ensured the escape of the unhappy fugitive. Since that day, this rock has received the name of the Unicorn. This tradition is uniform and general, and may, I believe, be depended on.

"While we scudded along with a favourable breeze, our boat's crew amused themselves with catching mackerel, which swim faster than any other small fish, and may therefore be caught while a vessel is running at the rate of seven or eight knots (or miles) an hour*. A pretty heavy weight is in such circumstances required to sink the lines to a proper depth. The bait at first employed on this occasion, was

* In fact mackerel are caught with most success in a breeze of wind: they always swim fast; and being rather a shy fish, the rapid motion of the bait is probably useful in deceiving them, and enticing them to hazard a bite: besides, the mackerel is proverbially fond of a gale: the fishermen in the north of Scotland have a foolish rhapsody which begins thus:

'The herring loves the merry moon-light,
And the mackerel likes the wind.'

A moderately stiff breeze is therefore sometimes termed a mackerel-gale. Dr. Johnson, *in verbo*, supposes that a mackerel-gale means a 'strong breeze, such as is desired to bring mackerel fresh to market:' but this, it is evident, cannot be the origin of the phrase, which is perfectly understood, where no such motive can possibly come into consideration.

was a bit of red woollen cloth! after which the heart of the mackerel itself was preferred.

"In the middle of the day we landed at Gossaburgh, in the island of Yell, and had some of our new-caught mackerel prepared for dinner. The fields here were so small in dimensions, that they appeared to us like little garden patches. Instead of a plough, a coarse kind of awkward spade is employed. As the men dig the fields with this spade; the women and children, we are told, drag the harrows!—As in Orkney, so in Shetland, only the grey and black oat is cultivated; and it is here mixed with a good deal of the wild oat with hygrometric awns, (avena fatua.) The white oat of the south is scarcely known. Bear, or bigg, is also raised here in considerable quantity. We saw some promising lazy-bed potatoes; rather, however, too closely planted. During our short stay at this spot, I made a hurried visit to a heathy eminence in the neighbourhood. The ground was very wet and boggy, which, I believe, is the case with a great proportion of the pasture-ground of Yell. Most of the little pools shewed a scum of the oxide of iron; and bog-iron ore, of different degrees of consistence, is here a common production. Narthecium ossifragum (bastard asphodel); Pinguicula vulgaris (butterwort or sheep-rot); and Pedicularis palustris (marsh lousewort), were indeed too common. Melica cœrulea (purple melic); Nardus stricta (heath matweed); and Festuca vivipara (viviparous sheep's-fescue), were the principal grasses; together with carices recurva, distans, panicea, &c. and some junci or rushes. To a mixture of all these, when heath is absent, the natives give the name of lubba. The water-worn stones on the shore were chiefly of micaceous schistus, sometimes with the remains of small garnets; with asbestus, serpentine, &c.

"We reached Uyea Sound, in the island of Unst, early in the evening. Most of the rocks in this district of Unst are of the magnesian kind. The serpentine is finely variegated; and its fresh fracture possesses such lustre, that the inhabitants call it jasper. The exterior of the rocks, however, is of a dull rusty hue, being altered or partly decomposed by the action of the weather. Pieces of pure white steatite are frequently found on the shore: these, I believe, the people call clemmil, and employ for drawing white lines on cloth or wood. Chlorite, imbedded in large masses of quartz, is also very common on the shore. A little way east from Uyea, great rocks of micaceous schistus appear, which are sometimes quarried for building, especially for lintel stones. Here a rude pillar of this schistus, rising about twelve feet from the ground, has, in former days, been erected, probably as a land-mark to vessels entering the harbour or road-stead of Uyea. In this remote and dreary country, we were somewhat surprised to find several handsome modern houses, with small gardens, gravel-walks, &c. in a neat style. The principal of these is Belmont, the seat of Mr. Mowat, of Garth.

"The remote situation of the Shetland Islands, and the little intercourse they have, especially during winter, with the mother country, frequently render the inhabitants strangers for many weeks to the greatest national occurrences. It has often been alleged, that the Revolution in 1688 was not known in Shetland for six months after it happened,

happened. Thus Brand (Description of Zetland, 1701) says: 'The late Revolution, when his highness the prince of Orange, our present king, was pleased to come over to assert our liberties, and deliver us from our fears, falling out in the winter, it was May thereafter before they heard any thing of it in Zetland; and that first, they say, from a fisherman, whom some would have had arraigned before them, and impeached of high treason because of his news.' And to the same purpose Martin (Appendix to History of the Isles, 1703), copying and improving upon Brand, says: 'The Shetlanders had no account of the prince of Orange's late landing in England, coronation, &c. until a fisherman happened to land in these isles in May following; and he was not believed, but indicted for high treason for spreading such news.' But from an old letter in possession of Mr. Mowat, of Garth, it is proved, that this common report is without foundation, or at least is greatly exaggerated: for it hence appears, that before the 15th of December, 1688, the report of the prince of Orange's landing in England had accidentally reached Unst, the most northerly of the islands, though the fact of a Revolution having been effected, was not, probably, ascertained for some considerable time after. Having, with Mr. Mowat's permission, copied part of this letter, I shall give the exact words: '15th December, 1688.—I can give no account of news, save only that the skipper of the wreckt ship confirms the former report of the prince of Orange his landing in England with an considerable number of men, bot upon what pretence I cannot condishend.' (Signed) 'And. Mowat.' (Addressed) 'To the much honoured George Cheyne off Eslamonth.'—The prince landed at Torbay on the 5th of November, 1688.

"In the kitchen-gardens here, an uncommon kind of artichoke is cultivated. It has numerous but very small heads, scarcely larger than those of the common spear-thistle. The inhabitants think it more hardy than the large-headed kind, and also superior in flavour.

"In the neighbourhood of Belmont, I had an opportunity of viewing a Shetland water-mill. It was truly an awkward piece of machinery. The wheel (a very trifling one) was placed horizontally instead of vertically; consequently it could do but little work. The mill-stone was of micaceous schistus.

"The gables of the cottages here, were at this season hung round with hundreds of small coal-fish, called pitocks, strung upon spits, and exposed to dry, without salt. The fishes dried in this manner are called scrae-fish.

"Never was I more surprised or shocked than to learn that there was no school in the whole island of Unst! The instruction of hundreds of children is thus in a great measure neglected; many of the parents being utterly incapable of communicating even the knowledge of alphabetic letters to their offspring. That an island of above twenty miles in circumference, and containing above 2000 inhabitants, should be destitute of a parochial school, is to me an inexplicable circumstance.

"Upon careful enquiry we learned that the Norwegian language is now finally extinct in Unst, where it subsisted longer than in any of the other islands: for we were repeatedly assured, that no

farther back than thirty years ago, there were 'several old people that spoke the Norns,' i. e. the Norse, or Norwegian tongue.

"Eagles, or erns (falco abicilla, and falco ossifragus), reside on the hills and bold precipices of Unst. The taminorie or puffin, and lyre or shear-water, breed here. The calloo (anas glacialis), named from its evening call, which resembles the sound calloo, calloo, arrives from the arctic regions in autumn, and spends the winter here. Great flocks of wild swans come at the same time; but these generally migrate farther south.

"It is curious that the common house-mouse has not yet found access to the island of Unst. The bat is quite unknown. The untravelled natives of Uyea had never seen either frogs or toads, and indeed had no idea of the appearance or nature of those animals.

"After spending some days in this extreme northern island of the British dominions, we again sailed to the southward. In the evening, after much tossing with a contrary wind, we landed in Yell, at a fine arm of the sea called Brough Voe. We viewed the Pecht's Brough, or little circular fort, which has given name to the place. It is nearly of the same dimensions and construction with the many other broughs or pechts-forts in Shetland, (one of which has already been described, p.153). These broughs seem to have been calculated to communicate by signals with each other; the site of one being uniformly seen from that of some other. A gentleman of our party here procured a kind of rude stone bason, which was, some years ago, found among the rubbish in the Pechts-fort. It is shaped like a large soup-dish, or tureen, having two hollows for handles. Perhaps it is an old stone quern or vessel, in which grain used to be ground with a pestle*.

"Early next morning (Sep 1.) we again set sail, and wafted by a fair breeze, before mid-day reached Lerwick roads, where we now found his majesty's frigate La Chiffonne lying at anchor.

"4th September, 1804.—We walked across Brassay Island, and paid a visit to Noss, to view the far-famed cradle of Noss. This island is situated to the east of Brassay, from which it is separated by a narrow channel. The tide was here running with considerable violence and velocity; yet the only ferry-boat we could procure was a miserable skiff, which could not without difficulty convey two passengers at a time. The two boatmen afforded us a remarkable instance of stupid apathy, which we were apt to ascribe to that state of oppressive degradation so feelingly described by Pennant, Knox, and others. We observed that one of the boat-men was not tugging at his oar half so busily as the other, and consequently that the boat was turning to the one side: upon remonstrating with the sluggish ferryman, he, instead of quickening his motions, made a full pause, and hung on his oar gaping with surprize: the other meanwhile continued tugging away as hard as ever; nor did he

* The same gentleman was presented, while in Shetland, with a kind of stone knife, or cutting instrument, which was found in clearing away part of a Pecht's-house. This knife is formed of a thin piece of spotted greenish steatite, of considerable induration. Both it and the stone bason have been deposited in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

observe

observe what he was doing till he was alarmed by the boat wheeling about, and almost completing a circle; and all this in the midst of a boiling current, and about equally distant from either shore.

"The island of Noss is wholly the property of Mr. Mowat, of Garth. It forms one large farm. Mr. Copland, the tenant, kindly offered to accompany us to Noss Head, where we might have a near view of the holm, or islet, to which access is had by the celebrated cradle. This holm is situated on the south-east side of Noss, and is immediately exposed to the ocean. Although its sides are every where perfectly precipitous, its surface forms a pretty extensive flat, which is thickly covered with grass. Mr. Pennant has, in his 'Introduction to the Arctic Zoology,' given a representation of this holm; but it is by no means an accurate one. He has even gone so far wrong as to mention Orkney as the site of the Noss holm, instead of Shetland. In the description too, several things are mistaken or exaggerated. The height of the precipitous rock is great, probably from 160 to 200 feet; but certainly Mr. Pennant more than doubles it, when he states it as 480 feet. The chasm over which the cradle is run, is indeed, to use Mr. Pennant's words, 'of matchless horror;' the swelling billows of the ocean frequently sweeping round the holm on both sides, and meeting each other with the most tumultuous collision. The width of the chasm is more than a hundred feet. The cradle is a kind of oblong box, strong, and of very coarse workmanship, having two round holes at each end, through which the cable is passed, by which the box is suspended. Mr. Pennant is mistaken in thinking that the cradle serves only to enable the natives to get at the eggs or young of the gulls; had this been all the object, that machine (considered as a very expensive one in Shetland) would never have been erected. The fact is, that they annually transport thither in June, by means of the cradle, a certain number of sheep, which they take out in November in excellent condition. This kind of cradle has here been employed beyond the memory of man. It is accurately described in Brand's Account of Zetland, Edin. 1701, and in the Appendix to Martin's 'Description of the Islands,' &c. Lond. 1703. It is mounted and dismounted twice a year, in order to save the rope or cable from the action of the weather. I had no opportunity at this season, therefore, of seeing it used.

"We now ascended the peak of Noss, a lofty eminence in the neighbourhood of the holm. Upon charts this peak is named Hangcliff; a name unknown to the natives, and which, it is believed, was first imposed by sir Joseph Banks, when on his voyage to Iceland. It is, perhaps, more than twice the height of Noss holm, and yet from the sea to the summit, the rock is perfectly mural. At some points, however, even the timid may advance without difficulty, so as to see the white foam of the waves below, which here seemed diminutive and noiseless, but which we knew to be far otherwise. The scarfs or corvorants, which sat on the ledges of the rock near the sea, appeared to us no larger than blackbirds. The many successive sandstone strata composing the cliff, are here most excellently seen.

"Noss

"Noss island is chiefly pasture, and in general good pasture. Here we were presented with the best milk and butter we had seen in Shetland. Mr. Copland complained that a prejudice existed against Shetland butter, which prevented him from exporting it to Leith, and other ports of the south. This prejudice arises from table-butter being confounded with grease-butter, which however are two entirely distinct articles of Shetland produce. The prejudice is quite unfounded; for the table-butter of Noss Island would stand a comparison with any butter made in the Lothians. The milch-cows, however, are here rather of a diminutive size, and yield but a small quantity of milk. Even in July and August, when the pasture is best, they give only about 2 or 2½ pints a day; while a good milch cow in the southern counties of Scotland will give from 12 to 14 pints a day. The tenant of Noss pays 50*l.* of rent for the whole island, and is allowed to exert himself in the fishing of tusk and ling for his own behoof. This is a great improvement: tenants throughout Shetland being generally taken, bound to deliver their fish to the landlord at a stipulated rate, below the market-value, and being absolutely prohibited from themselves carrying them to the best market. Even the tenant of Noss, however, has not been able to procure a lease of that duration that would encourage him to make permanent improvements. Two or three years bound the lease.

"5th September, 1804.—We this day paid a visit to Scalloway, formerly the capital of Shetland, the seat of justice, and the occasional residence of the earls of Orkney and Zetland. In going thither we resolved, in order to see the country, to pass directly across the hills, westward from Lerwick, instead of proceeding by the usual track through Tingwall. The hills here are excessively wet and swampy, and to travel but a few miles over them becomes very fatiguing. We had frequently to fetch circuits around stagnant pools or deceitful marshes. We passed a large lake among the hills, where we found soldiers from Fort Charlotte fishing for trout: the kind of trout caught here seems to be the sea-trout (salmo trutta): they are often got of a large size: they have probably forced their way up the outlet of the lake when swoln during some very rainy season, and have been afterwards unable to make good their regress to the sea. At present, there is no apparent communication of the lake with the sea.

"After wandering for several hours over the most bleak and barren hills, which presented no botanical rarity, but yielded only a few of the coarser plants that are commonly found on moist moors, we at length caught a distant glance of the castle of Scalloway, at the bottom of a fine valley below us. The castle stands on the brink of an arm of the sea, which being protected from the rage of the ocean by a number of little islands, Burra, Tondra, Oxna, Papa, and several holms, forms a safe natural harbour. The town of Scalloway consists only of a few scattered houses in the neighbourhood of the castle. Only one of these is genteel or in the modern style: this is the house of Mr. Scott of Scalloway. Around it is a neat garden, in which we observed several small fruit and timber trees, and different shrubs

shrubs, all of which are rare things in this part of the world. The castle of Scalloway (to borrow the words of Mr. Giffard of Busta) 'has been a very handsome tower-house, with fine vaulted cellars and kitchen, with a well in it; a beautiful spacious entry, with a turret upon each corner, and large windows.' It was built above two centuries ago. The erection of such a building in so poor a country, must have been attended with the most oppressive exactions of services and contributions. The memory of the founder, earl Patrick Stewart, is, for this reason, still held in detestation by the natives. The whole edifice has been long unroofed, and is now in a state of irremediable decay. The stair seems to have been taken away by the inhabitants of Scalloway when in want of stones for building. Had not the building been originally very strong, it could not so long have withstood the vicissitudes of a Shetland climate. Over the main door is an inscription, the first part of which is still perfectly legible, and savours not a little of the egotism and vanity of the founder, viz. 'Patricius, Orcadum et Zetlandiæ comes.' The lower part of the inscription is nearly obliterated by the action of the weather; but may thus be decyphered: 'Cujus fundamen saxum, domus illa manebit: labilis, e contrà, si arena, perit.' During the time of the Commonwealth it was occupied as barracks by a party of Cromwell's soldiers, to whom, it is said, the inhabitants were indebted for several improvements, particularly the culture of cabbages.

"There is no inn or public house at Scalloway. We easily, however, procured eggs and milk, but could get no bread of any kind: indeed, throughout Shetland, at this time, bread was only to be seen in the houses of the more wealthy. Potatoes, however, of good quality, were presented as a substitute; and we understood that, in the district of Scalloway, they have generally an excellent and an abundant crop of this excellent root.

"From Scalloway we proceeded up a fine dry valley to Tingwall. It seemed to be the best land, and was loaded with the richest crops we had seen in Shetland; and the corns were now ready for cutting. The whole valley has a bottom of rich primitive limestone, of a pale blue colour; none of which, as far as we could learn, has ever been wrought, though peat-fuel is here abundant. At one place we observed that a ditch having been dug, had exposed a bed of good marl: this too, however, was utterly neglected. In the pastures in this pleasant district, there is a good deal of natural clover, both red and white (trifolium medium and trifolium repens); but these pastures are infested to an uncommon degree, with the plant called sneeze-wort, (achillea ptarmica); indeed I do not recollect ever to have seen elsewhere such quantities of that plant growing in one place. Much, it may easily be believed, might be done to increase the fertility and value of the vale of Scalloway. Instead of granting leases for a certain number of years, one of the principal proprietors chooses rather to stipulate for one half of all that is produced on the ground, without taking any part whatever in the expence or management of seed or labour:—a worse plan, either for landlord or tenant, could scarce perhaps be devised. The new church of Tingwall is situated near the head or north end of a lake

in this valley, and from some points of view, forms the termination of a very beautiful prospect. The name Tingwall, it is believed, signifies in Norwegian, 'the place of the court;' and on inquiry, we were told, that on a small green island in a fresh water lake near the church, there is a mound surrounded by large stones, on which, as tradition reports, justice was formerly administered, and which still retains among the natives the name of the law-ting. A range of stepping-stones leading through the most shallow part of the lake to this green holm, remains to this day: and these stones are of such size as to evince more than ordinary exertion and expence in placing them there.

"In returning to Lerwick, we travelled along the whole stretch of the only properly-made road in Shetland, the joint work of Mr. Ross, of Sound, and of the late Mr. Scott, of Scott's-hall. This road passes over a mossy hill between 200 and 300 feet above the level of the sea. Even on the highest part of the hill, we observed that the covering of the peat-moss is ten or twelve feet thick, the road being cut through it. The peat-moss is of a kind that is very spongy, and very retentive of water: for wherever it has fallen down upon the road, it has formed a miry sludge.

"In ascending this hill, we had a prospect of the eastern boundary of Tingwall valley. It terminates in an arm of the sea called Laxforth Voe. The gentleman whom the writer of this account had the pleasure to accompany at this time, happening to understand a good deal of the Norwegian language, inquired if salmon were ever caught there, as *lax*, in that language, signifies salmon; and he was informed that they were more frequently found there than any where else in Shetland. Laxforth, or Lax-feort, is therefore a significant name, and means the Bay of Salmon.

"After the 6th of September, it was too late in the year to attempt to visit other parts of Shetland which we at first had in view. At this season, sudden and violent gales are here to be expected, which render travelling between the islands both disagreeable and dangerous, if not impracticable. In returning to Orkney we met with a pretty hard gale, which produced a most tumultuous sea. We passed at no great distance the lofty and precipitous Fair Isle, on which, it is generally believed, the duke de Medina Sidonia, in the flag-ship of the Invincible Armada, was wrecked in 1588, in attempting to return to Spain by sailing north round the Orkneys. Many marine birds still kept the sea, tempestuous as it was; particularly razor-bills, shearwaters, and if we mistake not, skua-gulls, large brown birds*. We were detained two days in the Orkneys, by a dreadful gale from the S. W.: although after this, the

* The Skua (Larus cataractes), though scarcely known in the south of Britain, is doubtless a distinct species. Its bill is considerably hooked at the point, and the upper mandible is partly covered with a cere in the manner of the eagle. The plumage is almost wholly brown. It has very strong hooked talons like the eagle, and it is a very bold bird. It grows to a large size, being inferior only to the Larus marinus, or great black-backed gull. Its principal breeding-place is the island of Foulah; but it breeds also in the Fair Isle, and in one or two other places. The Shetlanders call it the Bonxie.

wind

wind had entirely ceased, we found that we had to encounter what the sailors termed a 'heavy head-sea,' which had been 'set down' by the preceding gale, and which produced a tumbling motion of the vessel, very apt to occasion nausea. A favourable breeze, however, soon sprung up, and carried us forward in what seamen term 'great style;' so that on the evening of the second day after leaving Orkney, we passed the May light, at the mouth of the Frith of Forth, and got sight of the new light-house on Inch Keith, which had been recently finished, and appeared at this time exceedingly brilliant.

"A few general remarks on Shetland, and especially on the condition of the people, shall next be given; and with these we shall conclude.

"GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON SHETLAND.

"Tea.—The families of the Shetland cottars or little farmers, however poor, are very partial to tea. Happening to enter on a Sunday evening a miserable boothie, or cottage, about two miles from Lerwick, I was surprized to observe an earthenware tea-pot, of small dimensions, simmering on a peat-fire; while in this very cottage, they told me they had not tasted any kind of bread for two months! Considering the indigestible and poor quality of their common food, (dried fish, often semi-putrescent, and coarse red cabbage), it is to be regretted that they are not encouraged to spend their scanty pittance of money on some more substantial and nutritive delicacy.

"Piltocks.—These are the coal-fish (gadus carbonarius) in the second year of its growth. In size they seldom exceed a herring. They are caught in myriads. In coasting along the different islands, we frequently observed an old man, and perhaps one or two boys, seated on a projecting rock, holding in each hand a wand or fishing-rod, and catching piltocks as fast as they could bait their hooks. The bait is limpets parboiled. The fisher keeps a few in his mouth, and baits his hook with one hand, assisted by his lips, by a single motion, with the greatest ease and rapidity. Now and then he squirts out a quantity of the oily matter of the chewed limpets upon the surface of the water, this being thought to be very attractive to the young coal-fish.

"In the course of the past year, when scarcity prevailed in Shetland to a most distressful degree, till partly relieved by the bounty of Government, these piltocks or coal-fish formed the principal food of the poorer inhabitants. Even in September, 1804, when, in some of the meanest cottages, I inquired what they generally had for breakfast, they answered, 'Piltocks.' What for dinner? 'Piltocks and cabbage.' What for supper? 'Piltocks.' Some of them declared they had not tasted oat-meal or bread for five months.

"Shell fish.—On the flat shores of the islands, a variety of edible shell-fish is found. Oysters are common in Basta Voe, Yell: and besides cockles, mussels, and rasor-fish or spouts, they have abundance of what are called culleocks and smurlins. The culleock is the Tellina rhomboides; and the same name seems to be sometimes applied also to the Venus Erycina, and Mactra solida. The smurlin or smuthlin is the Mya truncata, remarkable for a shrivelled leathery process at one end. Both these

shell-fish are highly relished by the Shetlanders.

"Game.—Moor-fowl or grous, which are common in Orkney, are not known in Shetland. The heath here is probably too stunted to afford them that shelter which they require.

"Trees—There are none in Shetland*. Trunks and branches, however, are found in the peat-mosses; and the remarks formerly made, p. 57. (and those in Appendix, note E.), on the practicability of raising wood in Orkney, are equally applicable to Shetland.

"Light-houses.—There are none in Shetland, although they are greatly wanted. One light-house upon the low rocks called the Skerries of Whalsey, would render secure nearly the whole east coast: while another on Papa Stour, would be equally useful on the west coast. Seafaring people, perfectly experienced in the navigation of the Shetland seas, pointed out these places as the most eligible. Were these lights erected, many shipwrecks would doubtless be prevented; and vessels would be enabled to approach the islands for shelter, in the darkest night, without dread. It should also be considered, that they would prove of the greatest advantage to the King's vessels, some of which are almost constantly cruising between the Naze of Norway and Shetland.

"Packet.—The irregularity of the communication with the south is exceedingly unfavourable to commerce. The Post-office makes a bargain with some trading sloops to convey the Shetland mail; but the sum given, it would seem, is not sufficient to induce them to observe regularity in the time of sailing. Sometimes the letters for two or three months arrive at one and the same moment: this actually happened when we were at Lerwick. As a proof that the business of the Post-office is considered merely as a secondary object by the proprietors of these trading sloops, it may be mentioned, that one of them sailed from Aberdeen without carrying the bag at all, the conveyance of which ought, by bargain, to have been her principal errand. Post-office packets ought therefore to be established by a new and more efficient contract, either from Aberdeen or from Leith (which last would perhaps be preferable) direct for Lerwick in Shetland, and to sail every fortnight. It is not improbable that merchants in Leith and Lerwick would soon find it a pretty lucrative contract.

"Commission of the peace—There are no justices of the peace in Shetland, although, as we were told, a commission lies ready for the gentlemen of that country; each having only to take the oaths, which may be done at Kirkwall in Orkney, and to pay a small sum (it is believed about 7s. 6d.) of clerk's fees. There is not a magistrate of any kind in Shetland except the sheriff-substitute. Were the principal Shetland proprietors to qualify as justices of the peace, the business of the Sheriff-court would be

* Shetlanders who have never been from home have no idea of trees. Lately, a native, who had hitherto spent his days in his own island, having occasion to visit Edinburgh, when the trees were first pointed out to him on the coast of Fife, said they were very pretty; 'but,' added he, with great simplicity, 'what kind of grass is that on the top of them?'—meaning the leaves; for the term grass or girse is, in Shetland, applied to all herbs having green leaves.

considerably

considerably lightened, as very few of the Shetland debts exceed 5*l.* sterling, to which amount a decree of the justice of Peace Court is competent. It may be added, that if a few of the resident landlords were invested with the powers of Justices, incipient culprits might sometimes be checked and reformed, who, at present, in many places of these scattered islands, must be hardened in guilt by the prospect of impunity.

"Freehold.—None of the freeholders of Shetland (if we may so call them) having ever qualified, they have never yet exercised their franchise of voting for a member of parliament; which seems to be an unaccountable circumstance.

"State of the common people.—At first view, it seems to a stranger, that the common people are here involved in a state of more complete vassalage than is perhaps known in any other part of the empire. 'In these distant islands (says Mr. Pennant), the hand of oppression reigns uncontrolled: the poor vassals (in defiance of laws still kept in bondage) are compelled to slave and hazard their lives in the capture, to deliver their fish to their lords, for a trifling sum, who sell them to adventurers from different parts at a high price.' In confirmation of this remark of Mr. Pennant, it has been stated, that after deducting the expence of salting and drying the fish, the landlords of Shetland at this day export them at a profit (including the bounty from Government) of about 400 per cent.!

"'They must fish for their masters,' says the intelligent Mr. Menzies, minister of Lerwick;—'they must fish for their masters, who either give them a fee entirely inadequate to their labour, and their dangers, or take their fish at a lower price than others would give. It is true that, in years of scarcity, they must depend on their landlords for the means of subsistence, and are often deep in their debt. But why not,' (he adds with energy), why not allow them to make the best of their situation? Why not let them have leases upon reasonable terms, and dispose of their produce to those that will give them the best price? Why not let them fish for themselves? Why should the laird have any claim except for the stipulated rent?'

"Before making any remarks on this apparently deplorable state of dependence of the poor Shetlanders, it is proper to premise, that the evil is not solely to be ascribed to some peculiarly rigorous or tyrannical spirit in the Shetland landlords; but arises, in some measure, out of the nature of things: depending partly on the natural poverty of the country, and partly on a variety of unfavourable circumstances in its civil regulation, of Danish origin.

"Further, it must be considered, that in Shetland, some of the most salutary laws of Britain, are unknown, or do not operate, so detached and over-looked are these islands.

"The tenantry look up to the Shetland landlord from a state, generally, of hopeless poverty and abject dependence; for if they are not tenants at will, they seldom hold leases of more than two or three years; and they are often drowned in debt to their lairds.

"It is the landlord's interest that his tenants should be fed and should multiply; he takes care accordingly, that, even in times of scarcity, none shall perish for want, and he encourages marriage.

in some other points, the Shetland landlord's interest has been thought to run almost directly counter to that of the tenant; and here his overwhelming influence must secure him success. For example, it has been thought to be against his interest, that his tenants should attain in any degree that envied state of independence which is the grand motive of every description of tenants in the south of Scotland, and which animates the exertions even of a moss-laird, in Stirlingshire. Although, therefore, it is by no means an avowed principle, it has been alleged to be a practical one, with the Shetland land-holders, to keep their tenants as poor and as dependent as possible. 'They must fish for their masters.' Every tenant, or at least every cottar-tenant, is expected to fish during summer: and as a striking proof of the subjection in which the Shetland cottars are held, I may mention as an undoubted fact, that for every lad who goes to the Greenland whale-fishery for the summer, the cottar-family to which he belongs must pay to the landlord one guinea of fine. This is an exaction which the landlords who practise it, may well wish to slur over: but if the fine be not levied avowedly on that ground, we have been credibly informed that a guinea is always added to that year's rent, and that the reason of the addition is perfectly understood by both parties.

"It must ever be kept in view, that the value of Shetland estates depends not so much upon the money-rents paid to the landlord (which in many cases have not been nominally raised for a century past), as upon the fishings which their tenants are obliged to carry on for them, which more than double the land-rents. The rents of this country (says the author of the Statistical Report of Dunrossness) are principally paid out of the sea. The tenants have from their landlords, 3d. for a ling, 1d. for a cod, or for a tusk, &c. (this was in 1792) and these, when salted and dried, will, in the Hamburgh market, yield four or five times as much, besides debentures from Government. Add to this, double or triple the prime cost for goods brought back, and sold to the people, viz. linen, tobacco, spirits, hooks, lines, &c. If this statement be correct, (and there is little reason to doubt but it is,) it is evident that the profits of the Shetland landlords upon their fishings and fishers, after deducting a large per centage for expences, must be very great indeed.

"It may be thought that there is no harm in the landlord supplying his tenants with clothes, linens, and such things, and that it is even a favour to them to do so. Frequently it is a favour: but sometimes it is far otherwise. It sometimes proves the gulf in which the poor tenant is overwhelmed in misery. For the landlord gives to his tenant unlimited credit for such articles: the tenant, again, as may naturally be expected, indulges with less scruple the taste of his family for clothing and finery: meanwhile, the account imperceptibly swells; and frequently the day of reckoning, alone, opens his eyes to the state of irretrievable ruin and dependence, in which he has thus blindly involved himself.

"It may be proper to remark, that where the landlords themselves are resident, and become contractors with their tenants, the exhausted cottar or fisher generally obtains mercy: but where the landlords let in lease their fisheries,

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as is often done, to tacksmen, who are interested to make all they can of the cottars or under-tenants, pitiful is said to be the state of the poor fisher and his family!

"We were told of two recent innovations, which, if really put in practice, savour strongly of deceit and oppression.

"1. The butter-debt, as it is called, is paid in quantities, called, lispounds. Formerly, a lispound consisted only of about twelve, or, at most, sixteen pounds Dutch. By artifice it is said now to be raised to about two-and-thirty pounds Dutch; and still the tenants must pay the same number of lispounds! And a certain portion of butter, wool, or other articles, it will be observed, is not only generally paid as rent, but every where as teind, and as superior's duty.

"2. Teind has always been exigible on the produce of the haaf fishing, viz. ling, cod, and tusk. This haaf fishing (as the word *haaf*, or distant sea, implies) is carried on at the distance of from 25 to 50 miles from land. Besides this fishery, which can only be practised during summer, the Shetland cottar or farmer has always been accustomed to apply himself, during winter, to the shore-fishery, where sillocks (the fry of the coal-fish), and piltocks, (coal-fish a year old), with thornbacks, plaice, &c. are caught. From the coal-fish fry, oil is procured to supply the cottage-lamp in that dreary season; the others are often the principal food of the inhabitants. Where a cottar has become superannuated and unfit for the distant ling-fishery, this shore-fishing is likewise his summer employment, and he then chiefly catches haddocks, and hoes, or piked dog-fish. Will it be believed, that of late years, the lessees of the teinds have endeavoured to extend their claims to this shore-fishery? a burden which it cannot bear, and from which, we were informed, inveterate and immemorial practice ought most forcibly to keep it free. The pretence, we understand, is, that ling are sometimes caught in the shore-fishery: but although it cannot fail to happen, in these northern seas, that while the grey-headed Shetlander is paddling along the shore in his skiff, to collect a dish of podleys and flounders, his bait will occasionally attract the eye of a young ling or tusk, it is certain that all the ling, cod, or tusk, thus caught in a year would not amount in value even to the sum itself claimed for teind-duty!

"It is evident that in Shetland matters are thus in a bad train: but it were no easy thing to point out a general and suitable remedy. In most cases the tenants are so poor, that, were the landlord, at once, to withdraw his aid, and leave them to manage as they best could, many of them would probably perish for want. For the landlord has, in most places, not only to provide boats for the fishery, but lines, hooks, &c. and gin or whisky, without a small stock of which, the fishers could scarce venture 30 or 40 miles to the main sea in an open boat. He furnishes the fishers also, as already remarked, with clothing; and he sees to the aliment of their families in their absence. In a bad season, when the crops fail, the fisherman and his family depend on their laird for subsistence; and in this way, also, a debt is often incurred, from which the gains of several successive years of prosperity may not perhaps be able to relieve him. It deserves therefore to be considered, that if the fishers were to be entire-

ly emancipated from their present state, it would be but just that the nation should re-imburse the landlords the sums thus, *bona fide*, expended in alimenting their tenants in years of scarcity.

"The cottars, as formerly seen, are almost tenants at will, or at best have only a biennial or triennial lease. This is a great evil, effectually preventing any attempts at agricultural improvements; but the extreme poverty of the present little farmers of Shetland, would, perhaps, in many cases, prevent them from accepting a nineteen years lease, if put in their option.

"In many places, as above observed, the money-rents of the land have not been raised for a hundred years: this irresistibly proves what high profits the landlords must be making on the resale of the fish, the oil, the butter, &c. received from their tenants at stipulated prices. Were the size of farms enlarged, and leases of nineteen years duration granted, the whole lands of Shetland would doubtless give more than double the present rents. But even in such event, unless manufacturers were here and there, at the same time, established, is it not improbable that many of the present cottars would either starve or be compelled to indent themselves to America!

"Were some fishing villages established in Shetland, and were a few opulent Scots or English companies to open warehouses there, where the natives might dispose of their fish, either green or salted, and where they might procure boats, lines, salt, &c. as they wanted, or could purchase, the advantage to the country would probably soon appear. The landlords would then find it their interest to invite more substantial tenants, and to grant long leases, in order to have their lands improved and their rents increased. While one part of the natives would thus be engaged in raising crops and improving the breed of sheep and cattle; another would be employed, in summer, at the ling and tusk fishery, and in winter at the piltock and shore-fishery; and each would mutually supply the wants of the other.

"It does not readily occur that an increase of the bounty on the fishery would be of advantage to Shetland in general.

"The conversion of the teinds into money would doubtless be of essential advantage, both to the agriculture of the country and to its harmony, and would remove a great bar to the beneficial influence of the example and instructions of the clergy.

"It would also be highly advantageous to convert into money-sterling, the whole of the superior's debts, (scatt, wattle, and other exactions of Danish origin), at present paid in oil, butter, and wool."

VIEWS, CUSTOMS, and CURIOSITIES in SWITZERLAND.

[From Mr. LEMAISTRE'S TRAVELS.]

"SATURDAY, Sept. 4, 1802.—We left Lausanne at seven o'clock; breakfasted at Meudon, where we found a good but extravagant inn; and arrived, about five in the evening, at Payerne, where we took up our quarters at the sign of the Hôtel de Ville. The country through which we traveled in the morning was poor, hilly, and barren; but about five miles from Payerne we came into a very pretty country, and passed through a fine wood of considerable extent.

"Sunday, Sept. 5.—We set out from Payerne at half past five in the morning, and arrived at Fribourg at eight. We traveled through a delightful country extremely well cultivated, and over roads uncommonly good. On entering the canton of Fribourg, we were much entertained with the dresses of the peasants: the women wear large straw hats ornamented with black lace, and their hair is plaited in large tresses round their head: the men are dressed in red cloth waistcoats, and round hats with gold bands. The catholic churches are decorated with pictures over the door of each, and the tombs with colored crucifixes. Fribourg is a small but pretty town: the cathedral is a very fine building. I visited the convent of the Capuchins, which is still in existence, and went through the whole house. There are twenty-four brothers, or members, of this community. The one who received me took great pains to convince me that he was happy, and perfectly satisfied with his situation. I can only say—'Credat Judæus Apella; non ego.' In going away I offered money to my civil conductor; but he would not receive it; and insisted on giving me, as I left the monastery, a nosegay, the produce of the garden belonging to the house.

"We afterwards went to the female convent of Ursulines. Five or six nuns appeared at the grate of the parloir; but, alas! not one was either young or pretty: they were all, however, civil, talkative, and gay. These nuns amuse themselves with making artificial flowers, some of which we of course bought.

"We then drove to the Hermitage, about four miles from the town. This is a spot which affords a curious instance of persevering and useless industry. It is a vast hermitage, consisting of a dormitory, a chapel, a large saloon, a kitchen, and other apartments, cut out of a rock by the incessant labor of two men, who successively made this place their retreat. The first person who settled here was satisfied with forming an apartment for his own use; but his successor consumed his life in bringing it to its present state. Unfortunately the present hermit, who is the third occupier of this singular habitation, was not at home: this circumstance prevented my seeing his own room; but I gained admittance into several chambers of considerable size, particularly the chapel and the hall.

"The situation of this strange residence is romantic and beautiful. The

The rock of which it is formed overhangs the river Sane; 'which,' as Mr. Coxe observes, 'after having meandered through two chains of mountains covered with wood, waters all the valley below.'

"About two o'clock we returned to Fribourg, and, getting into our corbeille, (the horses of which we had left to rest, while we took this excursion in a carriage of the country), we continued our route towards Berne. The country through which we passed was well wooded, rich, and highly cultivated. The houses, built of wood, are without chimneys—the smoke being allowed to make its way through the doors or windows; and the roofs are of tile. When we came into the canton of Berne, we instantly perceived the change by the dress of the people, by the superior state of agriculture, and by the general appearance of wealth and comfort. The women are clad in black jackets, blue waistcoats, and straw hats; and their hair is dressed in long plaits which fall to the ground. We reached Berne at eight in the evening, and found very comfortable accommodations at the sign of La Couronne.

"Monday, Sept. 6.—We proceeded after breakfast this morning to view the curiosities of the town. The High-street is long, wide, and handsome. The houses are built of stone, and there are trottoirs, or flag stones, for foot passengers, with the addition of colonnades, or piazzas, of an elegant construction, which protect the inhabitants from the heat of the sun in summer and from the fall of rain in winter.

"The German language is spoken almost universally in Berne. Having missed the door of my inn in this street, it was long before I could find any person sufficiently conversant with the French either to understand or satisfy my inquiries.

"The cathedral is a handsome edifice; and the terrace near it commands a most sublime and magnificent prospect, of which a country singularly rich and romantic—the Aar, a river of much beauty—and the mighty range of Alps, which are seen in all their grandeur—form the objects. We ascended the top of the church, and thence the view was if possible still more picturesque. We also saw the town and environs to great advantage from this elevated spot.

"After enjoying for some time this delightful landscape, we descended, and went from the cathedral to the public library. The collection of books is not large, but made with considerable judgement. The rooms appropriated to this purpose are handsome and lively. There is also here a museum of stuffed birds, fossils, and other curiosities in natural history. The walls of the different apartments belonging to this library are ornamented with the pictures of the former magistrates of Berne, clad in their official dresses.

"We next visited the mint, or Hôtel des Monnoies, which is a small neat building. The manager, an Englishman by birth, had the politeness to show us the interior of this establishment, where several workmen were employed in coining small pieces of base money, composed of equal portions of silver and alloy. The value of each of these pieces is the tenth part of a batz, and a batz is worth twopence English.

"From the mint we were conducted to the infirmary and the hospital.

hospital. The latter forms a large square, having a garden for its centre; is very airy, and apparently well managed. We did not go into the rooms; but we understood from every body that they were kept in great order. I smiled involuntarily at the patriotic prejudices of my guide, who, on my observing that the hospital seemed uncommonly clean, exclaimed, with a deep sigh, 'Ah, monsieur, si vous l'eussiez vu avant la révolution, c'étoit bien une autre chose*.' The Swiss, one may conclude from this remark, entertain so great an antipathy to their present government, that they consider every thing as deteriorated. According to this opinion, even washing, scouring, and sweeping, cannot be now so well performed as formerly.

"We spent the rest of the morning in wandering over the town, which is uncommonly neat and pretty in every part. We dined at an early hour, and proceeded afterwards on our road to Thun, which is distant about eighteen miles from Berne.

"We arrived at the former of these places at seven in the evening, after a delightful journey. The road was excellent, and the views more than commonly beautiful. A cultivated and well wooded valley, filled with pretty villages, was the country through which we traveled, and the towering Alps finished the landscape.

"Tuesday, Sept. 7.—We left our carriage to await our return at Le Freyhoff, the little inn of Thun, and got into a boat covered with oiled skin and rowed by three men, at a little before nine o'clock this morning. After rowing for a short distance on the river Aar, we found ourselves on the lake of Thun; one bank of which presents majestic mountains (particularly le Niese and le Stockhorne), and the other, fine woods and rich vineyards. As we moved along on this wide and beautiful piece of water, we remarked le château de Oberhoffen, where formerly resided a bailiff of Berne, and near it a gentleman's seat, belonging to M. de Vatevell. Under the Niese I perceived, in a sweet situation, a white little church, which seemed as if it had been an object placed there on purpose to increase the beauty of the landscape. Further on, on the same side, we observed the castle and church of Spietz, belonging formerly to the barons of Boutenbourg, and at present to the ancient family of D'Erlach of Berne.

"On the other bank, we noticed a curious old wooden house, with the horns of a deer suspended as a sign before it. The next objects which attracted our attention were the house and village of Meerlingen. The former of these is exactly midway between the extremities of the lake. The inhabitants of the village are considered, according to the prejudices of the country, as idiots; but M. Richart (whose traveling book I had with me) says that there is not the least truth in the report.—On a height above, stands a village church in a most romantic position.

"We now approached a kind of bay. On the left were fir trees growing out of the rock; and on the right, fine woods, planted at the foot of the mighty mountains which stand above. After turning round

* 'Oh, sir, if you had seen it before the revolution, it was then in a very different state.'

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the rock, which here projects, we perceived Neuhaus (or the new house), near which persons sometimes land, and take a direct path to Utersee. On the right, close on the lake, a pretty little village, called Leisegal, demanded our attention: and on the other side, a cascade falling from a vast eminence: and above, a church built in the centre of the rock, which is itself covered with trees.

"We arrived at the further extremity of the lake of Thun, a distance of nine English miles, at half past twelve o'clock. We here seemed to be in a spot secluded from the rest of the world; and it was impossible to view the vast features of nature which surrounded us without feeling a kind of involuntary awe. We proceeded on foot, no carriage being to be had at the water's side, to Utersee, a little dirty village built of wood.

"We found, on our arrival at this place, that even in this sequestered part of virtuous Switzerland imposition was not unknown; and so great a price was asked for a low cart, with seats suspended on it, drawn by one horse (the only conveyance of which the country admits), that it was three o'clock before our arrangements were finally made. We at last set out, with a good horse, and a fine lad as driver, who walked by the side. The road was wonderfully romantic, wild, and indeed terrific. At first we passed through a fine plain, surrounded with the vast mountains of the country. We then began to ascend up a narrow road, on the side of a rapid torrent. The hills around were well wooded and well inhabited, for cottages were scattered about in abundance. Cows were grazing on the summit of the mountains, in rich fields, the verdure of which was extremely beautiful.

"After traveling in this manner, at the edge of precipices, during the space of two hours, we came in sight of the Youngfrau, or Maiden Mountain (called so because the foot of man has never been able to traverse it), covered with snow; and in another hour reached Lauterbrunen. The village stands in a situation truly romantic. We found here an inn of decent appearance; but having heard that travelers were sometimes received at the parsonage-house, we sent our servant to the minister's, and requested the favor of accommodations for the night; which, on condition that we would excuse the homely fare which his larder afforded, was readily and politely granted. We were welcomed to this peaceful mansion with much hospitality by its respectable owner, whose name is Zumelini; by his wife, a well-behaved young woman, who spoke French perfectly well; and by her mother, a respectable and sensible old lady. Tea was instantly served; after which our reverend host proposed walking with me round the neighbourhood. The Stoubbach, one of the most celebrated waterfalls of Switzerland, fronts the windows of this house; but though it rolls from a height of nine hundred feet, it is not a very striking sight at present,—the extreme dryness of the season having deprived it of its usual quantity of water. After walking more than an hour, in a rich valley encircled by the sublimest mountains, and washed by the waters which fall from their summit, we approached the Youngfrau; and as I beheld with admiration its lofty white top, my attention was drawn to a fine waterfall, which, descending

descending from that vast mountain, rushes with roaring impetuosity into the plain below. I had just time enough to contemplate this and the adjoining glaciers, when night hid the scene from my view.—An individual attempted some time back to rob the Youngfrau of her virgin honors; but his rashness was punished with death, for he was never heard of after the morning when he set out on the expedition.

"I returned home with my respectable conductor, much delighted with the scenes I had witnessed, and not a little obliged by the civilities he had shown me. I should doubtless have likewise received much information from his conversation, had I been able to understand him; but, unfortunately, the German, of which I am totally ignorant, was the only modern language which he could speak. After several fruitless attempts at expressing to each other our opinions, we at last remembered that a medium of communication might perhaps be found by talking Latin. This experiment afforded some relief to the embarrassment under which we had hitherto labored; but the difference of pronunciation still placed a considerable difficulty in the way of our conversation. The good man spoke Latin with considerable fluency (for, in foreign education, academical students are taught to speak as well as write the dead languages), while I expressed myself but imperfectly, never having had occasion, excepting in the schools of Oxford, to use that tongue.

"We supped with this worthy family on water-gruel (which supplied the place of soup), and on trout caught in the neighbouring streams; to which were added boiled eggs and fried liver. Our drink was the wine of the country; and the repast concluded with a glass of lanelle, a bottle of which was brought out in honor of the English guests. Every thing was given with such good will and cordial hospitality, that it was impossible not to be pleased—though I must confess, that, having traveled all day without eating, I should have considered a more substantial meal as better suited to the keenness of my appetite. Before we left the table, the minister pronounced with a solemn tone a prayer in German, answering, as I suppose, to our grace. We then adjourned to another room, where our landlord entertained us with a domestic concert. The good minister played the violin, and his wife the harpsichord. They were accompanied by the voices of their female servants, two pretty young girls, dressed in the costume of the country, who, being unable to read the notes, kept time by the motion of their fingers. The music, also the composition of our host, was wild and simple: and it was with great truth I assured the ladies of the family, who offered many apologies for the poverty of this entertainment, that I preferred it to the finest efforts of studied skill.—After listening some time to this music, we retired to a very comfortable bedchamber, and slept so soundly that we never heard a violent storm which raged during the night.

"This day was passed in a most agreeable manner. After enjoying the novelty and grandeur of the sublime scenery which we had visited in the morning, we experienced an equal pleasure from the society of the good people whose guests we became in the evening: their

plain but hearty welcome, their homely but plentiful board, and their good-humoured attempts to please, afforded an incident so new and so interesting that I set it down among the most agreeable occurrences of my tour.

"Wednesday, Sept. 8.—I rose at half past five o'clock, and walked to the foot of the Stoubbach, which falls from a vast height directly opposite the parsonage of Lauterbrunen. The rain which fell during the night had increased its waters, but it was still far from being in high beauty.

"On returning, I found the minister and his family ready to receive us. After breakfasting with these excellent people, and expressing our gratitude for the hospitable reception which they had afforded us, we mounted again our little cart, and continued our route towards Grindenwald. It rained very hard this morning; and as our conveyance was uncovered, we were obliged to depend on our great coats and umbrellas for shelter against the wet. We traversed again great part of the road which we had passed the preceding day. At length we crossed a wild rustic bridge, and, taking the other bank of the river, began to ascend the hills which lead to Grindenwald. The country continued to display the same features; but the road was steeper, and the mountains became more wild, lofty, and majestic. After traveling for some time, we came in sight of the glaciers, the white color of which was beautifully contrasted with the deep green of the fir trees which surround them on all sides.

"We arrived at Grindenwald about eleven o'clock. The inn is small, and in every respect but little superior to the cottage of a peasant. After we had eaten of the refreshments which we brought with us (for nothing was to be had in this miserable *auberge*), we walked to see the glaciers; but the rain continued to fall with such violence, that we were prevented either from ascending or staying long near these mountains of ice. Though the road which leads to Grindenwald is wonderfully striking, and truly magnificent, I am far from thinking that the valley itself deserves the reputation which it almost universally possesses. In my opinion, it is by no means to be compared with that of Chamouny, which I have already described: nor are the glaciers of Grindenwald near so large or so beautiful as those of Chamouny.

"At three o'clock we recommenced our journey, in spite of the torrents of rain, which were incessant; and, passing over the same ground, arrived at Utersee about seven in the evening. We thus completed this little tour, to the mountains in perfect safety, after traveling for two days in an unsteady cart on the brink of precipices. Mrs. L. was, as you may imagine, much alarmed; but the lad who drove us was extremely careful; and, whenever he saw fear depicted in her face, he cried out, in a tone of voice which inspired confidence, 'N'*ayez* pas peur, madame *.' This broken sentence of French was all he could speak in that language; but he seemed very proud of being able even to

* He should have said 'N'*ayez* pas peur'—'Be not afraid'—'there is no cause for fear.'

say so much, and was extremely anxious to remove every cause for alarm. We were much pleased with his naïveté, his skill, and his good-humor.

"At Utersee we found a comfortable little inn; and, after changing our wet clothes, sat down to a clean, simple, plentiful supper. Our bed, though not decked out with the ornaments of a Parisian hotel, was excellent: but a violent storm of thunder and lightning, which shook the very foundation of this wood-built house, rendered sleep impossible. The noise of this storm continued during the whole of the night.

"Thursday, Sept. 9.—I intended to have risen at five o'clock this morning, in order to pay a visit to the lake of Brientz, which is not far distant, previously to the intended embarkation on our return to Thun. The excessive rain, which continued, made me give up, though with great reluctance, the execution of this project: and I almost feared, from the appearance of the clouds, that we should be detained all day at Utersee. At nine the weather unexpectedly cleared up, and we set out for the water side in the cart which had taken us to Grindenwald. The honest lad who drove us, though dismissed the preceding night with the payment of his carriage and a fee to himself, came unsolicited in the morning with his cart, and insisted on conveying us to (what he conceived the extremity of the world) the mouth of the lake which separates the wild country of which he is an inhabitant from the rest of Switzerland. On arriving at the place where it is usual to embark, we found that the wind, which raged with violence during the night, had abated; and, hiring a boat similar to that in which we had made the passage before, we ventured to set out. We were rowed by two men, and by a fine young woman, who was not the least active of the three. When we had traversed about half the lake, the weather again changed—the rain, thunder, and lightning returned; and our conductors, apprehending a storm (for storms are both frequent and dangerous on this water), pushed to the nearest shore with great energy and apparent alarm. We reached the land in safety; and after we had waited about half an hour under the shelter of a fisherman's hut, the storm abated. We ventured to embark a second time; and arrived at Thun at two o'clock. We here took some slight refreshment, and, getting into our corbeille (which we had left at this place), proceeded on our journey in spite of the rain and thunder, which continued to prevail, and found ourselves at Berne before seven in the evening. We were agreeably surprised at finding at the inn some English friends; with whom, after dinner (the weather having again become favorable), we strolled about the town, and admired the beautiful view which presents itself from the platform or terrace near the cathedral.

"Friday, Sept. 10.—We set out this morning at half past eight o'clock, and arrived about twelve at a little village, where our horses were allowed to bait. The necessity of allowing some hours daily for this purpose is one of the most disagreeable circumstances attending a tour in Switzerland. The drivers, or *voituriers*, have also much of the German character; and they always contrive to reach the place where they purpose making

ing a halt exactly at noon, at which precise time of day they are certain of finding a hot dinner ready dressed at the inn: and it is impossible to persuade them to proceed, till they have made their meal in plenty, swallowed their quota of wine, and smoked their usual quantity of tobacco. When I first set out on this expedition I endeavoured to make some changes in this daily routine; but I soon discovered how vain were all remonstrances; and in future submitted (I cannot say very willingly) to an arrangement by which my plans were dreadfully retarded.

"The country through which we passed this morning was rich, and well cultivated; but it appeared flat and tame to our eyes, after the wild and majestic scenery which presented itself on the road to Grindenwald.

"We failed not to stop at Hindelbranch, to see, in the church of that village, the celebrated tomb of madame Langhams, executed by Nahl. The history of the tomb is this:—The artist being employed to erect a monument to the memory of a distinguished magistrate of Berne, who was buried in the parish, took up his abode at the house of the clergyman, where he experienced the utmost kindness and hospitality. During his residence there, the young, beautiful, and virtuous wife of this gentleman died in child-bed. Prompted by the recollection of the favors which he had received in the family, and moved by the sorrow to which it became the victim in consequence of this sudden and melancholy event, M. Nahl determined to record his own gratitude and the merit of his benefactress in a tomb worthy of her whom he deplored. He left unfinished the splendid task which had brought him hither, and devoted his whole time to the monument in honor of madame Langhams, which was accordingly completed.—The design is admirable: the stones of the grave appear as broken, and the figure of this lady, executed with great art, is seen bursting with her child, at the day of judgement, from the tomb, which still half detains her. Nothing can be finer than the thought; but the execution, though very fine, did not quite come up to the expectation which I had formed in consequence of the great renown which this monument has obtained.

"After we had consumed the usual time at our baiting-place, well called by the coachman *la dinée*, or dining time, we continued our route, and reached Langenthal at six—a pretty, clean village—where we found a neat and comfortable inn at the sign of the Golden Lion.

"The country through which we traveled this evening was well wooded and highly cultivated, but flat and uninteresting. The peasants' houses presented every appearance of plenty and real comfort. Equality seems actually to exist in this country: no lordly ostentatious mansion interrupts the tranquil scene, and no half-ruined cottage marks the residence of wretchedness. Generally speaking, the canton of Berne reminds me of England—with this exception only, that in the former there are few, if any, gentlemen's houses. Between Berne and Langenthal (a distance of thirty miles), I saw but one mansion; and that belonged to the ancient family of D'Erlach, long at the head of the magistracy of Berne.

"Saturday, Sept. 11.—We set out, in bad weather, this morning, for

for Lucerne; into the canton of which name we soon afterwards entered. The poverty and dirt of the inhabitants marked the limits, and would have proved our arrival in a catholic country, without the crosses, churches, and burying-grounds covered with colored crucifixes, which we met with at every mile.

"After a tiresome stage, we reached at twelve the wretched, little, priest-ridden town of Sursee; in which, amidst filth, wretchedness, and gloomy solitude, a splendid church raises its insulting head.

"After in vain attempting to breakfast, for every thing which was brought us at the inn was too disgustingly bad to be eaten, and waiting with as much patience as we could command while our coachman devoured his usual dinner, we continued our route, notwithstanding the rain, which fell in torrents, and arrived at Lucerne about seven in the evening. On our road, soon after leaving Sursee, we passed by the Lac de Sempach, a small lake, which appeared, as far as I could judge from viewing it in such unfavorable weather, to possess many beauties. It is also celebrated for a great battle fought near its banks.

"At Lucerne we had the pleasure of meeting two English gentlemen whom we had known at Paris, and from them first learned the insurrection which had just taken place in the smaller cantons, and which was rapidly spreading itself over the rest of Switzerland. The inn was crowded,—the town being filled with military; and the only lodgings we could procure were wretchedly bad.

"Sunday, Sept. 12. — After breakfast we proceeded to see the curiosities of the place. We attended high mass at the cathedral of Lucerne, and were much entertained, both with the harmony of the music and the tawdry pomp of the ceremony. In returning, we visited the three covered bridges, each of which is ornamented with paintings — particularly that over the Reuss. On the latter is represented 'La Danse de Mort.' This is a strange conceit of the painter, who, mingling the most farcical with the most serious ideas, has drawn a caricature of persons of all descriptions, of all ages, and of all professions, overtaken by the unexpected, unpitying, and undiscriminating hand of Death. The ambitious statesman, the powdered beau, the lawyer and the dancing master, the prude and the flirt, the grey-headed sage and the beardless boy, the venerable matron and the lively coquette, the half-starved miser and the pampered prodigal, the soldier and the politician, the author and the mechanic—each of these characters has his place in this picture, arrested by Death, armed with his sithe.

"The church of the Jesuits was the next object of our attention. It is rich, and of good architecture. Only two brothers of the order now remain.

"From the Jesuits we proceeded to general Pfyffer's, where we asked permission to see his celebrated models. This venerable gentleman, who for many years took a pleasure in himself explaining his ingenious contrivance, is now of too advanced an age to exercise in person this species of hospitality; but a servant deputed by him gave us a very satisfactory account. The whole of the little cantons, and the Alps which surround them, are accurately described in this design;

and the mountain Rig rises majestically from its banks.

"As the wind was high, and night approached, I found myself cold in my uncovered boat, and determined to perform the remainder of the journey on foot. I accordingly made to shore when about two or three miles from Zug, and walked along the bank of the lake, in a beautiful path bordered with lofty trees, till I reached the town, where I arrived about half past six in the evening. Here I found Mrs. L. already arrived; who had proceeded in our *corbeille* from Lucerne to this place by the straight road, not having ventured to accompany me in this interesting but fatiguing tour.—I was highly satisfied with my excursion, having in one day visited several of the most striking scenes of the little cantons, and seen, among other objects of great curiosity, the justly-celebrated Aloys Reding.

"Zug is a small neat town, and is only distinguished by being the capital of the canton, and by being surrounded by walls,—a protection which no other place in this neighbourhood possesses.

"Tuesday, Sept. 14.—After a violent dispute with our landlord, who, even in this retired spot, had learnt the arts of imposition, we proceeded on our journey. On leaving Zug, we drove for some time along a cross-road, and were soon in sight of the river Reuss; on the bank of which we traveled till we came to Brengarten, where we stopped to bait our horses.

"Brengarten is a small and not very handsome town, filled with churches and convents. We found the place in a state of great gaiety and mirth, as the inhabitants were celebrating one of their rustic *fêtes*. Several houses were thrown open, where the peasants were dancing waltzes with great spirit. The men wear large round hats and long coats: the women, short petticoats, and straw hats ornamented with colored ribands. Their hair is dressed in a long narrow plait, which falls almost to their feet.

"About three o'clock we left this town, and continued our journey, passing through a rich and fertile country. We met on the road a corps of armed insurgents, who had flowers and a cockade of black and red riband in their hats. From them we experienced no interruption; but as we approached a little town in possession of the peasants, a sentinel appeared before the gate, and inquired who we were: we answered 'English,' and were instantly allowed to pass.

"We reached Baden early in the evening, and on our arrival found the town in the greatest confusion: it was filled with armed men: troops entered the place every moment: military preparations were making, drums beating, &c. Mrs. L. was alarmed at these warlike symptoms, and wished to leave the town; but on sending my servant to an old, respectable, soldierlike gentleman, who seemed to command, we received such assurances of safety and protection as determined us to follow our first intention, of passing the night here; and accordingly we took up our quarters at Les Balances, a good and comfortable inn.

"While our supper was preparing we took a pleasant walk on the bank of the river Limmat, which flows at the foot of this town. The road to the Baths of Baden is extremely pretty, but the village where they stand is dull and dirty. We observed, as we walked along, the little army of insurgents which we

we had met in the morning winding round a hill, on the other side of the river, on its way to Zurich.—*A-propos:* we have been prevented from visiting that city and its celebrated lake by the state of siege in which the former is placed. No person, we are told, is at present allowed to enter the walls. This is an unfortunate circumstance, and will render our tour imperfect; but, on the other hand, we have the advantage of seeing the country at this interesting moment, and of witnessing the brave, dignified, and orderly exertions of the Swiss, in the holy cause of liberty and national independence. I greatly fear that they will be the victims of their courage: the present struggle will form a pretext to France to interfere; and the consequence will be the loss of what little freedom they now retain. Whether their efforts be or be not politically wise, time only can decide; but every friend of humanity must commend the principle from which they arise; and the Swiss may say, in the language of Addison,

'T is not in mortals to command success;
But we 'll do more, Sempronius,—
We 'll deserve it.'

"Wednesday, Sept. 15.—Notwithstanding the military preparations of the preceding evening, the night passed tranquilly away.

"We set out again at half past eight o'clock this morning; and, after traveling for about two hours, crossed the Rhine, over a new bridge,—the old one having been burned by the French in their first invasion. This celebrated river has not (at least at this spot) any thing very particular to distinguish it: it is not so wide as the Thames: nor did we find the country through which we traveled this morning very picturesque: it is generally laid out in corn. We dined at a small inn (a kind of farmhouse) about half way between Baden and Schaffhousen.

"At half past three o'clock we set out again, and in about an hour's time came in sight of the fall of the Rhine, which we saw to great advantage from a field which nearly fronts this beautiful object. After contemplating for some time this far-famed waterfall, we proceeded to Schaffhousen, where we arrived early in the evening.

"Schaffhousen is an old ugly town, and possesses nothing worthy of notice but its romantic situation; yet few places are better known, in consequence of its vicinity to the celebrated cataract. The latter fully answered my expectations: but as I intend to visit it with particular attention to-morrow morning, I do not at present enter into a minute account.

"Thursday, Sept. 16.—We rose at six o'clock, and after breakfast continued our journey.

"We were conveyed in the carriage of our *voiturier* to a valley adjoining the Fall of the Rhine. We then descended, and proceeded on foot (accompanied by a *laquais de place*, whom I had hired as a *ciceroni*, and brought with me from Schaffhousen) to examine this wonderful fall in several different directions, every one of which presents distinct beauties.—After viewing it in front and on one side, I crossed in a boat to the village of Lauffen, and, mounting to a kind of summer-house placed on an eminence, saw it to great advantage from above. The sun shone directly upon the water, and produced a finely-colored rainbow, which added not a little to the beauty of the scene.

"The castle of Lauffen, also a romantic object, stands near the summer-house where I was placed.

"After I had sufficiently enjoyed this point of view, I descended to a little platform erected for the purpose, where I was so near the fall as to be able to touch the water, and was wetted by its spray. The prospect here was so magnificently striking, that I could scarcely persuade myself to go away, and to join Mrs. L., who waited for me (not without some uneasiness) on the other side of the river. In crossing again the water (which runs with vast rapidity), I ventured to row very near the fall, and was more and more astonished by the grandeur of the scene. On reaching the land I got into the *corbeille*, and, dismissing my guide, left unwillingly this charming landscape.

"We continued for some time to travel on the bank of the Rhine, and breakfasted at a little dirty village belonging to the emperor. After one of those long pauses with which my *voiturier* often puts my patience to the trial, we recommenced our journey, and arrived two hours afterwards at a very pretty hamlet, at the foot of which flows the Rhine in all its majesty. In this place our coachman insisted on our passing the night, alleging that the inn, though apparently bad, was the best within a distance of several miles. Here we found little wretched beds, without curtains, placed in cavities of the wall, and as few comforts as it is possible, to meet with in any part of Europe. The people were, however, civil and hospitable, and gave us the best articles which their cellar and larder produced—though that best was bad indeed.

"About five miles before we reached this place, a spot was pointed out to us where we were told that a small army of Frenchmen had during the last war driven back twenty thousand Austrians. We had not an opportunity of investigating the truth of the report.

"Friday, Sept. 17.—In going away this morning from our inn, we were much struck with the honesty of our landlady, who only charged five shillings for our dinner, tea, lodging, and breakfast.

"We set out early, and traveled through a pretty and well-wooded country, in a fine wide road, generally near the Rhine, which river we crossed three or four times. We baited at a town in the Frickthal,—a country which formerly belonged to the emperor, but which, having been conquered by France, has been ceded within the last week to the Helvetic republic, in exchange for the Valais. We afterwards continued our route along the other side of the Rhine, till we came to Basle. As we began to approach that town, we were much pleased with the neatness of the houses and the arrangement of the grounds, which all bore the appearance of wealth and industry.

"After crossing the vast bridge which separates one part of Basle from the other, we drove to Les Trois Rois,—an excellent inn, the windows of which command the Rhine. We obtained here a clean, large, and comfortable apartment, which enjoyed the full prospect of the river; and though the price was exorbitant, we felt no inclination to complain.

"There is also in this house a room of great extent, with several windows and a balcony opening on the Rhine, in which more than a hundred persons can sit down to dinner.

dinner. It is appropriated to the use of the *table d'hôte*, or ordinary, which is here said to be elegantly served. I could not judge of its merits, as we preferred dining in our own chamber.—The ladies of the continent often appear at public tables in Switzerland, and I have known some few English ladies follow their example; but the generality of our countrywomen avoid a society which necessarily must be mixed and uncertain. For single men, I am told these tables afford an agreeable resource.

"Saturday, Sept. 18.—After breakfast this morning, we set out to see the town and its curiosities. We first visited M. de Michel's collection of pictures and prints. The former are well chosen, many of them being *chefs-d'œuvres*; the latter are justly celebrated. We bought here several prints of the Swiss costumes, or national dresses; a likeness of Bonaparte, and one of Aloys Reding. M. de Michel and his partners received us with great politeness and attention.

"We next saw the famous and original picture of 'La Danse de Mort.' It has still marks of great merit; but being neglected, exposed to the air, and situated in a kind of rope-yard, is rapidly falling into decay.

"We then went to the cathedral, and saw there the tomb of Erasmus, which consists of a simple stone, on which an inscription in honor of his memory is engraved. We ascended to the top of the church, and had from this eminence a fine view of the surrounding country. The church is gloomy, and possesses no particular beauty. The terrace adjoining, which forms the public walk, commands a pretty, but not an extensive prospect. We saw in the cathedral the room where the famous council of Basle was holden, and that in which the exercises of the university are performed.

"We next repaired to the public library, and its contents were shown us with much politeness by one of the professors. Some excellent pictures by Holbein are here preserved, as well as some of his original designs, the subjects of which are the costumes or dresses of his day. By these it appears that the ladies of the present age are not more liberal in the display of their charms than were their sage predecessors.—The professor likewise showed us some of the books first printed. We were much surprised at finding the types equal to the best of the present day. We were gratified with the sight of the *proces-verbal* of the council of Basle, taken on paper. This curious document proves to demonstration that the invention of paper took place some years sooner than is generally imagined.—We likewise saw several letters in the hand-writing of Erasmus, as also his will. There was likewise a curious copy of his work on 'Folly,' with sketches in the margin by Holbein.—The librarian had the kindness to show us, in addition to these, a collection of medals, seals, &c. We then walked through the library, which is large, and apparently well chosen.

"We returned to dinner at four o'clock, and, fatigued with the exertions of the morning, spent the rest of the day at our inn.

"Sunday, Sept. 19.—We proceeded on our journey, taking the road by the valley of Delmont and the aperture called Pierre Purtuis.

"We soon found ourselves in a romantic and picturesque country

on the bank of the river Birsch, bounded by lofty mountains. As we advanced, the plain became narrower and narrower, and the hills approached each other. We then entered the fertile valley of Lauffen, which is encompassed with rocks covered with oak and other trees; and soon after arrived at the town of that name, formerly belonging to the bishop of Basle, and now to the French republic. Here we stopped, as usual, to rest our horses, and had the pleasure of meeting some English acquaintance, who were going to Basle, and were, like ourselves, under the command of a *voiturier*. After a delay of three hours we were allowed to proceed; and passed through a very striking country, till we reached the beautiful, rich, and justly-celebrated valley of Delmont. We traveled during the whole day along a narrow but good road, bounded by rocks which were covered to the very summit with fir trees.

"The valley of Delmont is picturesque beyond description, and would have formed a subject worthy the pencil of Claude Lorraine. The town of the same name (which stands a little out of the high road) is uncommonly neat and pretty. There is a general appearance of comfort and independence. I never saw a small place so completely possessed of all which can be looked for in a tranquil spot of this sort. The church is handsome, and the *ci-devant* episcopal palace (now converted into a workshop) is a large building, which must have been in other times an object worthy of notice. We found a good supper and a clean bed at the inn of La Tour Rouge, the back windows of which command a magnificent view of the whole valley, which we saw to great advantage, tinged with the rays of the retiring sun.

"Monday, Sept. 20.—Honesty! where art thou to be found?—Even at the little inn of the little town of Delmont, in the most retired part of a country celebrated for its simplicity and good faith, imposition is not unknown. We were waked this morning by a violent noise, and found, on inquiry, that it arose from the tongue of the landlady, who was vociferating her abuse against our courier. It seemed, that, relying on the integrity which he supposed to be prevalent in this quiet little place, he had not made a previous bargain for our accommodations; and that, having resisted the ridiculously-exorbitant demands which the good woman made in the morning, he was now exposed to all the most offensive terms of scurrility which the French language affords; for with such she now vented her indignation, at the expense of the poor fellow.

"As soon as this important business was settled, we proceeded on our journey; and, after passing through two or three villages, came into that romantic country so well described by Mr. Coxe and other travelers. We drove for several hours on the edge of a precipice. The rocks, majestic in height, and ornamented with trees, seemed in many parts almost to join. We found, however, ample room for the passage of our carriage; and, notwithstanding the alarming accounts of this journey given by several writers, I do not imagine that there is the smallest danger; and even Mrs. L., who is easily terrified, felt no alarm after the first five minutes had accustomed her to so unusual a road. The points of

view

view were grand and sublime; and I think this expedition, if we except the glaciers, equal to that of Lauterbrunen or of Grindenwald. Peasants were employed on every side in repairing the road, which is now becoming extremely good. The inscription mentioned by Mr. Coxe still remains, in honor of the patriotic founder of this passage; who certainly might well say of it, that it was a work worthy of the ancient Romans.

"We reached about noon Tavannes, or Dachfeld (for, from the strange mixture of languages which prevails here, every place has both a French and a German name); and, after a second breakfast, at a little inn which has assumed, in honor of the French government, now the sovereign of the country, the sign of the Civic Crown, we set out again at three o'clock, and, having mounted a hill nearly opposite to the village where we had stopped, came to the celebrated Pierre Pfrtuis.

"The accounts generally given of this opening are so extravagant, that I could scarcely believe that what I now saw was the place described. Pierre Purtuis is simply a passage of eight or ten yards through a rock which stands in the middle of the road. The aperture may have been made in some convulsion of Nature, but Art could easily have effected the same thing.

"At the foot of this rock is the source of the river Birs, or Birsch: a few paces from it the water is sufficiently strong to turn two wind-mills.

"We soon returned into the beautiful valley of St. Imier; then ascended again; and shortly after began once more gently to descend, through a road very like that which we had passed in the morning; till, having approached the mountain of Jura, we beheld the rich valley near Bienne, the charming prospect of which opened suddenly on us, with the Alps at a distance, and the lake of Bienne and the Isle de St. Pierre in front. We drove to La Couronne at Bienne, which is generally esteemed one of the best inns of Switzerland; but the house was so crowded with travelers that we could only obtain a very indifferent apartment.

"Tuesday, Sept. 21.—We received, early this morning, an invitation from our landlord (which, considering the small dimensions of our lodging, we were very willing to accept) to breakfast in the salon. We found 'mine host' in a neat parlour ornamented with English prints. He is a civil, officious, talkative fellow. He made a thousand bows, and as many apologies for the badness of our accommodations; called me 'milord' at every word; cried out 'Vivent les Anglois' three or four times; and at last drew out a large book, or record, in which most of our countrymen traveling this way had gratified the vanity of the poor man by the most fulsome accounts of the hospitality, civility, and comforts, which they had experienced at his house. I was requested to add my name to the long list of satisfied guests: not having had any cause to speak well of his inn, but unwilling to refuse his request, I contented myself with writing, that 'though, having arrived at a moment when the house was full, I could not personally judge of its merits, I had no doubt that the praises lavished on it by my countrymen were well deserved.' This negative

tive commendation fully gratified my chattering landlord, who, repeating again and again his *révérences*, his *milords*, and his *vivent les Anglois*, at last disappeared, and left us to eat our breakfast in peace.

"We afterwards strolled about the streets of Bienne; saw the great fountain, which supplies the whole town with water; and called at Mr. Hartman's (the painter), where we were shown some very pretty views of Swiss scenery.

"We then crossed the beautiful walk which leads from the town to the lake of Bienne, and, embarking in a boat, proceeded towards the Isle de St. Pierre. The weather was delightful, the water was smooth, and the sun shone in all its brilliance. The town of Nidau on one side, and several picturesque villages on the other, with Bienne behind and the island in front, presented a delightful prospect. After rowing for about an hour and a half, and spending that time most agreeably in contemplating the scene around us, we landed at the Isle de St. Pierre; and, having visited the room where Jean Jacques Rousseau passed three months, and seen the trap-door by which he used to descend whenever any one came to the house, we walked round the island, which is well shaded with lofty oaks, is rich in vineyards and other cultivation, and commands several charming points of view. There is on one side of it a large summer-house, where the neighbouring peasants assemble and dance on Sundays. The Isle de St. Pierre still belongs to the hospital of Berne, and the canton of that name possesses the jurisdiction. Near St. Pierre is the little island which Rousseau peopled with rabbits.

"We re-embarked about one o'clock, and, after an hour's passage, landed at Cerlier, a small village at the other extremity of the lake. We got directly into our corbeille, which we found waiting for us (for I had sent it forward early in the morning, by a road which runs at the side of the water), and proceeded on our tour.

"We had scarcely lost sight of the lake of Bienne before we found ourselves on the bank of that of Neufchatel. We drove along a road exactly similar to the one which leads from Vevay to Lausanne, and arrived at Neufchatel at half past four o'clock.

"Neufchatel is a remarkably clean well-built town. The houses are of stone; and the streets are regular, well paved, and lighted. There are some very handsome houses, particularly the mansion of Mons. Portalis, the celebrated banker.

"Neufchatel, under Prussian protection, has happily escaped all the dangers of revolution; and the fact is proved by the general appearance of comfort, wealth, and independence. No town in Switzerland bears such evident marks of prosperity.

"I visited the town-hall. It is a modern edifice, divided into several rooms appropriated to various public functions. In one of these are the pictures of the late and present king of Prussia; and in another, the portrait of the great Frederic, and that of M. David de Pury, the person who left the money with which this building was constructed.

"We are lodged at Les Balances, an inn the windows of which command the lake and the surrounding country. This prospect

spect is rendered particularly interesting by the magnificent range of Alps, which, when the day is clear, are here seen in all their grandeur.

"Wednesday, Sept. 22.—We rose early, and continued our journey on the banks of the lake of Neufchatel, or Yverdon, as it is sometimes called, from the town of that name. The lake, though less extensive than that of Geneva, bears a strong resemblance to it; but it does not boast such elegant houses, nor such ornamental grounds, on its banks. The vineyards, however, which line its borders, are luxuriant.

"We baited our horses at the small town of St. Aubane, and, after the usual delay, proceeded towards Yverdon; in sight of which we soon found ourselves.

"Yverdon stands very beautifully, at the extremity of the lake, and is approached by a long and regular avenue of trees. After taking a considerable circuit, we drove through this avenue, and, turning to the right, found ourselves at La Maison Rouge, a new and comfortable inn, where we procured excellent accommodations.

"As we approached the town, we saw an assemblage of peasants who had been put in requisition by the Helvetic government and were now by force dragged into its service. I was told that they obeyed this mandate most unwillingly, and that desertions took place every hour.

"Thursday, Sept. 23.—On rising this morning, I learned, that, of the two hundred recruits whom I saw collected the preceding night, only fifteen remained—the rest having escaped during the night. The drum beat the *réveille* again and again. It was all in vain: not a man could be found beyond the number I have mentioned. And the inhabitants of Yverdon seemed to rejoice at a circumstance calculated to bring to nothing the already falling power of the government; the members of which, driven from Zurich, are now at Lausanne.

"We proceeded early on our journey, and, passing the very rich and picturesque valley of Orbe, continued our route towards Geneva,—taking a cross but excellent road. As we traveled along, we met on every side the deserting peasants returning with their arms to their respective villages. I conversed with several of them, and found they did not conceal their hatred of the cause in which it was attempted thus against their will to make them fight.

"We rested our usual number of hours at a small town called Cossoney, where we made a very bad breakfast, in a miserable inn.

"Continuing our route after this delay, we soon came in sight of the lake of Geneva, and saw on our left the delightful valley and distant spires of Lausanne. We avoided entering the latter town, on account of its present political state, and, sending our courier for the English carriage which we had left there, took the nearest road to Geneva, and went straight to Rolle, where we arrived about six in the evening.

"Our coachman drove us to La Couronne, where we found a landlord who spoke English uncommonly well. From this address we flattered ourselves that we should be well received; but in this hope we were cruelly disappointed. It seemed that a British earl, whose courier was waiting at the

the door, had engaged all his best apartments; which, he said, must plead his excuse for offering us an indifferent room. We requested that, '*pour nous dédommager*,' he would give us an excellent dinner. To our great astonishment this order was apparently executed in a few minutes; but when we attempted to eat what was placed on the table, we found (what indeed might have been expected from so hasty a preparation) that the dishes consisted of the heated remains of some former repast. Unable to swallow these broken victuals, we requested something fresh. Our civil landlord said he was very sorry he had nothing in his house. 'Pray give us at least a mutton chop.'—'It is quite impossible, sir: my lord has ordered every thing in my larder.'—Disgusted and irritated by this insolent refusal, I called for the bill, and, paying nearly a *louis* for what we had seen, but not eaten, we removed to another inn, called La Tête Noire, where we obtained a good dinner, civil attendance, and a comfortable apartment.

"I only mention this anecdote to convey to you some idea of the aristocratic impertinence which is often met with in these democratic republics:—To conclude: I learned that the man who showed such profound respect for 'my lord' and such contempt for an humble commoner, is a great jacobin, and celebrated for his professed attachment to 'liberty and equality.'—On the continent these things are talked of, and thus followed up: in England, we do not profess such principles, but in practice we enjoy them.

"Friday, Sept. 24.—We set out this morning in very fine weather for Geneva, at the gates of which we arrived about two o'clock.

"As we purpose commencing our Italian journey in the course of this week, we have taken up our present residence at Les Balances, the principal inn within the walls of Geneva, in preference to occupying our old apartments at Secheron,—having several preparatory arrangements to make; for all of which the situation of the town is more convenient than that of the neighbourhood.

"Thus concluded our Swiss tour, which, though imperfect (as the political state of Zurich deprived us of the pleasure of seeing that interesting canton), has still afforded us the highest gratification. The beauties of Switzerland are so various; there is such an extraordinary combination of the grand and mild features of nature, of the sublime and lovely; of wild and cultivated scenery; that it is almost impossible to conceive unwitnessed the satisfaction which one enjoys in traveling through this delightful country. Here, towering Alps, mountains of ice, extensive lakes, and loud-sounding cataracts: there, cornfields, vineyards, pleasure-grounds, lofty trees, plains of unequaled verdure, level roads, and smiling villages. In one canton, all the pomp and ceremony of the church of Rome, accompanied very generally by dirt, idleness, and comparative indigence; in another, the unadorned worship of the Supreme Being in simple rustic meeting-houses filled with congregations of orderly, well-dressed, and well-looking peasantry. The variety of religion is not more remarkable than the variety of costume; every canton has its distinguishing habit; and while each differs from the other, all of them have a character peculiar to this country, and totally unlike the

dresses

dresses of any other nation in modern Europe. Many of the female fashions are very becoming; and I have seen some girls, so accoutred, who would have excited the praises of admiration even in London or in Paris. In some parts of Switzerland, the women wear large straw hats, ornamented with roses and wild flowers: in others, black beavers, with gold bands. Their hair is sometimes folded in tresses round their heads; sometimes enclosed in plaits, which are so long as to reach their feet; and sometimes covered by a black lace cap of singular shape. Their jackets are of different forms and different colors. A short petticoat here discovers a red stocking, with a wooden slipper; and there, a white one, with a black leather sandal of peculiar form. In short, the eccentricities of dress are innumerable: and in traveling in this country, a man may easily imagine himself at a masquerade.

"The appearance of the people, with some exceptions, is respectable. There seems still to reign much comfort, independence, and general ease.

"The houses in most of the villages are of wood, and are frequently built without chimneys,—the smoke being allowed to make its way through the windows. This is an inconvenience not arising from poverty, for many of the houses so constructed belong to persons in affluent circumstances, and contain rooms of some extent, but occasioned by the prevalence of long usage, which has not yet yielded to the improvements of the present day.

"The Swiss are a tall, athletic, hardy race of men: civil, reserved, and cautious in all their proceedings: much attached to their own country and customs; zealous advocates of rational freedom; inclined to military exertion; and entertaining a violent antipathy to their neighbours and oppressors, the French nation. Having given them this character, it is almost needless for me to add, that, if France wishes to sink the name of Switzerland into that of a department of the republic 'one and indivisible,' she can only succeed in her object by superior force: voluntarily this brave people will never become the vassal of that or any other country whatever.

"We strolled yesterday evening, after our arrival at Geneva, accompanied by some American friends, to see the junction of the Rhone and the Arve, which takes place very near the town. This promenade is delightful; and the object which we went to see fully answered our expectation.

"On returning, just before we entered the gates, we found a party of English gentlemen playing at cricket. This sport, new in the country where it was now exhibited, excited no little portion of Genevese curiosity.

"As we proceeded towards our inn, we passed by the house where Rousseau was born. It is now a barber's shop, and is a mean shabby building. Over it is written, on a brass plate, 'Ici naquit Jean Jacques Rousseau.' You will readily believe that I looked on this humble roof with more interest than I have often experienced on viewing the proudest palaces. The birth of genius fully entitles it to the notice and observation of all strangers who have been moved by the animated language or entertained with the eccentricities of that extraordinary man."

ACCOUNT

Account of Verdun, and the Occupations of the English detained there.

[From Mr. Forbes's Letters from France.]

"Verdun, Decem. 17, 1803.

"As we had but one day more for our specified arrival at this place, and twenty leagues to travel, we were obliged to depart at so early an hour as to prevent us from seeing distinctly any part of Châlons, which is a considerable town, and capital of the department of the Marne. The first four posts from thence to Orbeval offered little worthy of remark but the church of a village about two leagues on our journey, whose exterior presents one of the finest examples of the enriched gothic I had ever seen. Tradition, for I have no historical evidence, states it to have been built by the English, when in possession of this part of France; and this circumstance, whether founded in fact or not, rendered it an interesting object to me. On approaching Orbeval we passed the heights of Valmy, from whence the Prussian army, which was supposed to be on its march to Paris to reinstate Louis XVI. on his throne, so unexpectedly retreated in September 1792, and that excellent prince left to fall a sacrifice to the Jacobin faction. The next stage brought us to St. Menehould, the spot in which the king was discovered in his flight from Paris to Montmedi. This sad catastrophe, from which such a stream of horrors has flowed, is too well known for me to repeat its melancholy history. Drouet the postmaster, who made the fatal discovery, is, at this time, the deputy prefect of the place. On descending the heights from St. Menehould we left the department of the Marne, for that of the Meuse, of which Verdun is a principal town, and proceeded onward to Clermont en Argonne, a place of little consequence, but in the road to it the face of the country changed from dreary plains to all the pleasing variety of hill and dale, domestic cultivation and forest scenery. This beautiful country, however, did not continue, but that through which we since passed is well cultivated, and appeared to possess a considerable population.

"The day had closed before we reached Verdun, when we stopped at the barrier, and, after our passport had been examined, we were ordered to alight and walk to the citadel; but, from the darkness and rain of the night, were permitted to return to our carriage, which, attended by two soldiers, conveyed us through gates and over drawbridges to the quarters of the commandant; where we were all examined as to country, age, profession, &c. My portrait was then taken gratis for the third time, and our visit concluded with being informed, that I must not pass the town gates, but might walk on the ramparts: that I must appear at the hôtel de ville every morning at ten o'clock, and repair to my lodging every night at the tolling of the great bell of the cathedral. Thus ended our journey to Verdun, where, for the first time, in rather an eventful life, I find myself deprived of my liberty, and confined within the walls of a fortress."

"Verdun,

"Verdun, Decem. 31, 1803.

"HAD I written to you under first impressions, I should perhaps have troubled you with little more than an account of my unpropitious journey to this place; no very amusing subject, I assure you: I have therefore waited till I have the satisfaction to inform you that we are settled in a comfortable lodging, with a physician's family, to whom we were recommended from Paris; which, considering there are eight hundred English already here, and more expected, is no trifling acquisition. We have also been able to procure music, drawing, French, and dancing-masters for my daughter. Parisian excellence is not to be expected in Verdun masters: Vestris demanded a louis per lesson for dancing at Paris; here, M. Boriquet, the first professor in the place, humbly asked only ten sous: the drawing-master, having studied six years at Rome, expects fifteen pence, and for music we are to give a shilling a lesson. Mons. Harpin, the French master, is professor of the belles lettres in the college, and formerly professor of chemistry at the central school of Verdun: he was a priest before the revolution, when, being absolved from his vows, he married; and is now the father of a family. The singing-master has been forty years one of the choristers at the cathedral, a worthy old gentleman; who tells us many sad stories of revolutionary phrensy at Verdun: among other wanton sallies, he saw a sacrilegious party enter the church, proceed to the sacred repository of the consecrated wafers for the Eucharist, and give those holy symbols to be eaten by the dogs they had brought in for the purpose.

"We might certainly have been in a more uncomfortable situation; but, still, it is rather trying to a British spirit to be compelled to appear every morning at the general appel of the English, and at nine in the evening, when the great bell of the cathedral tolls, to be compelled to repair to our lodgings, or be sent to prison. A walk without the gates is at present prohibited; at the same time the promenades within the walls are pleasanter than most of those which I have seen in fortified places. The town stands on very unequal ground: the citadel, cathedral, and episcopal palace, are on the summit of a lofty hill, in the vicinity of shady walks, and fine prospects; particularly from the gardens of the episcopal residence, and the adjacent parade. The bishop's palace, now inhabited by the sous-préfet, and many of the best houses, are situated on the summit of the hill near the cathedral; on its acclivity, and immediately surrounding it, is the rest of the town; which consists of several streets, with many good houses and well-furnished shops; particularly those selling liqueurs and confectionary, for which Verdun is famous. The convents and nunneries, formerly amounting to eighteen, are all suppressed; and the parish churches reduced from twenty to three. The lower part of Verdun, where we reside, is pleasingly diversified with wood and water, fields and gardens. The Meuse flows here through verdant meadows with great rapidity; and in its principal stream and different branches, forms several noisy cascades over the artificial precipices from which it rushes into the town. Here the ramparts are shaded by large trees, and the walks through the meadows planted with osiers,

osiers, willows, and alders, a scene very unlike the interior of a fortress, and bearing a great resemblance to Dhirboy in the East Indies, where I so long resided among the peaceful Brahmins. Such is the place of our captivity."

"Verdun, Jan. 29, 1804.

"I embrace a safe opportunity to thank you for your letter dated on Christmas day; which I received unopened. What a treasure of kindness and comfortable intelligence from our friends and native home! We are here kept in total ignorance of what passes in the political world on both sides of the channel; the newspapers of this country give us no authentic intelligence; and not an English one have we seen since the month of June, except the scurrilous Argus, or London reviewed in Paris; which is printed in English, and published three times a week; but as it is the only vehicle by which we can obtain intelligence of any kind from England, I am among the subscribers to this infamous paper.

"We hear various reports concerning the Verdun captives, who at present amount to near eight hundred, some of whom are daily removing to Biche and Charlemont; but I give such rumour no credit; sufficient for the day is the evil thereof. We continue to be favoured with good health and spirits; my personal restrictions are few; for general Wirion has lately excused me from appearing at the municipality more than once in five days, and given me permission to walk or ride out of the gates when I please; but the weather, ever since our arrival, has been too rainy and tempestuous to enjoy that satisfaction. In the mean time we amuse ourselves as much as we can within the walls: but that you may exactly know our situation, I will give you a short sketch of one Verdun day, which may serve for a general diary, as the days here succeed each other with little variety, except from the hopes, fears, and anxieties, which our peculiar destiny naturally suggests.

"About nine o'clock, after attending the appel, we breakfast à l'Anglaise. My daughter then attends to her studies. Her mother looks to her domestic engagements; and my hours pass on in a succession of reading, writing, and drawing. At three my brother joins us on the public promenade, a dry and shady eminence, in the midst of meadows, gardens, groves, water-falls, and rivers, although within the walls of a garrison; we dine together at five, and in the evening are often joined by our English acquaintance, and a very few French visitors. We are happy in a small selection of the former, with whom we can enjoy something of 'the feast of reason and the flow of soul.' We have here English gentlemen in the army, navy, law, physic, and divinity; and many very amiable, as well as highly qualified persons among them. A large college hall has also been permitted to be commodiously fitted up as a place of public worship, where a numerous congregation assembles every Sunday morning: one of the clergymen has undertaken to perform the sacred offices of our church, and is occasionally assisted by his clerical brethren who are among our fellow-prisoners. The general also, by way of entertaining the English, sent for comedians from Metz; and the

the theatre at Verdun is now constantly open, either for the comedy or opera: he has also encouraged a subscription-ball, concert, and other amusements; among them I wish I was not under the necessity of adding a gaming-table: these, with many, will certainly render captivity less irksome; but the English and French do not associate well together in their diversions: I think, indeed, the separation is gradually increasing; and if we have no spies among ourselves, we shall perhaps be the happier for it.

"After a very slight supper we close the day by reading the best of books, and joining in grateful adoration to that being who graciously hears the prayer of the prisoners."

"Verdun, Feb. 13, 1804.

"I SHOULD sooner have acknowledged your kind favour accompanying the Henriade, had I possessed a single topic to render a letter interesting or entertaining. You, who reside in the gay metropolis, have no idea of the monotony which reigns in a fortress cut off from all communication with the rest of the world: day succeeds to day without variety, and this scene of dull uniformity is only interrupted by the dreadful anxiety which pervades some minds, when informed that, for the delinquency of a few individuals, who have effected their escape, prisons, dungeons, bolts, and bars, are preparing for their unfortunate countrymen. However, as the French papers inform you that we are eating, drinking, dancing, singing, and playing all day long, I will leave you to draw your own conclusions; and assure you that your friends from the Hotel de la Rochefoucault, in whose welfare you so kindly interest yourself, are neither depressed by the rumours of increased severity, nor elated with the hope of a speedy deliverance, reports of which are sometimes circulated among the listening crowds of captives, and cause a momentary gleam of joy to gladden their hearts. The expectation of our freedom has however a very different effect upon the generality of the Verdunois, especially the shopkeepers who are fattening at our expence; having raised the price of their commodities almost double since our arrival: nevertheless, Verdun is altogether a cheap place, as you will readily believe when you have looked over the table accompanying this letter; and on which you may rely, as I took considerable pains to obtain a correct account. It is calculated that the English spend here several thousand pounds a week, which is a gold mine of some consequence to a French provincial town, where not long ago the officers upon garrison duty had a dinner of three removes, a dessert, and a bottle of wine each, for thirty-six livres per month; and a family could live in a good style, and keep a horse and cabriolet, for an hundred pounds a year. It is not so with the English, though they cannot complain of the charges being exorbitant: our small family, for instance, is comfortably accommodated in a first floor, consisting of four rooms well furnished, together with a coach-house, stables and other conveniences, and are provided with linen, glass, and china-ware, at a guinea a week. We have a plentiful dinner, and drink Champagne and other good wines, at four louis a week: adding two more for fuel, washing, grocery

and other necessaries, we can for one guinea a day partake of the enjoyments of animal life: intellectual feasts, indeed, and above all, sweet liberty with all her ineffable charms, must for the present remain amongst the pleasures of imagination. We are indeed informed, that when the English have spent a little more of their money in Verdun, they will be ordered to some other poor town, that it may be enriched in the same manner; Verdun having been highly favoured by Bonaparte, in consequence of a petition from the inhabitants complaining of their poverty, since a large part of the garrison was withdrawn to join the army of England."

LIBERATION from VERDUN.

[From the Same.]

"June 4, 1804.

"WEEK succeeds week, but no answer have I yet received from the national institute, or his excellency the war minister; perhaps they are so engrossed at Paris by their new dignities, and preparations for the imperial coronation, that all affairs of less consequence are procrastinated *sine die*: thus hope languishes: the summer advances, and both Bareges, and England, appear at a distance. Our journey to Varennes has given offence to the higher powers, and the English are now prohibited from extending their walks and rides beyond two leagues from the gates of Verdun. This is indeed of little consequence, as nothing can be less interesting than the general face of the country, or more dull than the towns and villages in this part of France: but, as I have already mentioned, we sometimes enjoy a pleasant spot in the woody regions, which compose our boundary. M. Cajot, the gentleman whose house we occupy, was formerly inspector of the forests, and, having a perfect knowledge of the country, kindly points out every thing that may be agreeable to our taste. To him I am indebted for most of my rural sketches, and particularly for a day of tranquillity and repose in the forest of Towane, four or five miles from hence, which he described not only for the picturesque beauty of the woods, but for the ruins of an hermitage, an image of the Virgin venerated by pilgrims, and a sacred fountain springing among the rocks, and fertilizing the meadows of Bourraux, a farm in the adjacent valley, which we made our head quarters. The idea was pleasing, nor did the reality disappoint us: we left our carriage at the farm, when following the course of a rivulet we reached its source at the foot of the woody hills, which suddenly terminate the valley. The fountain is small, but its limpid current has been for ages celebrated for its miraculous virtues in healing fevers, for which it was formerly much frequented. At present, I believe, a certain portion of cortex Peruviana is thought to be a more efficacious febrifuge. On the mossy banks above it, we found

found the decaying shrine of the Virgin, and her mutilated image enwreathed with garlands of flowers. While we were contemplating these objects, the distant sounds of vocal and instrumental music saluted us: and soon after, we beheld, on the surrounding hills, a long procession of priests and choristers, with silken banners and crucifixes, attended by the peasants in their best attire, returning from the Virgin of the Fountain, to finish their solemn rites at the church. It was the Fête Dieu, or Corpus Christi, one of the most sacred festivals in the Roman church. This gave an interest to the scene. From the fountain, a steep narrow path, through thick embowering wood, led us to the hermitage, or rather the remains of this sacred edifice, which many centuries was the successive residence of one of those religious characters, who think it more necessary to their own salvation, to lead a life of solitude and penance, than by fulfilling the useful and delightful duties of social and domestic life. Philibert, the last of these anchorites, died suddenly at the age of ninety, as he was ascending the heights with a pitcher of water from the sacred spring; and a cross indicates the place of his sepulture. It has been somewhat mutilated by revolutionary barbarism, and the hermitage and its other appendages were nearly destroyed. Some flowers still wildly spring on the site of the adjoining garden, surrounded by an amphitheatre of wood, except in front of the hermitage, which, overlooking the nether groves, commands an extensive view of ten leagues over a rich and fertile country, where you distinguish Etain, L'anguy, and other towns, with upwards of sixty villages. Such was the situation selected by the anchorites for their humble abode, where they were constantly visited and fed by a concourse of pilgrims of both sexes, attracted by their reputed sanctity, and the salutary effects of the sacred waters."

"Verdun, June 11, 1804.

"LONG since should I have answered your kind note, accompanying the letter from sir Joseph Banks, but I had too much reason to suppose you would not receive it: and I wished also to send you some satisfactory intelligence. Some weeks ago I received a very polite letter from monsieur Cuvier, secretary to the national institute at Paris, with an assurance of every exertion being made in my favour with the minister of war; but although his letter was dated on the 19 Floreal, (9th of May) I have not yet heard any thing either directly or indirectly, on the very interesting subject of my emancipation. I must, however, acknowledge, that we enjoy here, from the amiable and excellent characters of both sexes which form our society, every rational comfort and pleasure which our situation will admit. Among our chief privileges I consider a regular and becoming attendance on public worship: we have five or six English clergymen at Verdun, one of whom has taken on himself the stated pastoral office, and is occasionally assisted by two other clerical gentlemen of great merit.

"Yesterday was the second commemoration of the Fête Dieu, when the whole city was converted into a forest: the neighbouring woods were despoiled of their honours to decorate the streets of Verdun, and conceal the walls of the houses; while the market-place

and open spaces were filled with bowers, hermitages, cascades, groves, and gardens, surrounding temporary altars, enriched with images, crucifixes, pictures, lighted candles, and all the appendages of the Roman worship. The whole was enlivened by living shepherdesses, selected from the prettiest children in Verdun, each having a lamb adorned with flowers and ribbands, and embowered in the verdant recesses. They were also attended by little boys, clad in skins, tending the same innocent animals, in reference to John the Baptist. The parishes vie with each other in the splendour and expence of their decorations, prepared for the religious procession from the cathedral; which, at different times of the day, visits every altar in the town. This procession consists of all the clergy and choristers, attending the host, carried under a crimson canopy, with incense, banners, crucifixes, and all the pomp of former times. A military detachment, with a band of martial music, accompanies the show, playing solemn airs. At the beat of drum the host is elevated; when the officers, soldiers, and all the populace, kneel down in the streets to receive the benediction; which is repeated at every temporary altar. The whole concludes with a solemn rite at the cathedral. Among the choristers were two girls in nuns habits; so that after all which has lately happened, I shall not be surprised at any revival in France; so rapidly do these people pass from one extreme to another."

"Verdun, June 14, 1804.

"THIS day I received your letter, dated on my natal morn, and replete with the fond effusions of a sister's heart. You need no assurances that mine beats in unison; and, in return, I will cause yours to overflow with joy. I can hardly hold my pen, or connect an idea to tell you of our felicity: indeed, it was at first such a mingled sensation of pain and pleasure, as almost to prevent the power of utterance: in short, your brother is free. Yesterday evening I finished a letter to our valuable friend Dr. ———, and after keeping it open for several days, in hopes of better intelligence, I closed it almost in despair, as upwards of a month had elapsed, without any answer to the request, through the national institute, for our liberation: never had my spirits been so depressed since the period of our captivity. At eight o'clock this morning our bell rang, and one of the gens-d'armes was ushered up stairs; his smiling countenance indicated good news, and he communicated the glad tidings that general Wirion had just received a letter from Paris, with a passport for our proceeding to England, and that he wished to see me with Eliza as soon as convenient: the news was too much for us; and the soldier participated in our mingled emotions. When the first agitation was a little calmed we went to the general, and were received by him and his lady, not merely with politeness, but with the warmth of friendly sympathy and delight. He desired us to peruse the letter from the minister of war, containing the emperor's permission for my return to England, and that I had the choice either of Rochelle or Morlaix for our embarkation. I preferred the latter, but requested to proceed by the way of Paris, which he kindly granted, and desired me to name any day for leaving Verdun, and

passports

passports should be ready; even this very day, if we thought proper. Knowing myself now perfectly safe under imperial favour and imperial mandates, and having several things to do, we have deferred our departure until the 19th, when we intend setting off for Paris, from whence you may be sure of hearing again from us.

"The gens-d'armes communicated the news of our liberation at the morning appel, when we received the warm and affectionate congratulations of our friends and fellow-prisoners: in which, I believe, envy had no share; yet, if any thing might excuse such an emotion, it was an occasion like the present. Some alloy, however, must be mingled with all terrestrial blessings, and ours is imperfect, while I leave an only brother and his family in captivity. Indeed, I can truly say our joy will not be complete until every one of our fellow-captives is equally free."

"June 19, 1804.

"WITH sensations I shall not pretend to describe, I am now seated beneath the shade of a poplar grove, near a small cascade, with the citadel of Verdun in my view, where I am waiting for the carriage which is to conduct myself and my family to the sea-shore; and from thence, I trust, we shall soon be wafted by a southern gale to the land of Liberty.

"We rose early, having, even to the last hour, many things to do, and many kind friends to interrupt us in all our doings. The cathedral clock struck seven as I passed the gates of Verdun, and presented myself, for the last time, to the gens-d'armes at the barrier. We came to Verdun in the depth of winter, amidst rain and wind, and depressed by ill-forebodings of every kind; while we leave it in the midst of summer, when nature is gay and cheerful, and arrayed in the utmost beauty. I am writing in a meadow of new-mown hay, with a delightful prospect all around me, and cheered by a choir of nightingales. The road before me is covered with peasants bearing their country commodities to the Verdun market; while their children are loaded with baskets of cherries and strawberries, with which the woods abound.

"We proceeded on our journey to Châlons through a country already described, which was now enriched with its summer dress, and enlivened by the active scenery of the hay-harvest. The want of daylight, and extreme fatigue both of body and mind, prevented our seeing Châlons in our way to Verdun; we therefore took the present opportunity of viewing all that it offers to the passing traveller. The houses are, in general, of ancient structure; but the prefecture and some other buildings, are in a good style of modern architecture. The convents had been either destroyed or converted to ordinary purposes, but the churches have been suffered to remain. The spires of the cathedral are peculiarly light and elegant, but the images and other sculptures which enriched the exterior, were destroyed at the revolution, and within, its appearance is very inferior to the general figure of the French churches. This place is recovering very fast from all other revolutionary injuries, and has a considerable trade in silk and woollen stuffs, in linen and other manufactures. It is situated on the Marne and is also washed by two inferior rivers; but its communication with

the capital by water takes the circuit of an hundred leagues; while, by land, its distance is no more than forty-one. The walls, bridges, and public edifices, are in an actual state of reparation; and every circumstance, within our observation, indicates a very thriving place. Châlons is often mentioned in the ancient history of France. Attila is related to have been defeated on its plains; and it must live in every one's recollection, that the Prussian army, on its march towards Paris, in the year 1792, received a check in its vicinity, which destroyed the flattering prospects of the royalists. Nor can I forget its delicious wine, particularly the red Champagne, which gratifies the palate and cheers the spirits of the captives of Verdun."

"June 20.

"AT an early hour we proceeded to Jâlons to breakfast. It is no more than a village, but well known for its cakes, which retain their eatable state for twelve months, and are sent to Russia and other distant countries. Two posts onwards brought us to Epernay, a large old town on the banks of the Marne. It was taken by Henry IV, in 1592: and here it was that the maréschal Biron was killed while the king was leaning on his shoulder. The country through which we passed produces abundance of grain, potatoes, and pulse, with vines on the uplands; but we could not but be sensible of that want of animation which distinguishes the landscapes of England. We met very few persons on the roads, and saw no cattle at any distance from the villages.

"Epernay is situated between lofty hills covered with vineyards, which extend to Aye, Hauteville, and other towns in Champagne, celebrated for the finest wine, and from whence the royal cellars were formerly supplied. On leaving this place, we ascended the hills, when a very rich and ever-varying prospect presented itself to us. Hill and dale, wood and water, cornfields and vineyards, gardens and orchards, successively composed it; with an interspersion of towns and villages, modern châteaus, and the ruined towers of ancient castles rising above the gloom of groves which clothe the sides of the mountains. The Marne, both in its distant and approaching meanders, completed the scene. The ruins of the castle of D'arcy was, however, my favourite spot in this delightful part of our journey. In two posts we arrived at Port à Binson on the Marne, whose trade is in wood and charcoal, and from thence proceeded through Dormans, a small town, with some handsome public buildings, to the romantic village of Paroy: the road was occasionally regaled with the fragrance of the beans in full blossom, whimsically planted among the vines, and is bordered with walnut and cherry-trees. At Dormans we quitted the department of the Marne, for that of the Aisne, already mentioned; but the romantic scenery of the former, in a great measure, continued till we reached Château Thierry, which appearing to be an ancient and interesting place, we were induced to remain there the rest of the day. The ruins of its castle, the towers of the churches, the large barracks and other lofty buildings, rendered it a striking object as we viewed it at a distance: but it did not answer our expectation. Its streets, however, are clean, the inhabitants, particularly the women, remarkably

ably neat in their persons, no very common provincial circumstance; and it gave birth to *La Fontaine*. The castle is converted into a prison, and when visited by some English gentlemen in their way to Verdun they found two of their countrymen confined there in separate cells, and in extreme distress. They declared that they were altogether ignorant of the cause of their confinement:—but we have since heard that they had first betrayed their own country, and had afterwards become objects of suspicion to the government which had received their traitorous services."

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

On certain ELEMENTS of GRAMMAR.

[From Mr. BARRON'S LECTURES on BELLES LETTRES.]

"THE only remaining circumstance concerning gender, of importance sufficient to attract attention in an inquiry so general as the present, is the principles which seem to have guided the practice, both of the ancients and moderns, in the classification of nouns expressive of substances of no sex. The proper arrangement would have been, to have made all nouns, not naturally significant of sex, of no gender. This, however, is found not to be the case; for many of these nouns are elevated to the rank of males or females. Two analogies which influenced the conduct of antiquity, still appear to regulate the practice of the French and Italians, and even of ourselves, when we personify, or assign gender to inanimate substances. The former regarded termination; the latter signification. If a noun had a masculine termination, it was raised to the masculine gender, though it inherited no other claim to that pre-eminence. Accordingly, *ventus* and *fluvius* are masculine in Latin, ὄινος and χρυσὸς in Greek. For no better reason were nouns often remitted to the feminine gender, as *semita*, *cathedra*, πρύμνα, μάχαιρα. So powerful, sometimes, was this principle, as to counteract even the analogy of nature, and to banish to the neuter gender, nouns which, from their signification, ought to have been made masculine or feminine. Thus *mancipium* in Latin, and ἀνδραποδον in Greek, both significant of a human creature, were banished to the class of neuters, on account of their termination. In French, *malheur* is masculine, and *maladie* feminine, for a similar reason.

"But signification chiefly seems to have guided the French, in assigning genders to words expressive of neuter substances; and the English, when they personify. Hence nouns, naturally neuter, but denoting something powerful, vigorous, or energetic; as *tonnerre*, *canon*, *transport*, are arranged among masculines; while nouns, significant of capacity, or something prolific, beautiful, or passive, as *chaleur*, *vertu*, *montagne*, *mer*, are associated with the class of feminines. But to this rule there are many exceptions in the French language.

"Articles and adjectives are employed to restrict and explain substantives; and before we relinquish this branch of our subject, they are entitled to some portion of attention.

"Articles are little words prefixed to substantives, or to other parts of speech, used as substantives, to enlarge or circumscribe their meaning. The purpose they serve, will be readily understood from the following simple theory. When we survey any object we never saw before,

before, or speak about an object with which we are not intimately acquainted, the first thing we do to distinguish or ascertain it, is to refer it to its species, or to class it with other objects of its species, of which we have the knowledge. For instance, we would say, *a tree*, *a house*, *a horse*, *a man*, when we wished to denote any individual of these classes which we had never before seen, and of which we knew nothing but its species from its appearance. These objects are individuals of the species called *trees*, *houses*, *horses*, or *men*; and must therefore possess the common qualities of their respective species.

"But, on surveying the same objects a second time, and recollecting our former acquaintance with them, or their own peculiar properties, we would not express our sentiments of them in the same language we did at first. Besides referring them to their species, we would now signify the additional ideas of having formerly seen them, and of having been made acquainted with their nature, or distinction; and would therefore employ the following phraseology, the tree, the house, the horse, the man. The article *a* is called indefinite, because it refers the object to its species only, and denotes our conceptions of it no farther than the common qualities of the species extend. The article *the* is called definite, because it discriminates the object to which it is prefixed from all others of the same species, and denotes our previous acquaintance with it, or its own particular characteristics. A king, a commander, a bookseller, express any individuals of the order of men called kings, commanders, booksellers. But the king, the commander, the bookseller, circumscribe the expression, and signify the king of a particular nation, the commander of a particular army, the bookseller of peculiar eminence, or of some particular town.

"In respect of articles, our own is, perhaps, the most perfect language in the world. The Greek, the French, the Italian, and the Spanish, possess only the definite article. The Greeks, indeed, supplied the place of the indefinite article, by the absence of the definite; the Italians, the Spaniards, and the French, by the adjective *one*. The Romans neither had articles, nor supplied the place of them by any expedient. Their conduct, in this instance, is one cause of the hesitation and suspense to which the reader is sometimes reduced in perusing their splendid, but occasionally equivocal language. A few examples will illustrate these remarks.

"The following phrase, *amicus imperatoris*, admits no fewer than four different interpretations. It may denote either, a friend of a commander, a friend of the commander, the friend of the commander, or the friend of a commander. The Latin reader must collect from the context which of these interpretations it is proper to prefer. He can receive no assistance from the words themselves. The Greek language would distinguish the first sense by the words φίλος ἡγεμόνος, the second by φίλος τῦ ἡγεμόνος, the third by ὁ φίλος τῦ ἡγεμόνος, and the last, by ὁ φίλος ἡγεμόνος. The French would express the first meaning, by *un ami d'un chef*, the second, by *un ami du chef*, the third, by *l'ami du chef*, and the last, by *l'ami d'un chef*. Again, the phrase, *præbe mihi panem*, may be translated either, Give me bread, that

that is, bread in opposition to sugar or wine, or, Give me the bread, which is used at the table. The Greek language can distinguish these meanings, and, to convey the former, would employ the words, δὸς μοὶ ἄρτον, but to convey the latter, the words δὸς μοὶ τὸν ἄρτον. The French would express the former, by *donnez moi du pain*, the latter, by *donnez moi le pain*. The phraseology of Italy and Spain, on this occasion, is perfectly analogous to that of France.

"Between adjectives and participles there is no difference, except that the latter, along with their primary signification, denote the additional idea of time. Both serve to notify the qualities or attributes, and to define or illustrate the meaning, of substantives. Thus the qualities of a man are, black, white, young, old, strong, weak, tall, little; of a horse, black, brown, white, grey, fat, lean, swift, slow; which qualities all tend to describe or distinguish the man or the horse of which we speak, and to discriminate them from all others of their species. I have already made remarks on the genders of adjectives; it remains only to offer a few observations on their comparison.

"All adjectives that denote qualities susceptible of augmentation or diminution, and almost all qualities are so, are susceptible of comparison. It is unnecessary to criticise the propriety of the grammatical word *comparison*, or to inquire whether it can be applied to what is called the positive degree, or the adjective itself. We have no leisure to scrutinize or to rectify the loose and scholastic language of grammarians, and must, therefore, be satisfied with expressing what the subject calls us to explain.

"It was of great consequence in the formation of language, never to descend farther to particulars than was absolutely necessary; because it more completely preserved the simplicity of expression, and rendered communication more easy and expeditious. For this reason, though the degrees of augmentation of which a quality is susceptible may be almost infinite, yet the framers of languages have been content with marking two stages only of these degrees. By the former is signified, that of two qualities compared, one is greater than the other; by the latter is understood, that of any larger number of qualities than two compared, one is the greatest among them. It will easily be perceived, that the former of these stages is called the comparative degree; the latter, the superlative. These two stages have been found sufficient for all the purposes of social communication; and if more minuteness were sometimes necessary, such as twice, thrice, a hundred times greater, it was thought preferable to notify them, by concomitant words, rather than to encumber language, by adopting more stages of comparison than were commonly requisite. The ancient languages express these degrees of comparison chiefly by adding terminations to the adjectives themselves. The modern languages incline more to signify them by auxiliary words.

"Having explained the theory of nouns, both substantive and adjective, it will, perhaps, appear unnecessary, that I should detain you with an illustration of pronouns; the use of them being, as their name implies, to occupy the place of nouns, in order to prevent

too

too frequent and disagreeable repetitions of the same word: as, however, there is something singular, both in the syntax and inflections of pronouns, it will not, I presume, be a misapplication of our time, to offer concerning them a few observations.

"Pronouns are a source of very great convenience and variety in language. Were it not for them, the substantive for which the pronoun stands, must have been repeated every time there was occasion to mention it, and the verbs of all languages would have had much less variety of termination than they possess. Suppose the contents of the following sentence were to be expressed without the use of pronouns: 'Cæsar loved his country, his family, and his friends; but his ruling passion was ambition, and he sacrificed to it all his attachments and his duties.' It must have appeared in this very aukward form: 'Cæsar loved Cæsar's country, Cæsar's family, and Cæsar's friends: but Cæsar's ruling passion was ambition, and Cæsar sacrificed to ambition, all Cæsar's attachments, and all Cæsar's duties.' Suppose, again, Cæsar to have addressed the senate, by a letter couched in the following terms: 'I consent to disband my army, provided you will order my enemy Pompey to dismiss his. I cannot come to Rome in safety without my army, while he retains his near the city;' and that he had been obliged to convey the same sentiments without the aid of pronouns. He must have employed the following words: 'Cæsar consents to disband Cæsar's army, provided the senate will order Cæsar's enemy, Pompey, to dismiss Pompey's army. Cæsar cannot come to Rome in safety without Cæsar's army, while Pompey retains Pompey's army near the city.'

"It is plain, from these examples, that without the use of pronouns, the repetition of nouns would have been intolerable; and that all verbs would have been restricted to the third part of the variety of terminations they now possess. They could have retained only the terminations peculiar to the third persons of the singular and plural numbers. Because the noun requiring the third person of the verb to follow it; and the noun being always repeated without any substitution of the pronoun; the first and second persons of verbs which correspond to the pronouns of the first and second persons, would have been altogether unnecessary; and, of course, must have been banished from the number of their inflections.

"The pronoun *I* is said to be of the first person, because the speaker or the writer employs it to denote himself, and to prevent the disagreeable repetition of his name. Thou, or you, is called the pronoun of the second person, because the speaker or the writer employs it to denote the person or thing addressed, in order to prevent the too frequent recurrence of its name. To both these persons, the verbs of polished languages have adapted terminations, which contribute greatly to promote the variety and the precision of communication. *He, she, it,* are called pronouns of the third person, because they denote some third thing, or person, which has been formerly mentioned, but is not addressed. They are employed, like the other pronouns, to prevent the too frequent appearance of the nouns for which they stand; but they have no terminations of the verbs appropriated

to them. They correspond with the terminations required by the nouns whose places they supply.

"The substantive pronouns are more numerous in English, than in any other of the polished languages, either ancient or modern. The Greeks and Latins have only three such pronouns; those of the first and second persons, *I, thou*; and the reflected pronoun of the third person, *self*, including all genders. The French, the Spaniards, and the Italians, have four; *I, thou*, denoting the first and second persons; and, as they have no neuter genders, *he*, denoting the male, and *she*, the female of the third person. The English have the pronouns of the first and second persons, *I, thou*; but preserving here, as in the case of nouns, a strict accommodation to the genders of nature, they present, in the third person, *he*, to denote the male, *she* to denote the female, and a fifth, *it*, to denote every substance of no gender, or of which the gender is unknown. The pronoun *it* is perhaps the most general word in the language, being employed to supply the place of all substantives, and even of things without names. There is not a thing in language, or in nature, which *it* may not represent.

"In respect of the pronouns of the first and second persons, the merit of polished tongues is nearly equal. In the ancient languages, it is seldom necessary to produce them, as they are readily suggested by the correspondent termination of the verb. In the modern languages, this liberty can seldom be indulged without ambiguity or affectation, because the terminations of their verbs are not sufficiently varied, to distinguish with certainty one pronoun from another. In denoting the pronoun of the third person there is the greatest difference, and the merits of different languages are most discernible.

"Both the Greek and Latin languages are well provided with words for this purpose; *αὐτος, ἐκεῖνος, ἄντος, ille, iste, hic, ipse, is*; which are all adjectives, and have all the varieties of gender, both in the singular and plural numbers. Both the French and the Italians have two pronouns of the third person, and these in the plural have likewise their varieties of gender. Our own language is here not a little defective, owing to its rigid attachment to the simplicity of nature, which is the leading principle of its structure. We have no adjective pronoun of the third person; and even the little variety we have in the singular number is diminished in the plural.

"Though we possess three pronouns, *he, she, it*, to express the third person in the singular number, yet, unless the subject of discourse be a male or a female, or some inanimate substance personified, we are not at liberty to denote that subject by any other word than *it*; and as the far greater part of the occasions on which the third person must be employed, refer to other things than males, or females, or personifications, we are in a great measure restricted, even in the singular number, to the use of *it* alone. We are still more embarrassed in the plural number, for *he, she, it*, have no other plural for them all than *they*, which also is destitute of all variety of gender.

"The ambiguity resulting from the nakedness of our language, in respect of the pronouns of the third person, is the chief defect, perhaps, to which it is obnoxious. Open only the works of any of the principal writers of the latter part

of the seventeenth century, particularly the history of lord Clarendon, or the prose compositions of Milton, and they will be found in many places scarcely intelligible, because the authors were obliged, from a deficiency of pronouns of the third person, to refer the same relative to different antecedents in the same sentence. Similar inaccuracies, though less frequent, still appear in the writings of our purest and most elegant authors. Indeed, any person in the least accustomed to correct composition, must be sensible that errors of this sort are the most difficult to be avoided in our language.

"A singularity respecting the inflections of personal pronouns must not pass unnoticed. They have almost all three cases, a nominative, a genitive, and an accusative: *I, mine, me; thou, thine, thee; he, his, him.* Some grammarians, however, contend, that *mine, thine,* are not genitives, but pronominal adjectives employed instead of *my, thy*: but one of two things must be admitted; either that they are real genitives, as our best grammarians make them, or that they are used in a manner different from these adjectives, and without being conjoined with their substantives. For in the following sentence, *my* cannot be substituted in the place of *mine*: 'This book is mine.' The nominative of the pronoun almost always appears before the verb, and the accusative after it; and as no other of our substantives have accusatives, the syntax of the pronouns is the only case in which we discern the tendency of our language, to adopt the analogies of the ancient languages, by assigning to the active verb the government of an accusative case.

"I have now finished the discussion of nouns, and their dependents, articles, adjectives, participles, and pronouns, which denote the first great branch of our knowledge; the names and the nature of the substantives which exist in matter or in the mind. I proceed to the discussion of verb, and its dependent adverb; which denote the second great branch of our knowledge, the actions and energies, with their modifications, which substances exert in respect of themselves, or of one another.

"The radical characteristic of the verb is action or energy. I read, run, walk, eat, drink, sit, sleep, are all expressions, declarative of some operation or exertion performed by the creature or thing that is the nominative to the verb. Every action implies existence, and the activity or patience of some agent; and hence the common definition of the verb, that it signifies to be, to do, or to suffer. It is the most intricate of all the parts of speech; and this intricacy results unavoidably from the combination of ideas it is employed to express. Let us consider the various circumstances which must be communicated by the word denoting an action. The chief of these refer to time and manner.

"In relating an action, it is not sufficient for the purposes of communication to signify barely its existence; it is commonly requisite to be more particular, and to notify whether it is finished, is finishing, or will be finished. Hence arises the necessity that the verb, along with the signification of action, should likewise express time. But the manner also of the execution of the action is often of great importance to be communicated. For example, whether the agent operated

rated with deliberation, confidence, and resolution, or with embarrassment, hesitation, and suspicion; whether he commanded the performance of the action, or signified only his inclination that it should be performed. Hence resulted the necessity, that the verb, along with the signification of action and time, should also denote manner. You will easily perceive in these observations the origin of the tenses and moods of verbs.

"As it was necessary that the circumstances of time and manner should attend the signification of action; the next important step in the formation of language, was to determine by what means this combined communication should be accomplished. One of two methods, it seems, must have been adopted; either to vary the terminations of the verb, or to conjoin with it auxiliary words, so as to convey these additional circumstances.—The former of these methods, with a mixture of the latter, in the passive form of their verbs, was employed by the Greeks and Romans. The latter method, with a mixture of the former, in the active form of their verbs, has been adopted by the English, the French, and the Italians.

"The structure of the verb was rendered still more complicated, because it was found requisite, that along with the signification of action, time, and manner, it should also denote person and number, to adapt it for corresponding with the persons and numbers of nouns and pronouns with which it might be connected. To combine together so many important articles in the inflections of one word, required a degree of ingenuity, which nothing could supply but the discernment and experience of ages.

"In respect of time, it may perhaps be imagined, on the first view, that it would be sufficient for the purposes of communication, if the verb denoted the general division of it, into past, present, and future; but a little experience would discover the imperfections of this arrangement. The very fleeting nature, indeed, of present time, made any subdivision of it both difficult and unnecessary; and for this reason all polished languages, according to the general opinion of grammarians, have in any mood one tense only appropriated to express it. A similar opinion seems to have guided the construction of languages for expressing future time. That future time, including a long duration, was divisible into parts, must soon have been perceived; but the total ignorance in which mankind are involved concerning actions that may take place in that period, must have divested them of all disposition to mark differences of future time, or to provide language with tenses for that purpose.

"Hence appears the reason why all polished languages, expect the Greek, have also been contented with one tense, expressive of future time. The Greeks, it has been supposed, wished to circumscribe future time, by their tense denominated *paulo post futurum*, by which they intended to signify that the action was future; but would not be long so, as the time of its execution would quickly arrive.—This tense, however, must be considered as a specimen of the ingenuity of the Greeks, and of their great zeal to cultivate and improve their language, rather than as requisite for the communication of knowledge; for it very rarely occurs in any of their works. Later

grammarians

grammarians controvert even the existence of this tense.

"The past, then, is the time which the framers of all languages have been chiefly anxious to subdivide. Most of the actions which could be the subject of discourse or writing, must have taken place in past time; and to render the accounts of them more conspicuous and intelligible, it must often have been requisite to specify the progress, or the stages, of their execution. Hence the various divisions of past time, and the different tenses significant of them, with which all languages, even the most imperfect, abound. Of polished languages, the least complete, in this respect, have three divisions; a pluperfect tense, by which is signified that the action is finished, and that some time has intervened since it was completed; a perfect, which denotes that the action is finished, but that very little or no time has elapsed since its completion; and an imperfect, which signifies that the action had been going on, but had not been completed. These are all the tenses significant of past time, possessed by the language of ancient Rome.

"But the Greek language, the English, and the French, besides these tenses, employ another, which the Greeks call an aorist, and which denotes only, that the action is completed, without distinguishing in what division of past time the completion took place, or whether the execution was pluperfect, perfect, or imperfect.

"If we attend to the usual course of speaking and writing, we will find, that this state of an action very frequently occurs; and, therefore, that a tense adapted to express it is of singular convenience and advantage. In numerous cases, the completion of the action is the only circumstance of consequence to be communicated; and in all such cases, the aorist is the proper tense to be employed. The language of ancient Rome retains, on this occasion, a portion of that ambiguity, to which it must be allowed to be obnoxious in some other articles. For it is from the sense of the context only, that the hearer or the reader can discover whether *amavi* denotes the aorist ἐφίλησα, *j'aimai*, I loved, or the perfect past, πεφίληκα, *j'ai aimé*, I have loved."

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATE of ANCIENT and MODERN WRITERS.

[From the Same.]

"ONE of the most singular appearances in the history of society, is the progress of letters; and considering how extensive the period is from their first illustrious display in Greece to the present time, we can scarcely with-hold wonder that the number of compositions of merit is so small. Climate, or natural causes, may have some influence; government cannot be doubted to have a great deal; but emulation, and the love of fame, seem to be the chief causes to

to which we are to impute the flourishing state of every species of composition, except oratory, which appears to be prompted chiefly by ambition and times of danger. As emulation and the love of fame are the principal causes to which we are to ascribe the eminence of poets, philosophers, historians, and critics, yet conspicuous exhibitions in any of these lines are to be expected only when the full and free exercise of the powers of genius and industry is countenanced, at least not discouraged by government; when society is so far advanced, so polished and enlightened, as to discover and applaud what is meritorious; and when the exertions of genius are instigated by rivalship. If we consult the history of literature, we shall find, that in the fortunate conjunctures in which all these favorable circumstances have concurred, authors of eminence have sprung up with rapidity, and in clusters, like plants from a hot-bed.

"The progress of poetry, however, is not altogether regulated by the same circumstances which are supposed to influence the production of prose compositions; and epic poetry particularly seems to constitute a remarkable exception. It appeared in Greece in the poems of Homer some centuries at least before any composition in prose which merited the attention of posterity; for it is scarcely supposeable that all productions in prose should have perished, while those in poetry remained. The singular institution of bards, and the practice of reciting at festivals and public solemnities the illustrious deeds of patriots and heroes, so consonant to the notions of a warlike and magnanimous, though an uncultivated and unpolished people, seems to have contributed to the early perfection of epic composition. Attachment to poetry might even introduce a contempt and dislike of prose, and may help to account for the late appearance of that species of composition. It is well known, that even the laws and public acts of rude communities were sometimes written in verse.

"Among the first good compositions in prose which were produced in Greece, was probably the history of Herodotus, and it is the most early and best of that species which has descended to modern times. He lived between the Persian invasion and the Peloponnesian war, about four hundred and forty years before the birth of Christ, and was the dawn of the illustrious age of his country.—From the time of his appearance to the expedition of Alexander the Great into Asia, (a period of less than one hundred and fifty years), were displayed all those conspicuous exertions of the genius of Greece, which all men of letters have hitherto admired, and all refined ages will continue to admire. The principal writers of this period were, Euripides, Sophocles, Thucydides, Isocrates, Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes. Alexander the Great annihilated the liberty of Greece, and with it fled her spirit and her genius.

"After the Romans had overrun the greater part of Greece, they were tempted to turn their attention towards the precious remains of literature and arts which that country had to exhibit. But so unpolished still were this great people, that in the six hundred and seventh year of their city, scarcely a hundred years before the termination of the commonwealth, Lucius Mummius, a Roman consul, was

so

so imperfect a judge of the value of the exquisite statues and paintings which he found in the plunder of the city of Corinth, that he took an obligation of the shipmaster who was to convey them to Rome, to replace or repair them, if any of them were lost or injured in the voyage. His only conception of their use was to grace his triumph, and the number, not the workmanship, was to himself and his countrymen the chief object of attention.

"Before the age of Cicero, Rome had produced few writers of eminence, except Plautus and Terence, both of whom, particularly the latter, seem entitled to little other fame than that of translators from the Greeks. The pure period of Roman genius did not long surpass Cicero. It can scarcely be extended beyond the age of Livy, though several authors of great merit are to be found after that time. According, then, to this computation, the golden age of Roman genius did not much exceed one hundred years, and was somewhat shorter than that of Greece. The great ornaments of this period were, Lucretius, Cæsar, Cicero, Sallust, Tibullus, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Livy. The revolution of the civil government affected the genius of Rome, as it had done that of Greece, with a shock from which it never recovered. But the genius of Rome languished much longer than that of Greece before it expired. Of all antiquity, no two periods were so refined as those of Greece and Rome I have mentioned. At no other times was literary merit to obtain such high praise, or were great men to derive so much emulation and improvement from one another. No other ancient nations, not even the Greeks and Romans themselves, were so high-minded, and so full of great views, in any other periods as they were in these.

"After the termination of the golden age of Rome, genius gradually subsides, and seems to descend into a state of torpor, if not total extinction, in the cells of monks, or to wander unregarded in the deserts of Arabia, till the restoration of civilization, learning, and arts, aided by the useful invention of printing, caused her revive with a large portion of her ancient lustre. For a term, therefore, of near two thousand years, from the first appearance of letters in Greece, to the invention of printing in the beginning of the fifteenth century, no more than two hundred and fifty years can be found, which were enlightened and adorned with the brightest displays of human genius; a demonstration either of the astonishing delicacy of literary merit, or of the slow and difficult steps by which society advances in knowledge and refinement.

"Printing has so corrected and dispersed the most valuable productions of ancient and modern times, that scarcely any revolution in human affairs can be supposed to introduce such ignorance and error as prevailed before it was invented. With the introduction of an art so auspicious to learning, genius and industry assumed new vigour, and redoubled their efforts. The spirit of the sixteenth century caught fire from the publication and perusal of the illustrious remains of Greece and Rome, and was distinguished by an acquaintance with their writers and language, which has not yet been equalled.

"The transition from the use of the Latin language, in which almost all the modern authors began to write after the revival of learning,

ing, and the hesitation under which literary men long remained, whether they should relinquish that language, and cultivate their own more imperfect languages, repressed considerably the efforts of modern genius. All men of letters regretted the labour and difficulty of writing in a dead language, and on topics which it often had not words to express. They felt also the disagreeable inconveniencies of having the knowledge of their labours confined to the learned, instead of diffusing useful or amusing information among all ranks of people, and of receiving that just and general applause which usually attends genuine merit. A few successful efforts gave conviction that modern languages were fully adequate to do justice to the conceptions of the most eminent authors; and it was found, that much less time and study were requisite to acquire an intimate acquaintance with any polished language of modern Europe, than to qualify an author for writing with elegance in the language of ancient Rome.

"The Italians appeared foremost in this new path of fame. Before the invention of printing, they possessed a considerable share of taste, perhaps from a communication with Constantinople, where learning subsisted till the middle of the fifteenth century, when that city was taken and plundered by the Turks: and they wrote their own language with wonderful propriety. Before the beginning of the seventeenth century, Petrarch, Dante, Boccaccio, Ariosto, displayed in their works an extent of knowledge, a richness of genius, and an elegance of language, which have scarcely yet been surpassed. Tasso, Guarini, Davila, and Machiavel, have not obscured the fame of these writers. England followed the example of Italy, and in the end of the sixteenth century, and the beginning of the seventeenth, her best authors wrote her own language, with a purity and correctness which are not always to be found in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and which have not even in the eighteenth been very often exceeded. The works of Hooker, lord Bacon, Shakspeare, the Homilies and Prayer Book of the Church of England, not to mention the translation of the Bible, present a propriety of style which is not always found in Milton, Clarendon, or Tillotson, and scarcely in Dryden and lord Shaftsbury. The cival wars of England infected her language and her taste, with a degree of corruption which it required the merit of Pope, Addison, and Swift, to banish, and to re-establish former purity. The highly-finished productions of later times have not done much more than to regain primitive correctness.

"The French began last to polish their language, but their progress was very rapid. Before the middle of the seventeenth century, they could boast of few authors whom any reader would wish to peruse twice. Early in the eighteenth century, their language and their genius seem to have reached their highest eminence. Pascal commenced this career, and was quickly followed by Malebranche, Flechier, Corneille, Racine, Boileau, Fontenelle, Moliere. These authors retain the character of French classics: even the great names of Rousseau, Voltaire, and Raynal, have not aspired to higher praise than to share their fame.

"While the greater part of the learned men of modern Europe were

were pleased to write the language of ancient Rome, conscious of their inferiority on account of the disadvantages under which they laboured, they looked up to the ancients with the respect which scholars naturally entertain for their masters, and presumed not to rival them in the merits of execution and originality. But scarcely had the French begun to write their own language with a purity which attracted the attention of Europe, when their national ambition was excited; they claimed to be held originals themselves, both in respect of matter and style, and thus aspired to rival, if not to surpass, the merit of the ancients. Hence arose an extraordinary controversy, which commenced in France, concerning the comparative excellence of ancient and modern writers, and which was agitated with great keenness, and even asperity, at its first appearance. Many learned treatises were published, many bold assertions were advanced. Boileau and madame Dacier undertook the defence of the ancients, and asserted their right to superiority; Perrault and la Motte maintained the claims of the moderns. Much partiality, and abuse, and ignorance, as commonly happens in similar cases, were displayed in the course of the controversy, relative to the respective constituents of the parties.

"The dispute extended to England. The gentle, the humane, the indolent sir William Temple was roused to engage in it, and undertook the cause of the ancients, which he supported with much learning, discernment, and good taste. The sentiments, however, even of this able champion did not convey universal satisfaction; they were controverted, and attacked, by several obscure, but pertinacious writers among his countrymen. Society was pestered and tired with the dispute, till Swift exposed the whole of it to ridicule, by the irresistible vein of keen satire with which he has handled it, in his curious treatise on the battle of the books in St. James's library.

"But though the violence, and mistakes, and misrepresentations of the first disputants have long ago subsided, yet so much solid foundation is the controversy accounted to have, that we very frequently meet it in conversation; and so much inclined are many readers to obtain information concerning it, as to afford considerable currency to a learned essay published by Mr. Dutens, a clergyman of the church of England. This author, in the course of other employments, had been obliged to consult most of the ancient writers of chief reputation, and he scruples not to affirm, that, in all compositions of genius and taste, their superiority is palpable and incontestable, and that vestiges are to be found in their writings of all the most brilliant discoveries in science and arts. This author is entitled to more consideration than any of his predecessors. He displays no malevolence, or inclination to misrepresent either of the parties; he never supposes the reader is to be satisfied with his authority or interpretation; he presents on his margin the passages on which he founds his opinion, and leaves every reader a fair field to decide for himself.

"In a controversy, then, which seems of importance sufficient to attract a little of our attention, we will endeavour to get possession of those principles by which a proper judgement must be supported. The neglect of this precaution has been the origin of much useless dis-

putation in all controversies, but particularly in the present. It is always to be remembered, that no fair comparison can be instituted between ancient and modern authors, except where circumstances are nearly similar. We will not be so unreasonable as to complain that our poets do not equal Homer, or our orators Demosthenes and Cicero, if the dissimilarity of their circumstances rendered it impossible. We will not expect that our poets and orators should equal or surpass those of antiquity in circumstances so unfavourable, that, had the poets and orators of antiquity been in them, they would not have surpassed our own. We will not demand that the ancient philosophers should have made the same progress in science which ours have done, when the latter have had the advantage of all the researches and experience of the former, besides the aid of several subsidiary arts and systems then unknown. Another principle entitled to attention is, that the inferiority of the moderns, or the superiority of the ancients, in different articles, is no reproach or compliment to the genius of either. There is no reason to conclude that vigour of genius is confined to one period of society more than another. It depends on external causes; let the same causes exist, and the same vigour will be displayed. Guided by these solid principles, let us now inquire a little what are the facts.

"That Homer must still bear away the palm of epic poetry from Virgil himself, and all the moderns, no candid critic will much hesitate to admit. He possesses more variety of character, more originality, more beautiful description, more elegance and simplicity of style, than any other poet. But I will venture to maintain, that a great part of this excellence is to be imputed to the situation of the times in which he lived. The natural manners and magnanimity of those times were particularly favourable to the simplicity and sublimity of his sentiments and style. The high honours conferred on bards, being considered as the sages, the legislators, and the heralds of their age, as companions of kings, and guests at all festivals, would prompt the liveliest exertions of genius. He had all nature before him unoccupied, and all his pictures of her, at least to us, wear the merit and charm of novelty. Had either Virgil or Milton lived in the same circumstances, I doubt not that they would have rivalled him in other particulars, and have surpassed him in judgement and sublimity. They equal him in these qualities, notwithstanding the disadvantage of being obliged to imagine all the interesting situations of their heroes, without having ever seen or conversed with such men. Ossian derives his extraordinary merit from circumstances similar to those of Homer, from living and conversing with such men as those of whom he sung.

"Euripides and Sophocles are the only tragic poets of antiquity, for the Romans produced none entitled to notice; and considerable as their merit is in point of character, passion, and style, they seldom possess much excellence in point of fable. It was impossible that they should deserve much praise in this article, for they wrote too fast to acquire it.—Of the few plays of Sophocles which remain, scarcely any, except the Œdipus Tyrannus, can be said to have much fable; they are often little more than mere dialogues,

dialogues, and the actors go and come without much apparent reason. The taste of the Greeks in tragic representations could not be refined, when we reflect, that little more than thirty years before the time of Sophocles and Euripides, their theatrical exhibitions were no better than musical entertainments, exhibited by strollers equipped in the most homely manner. Thespis was manager of such a band, and Horace describes his cavalcade in the following words,

'Dicitur et Thespis vexisse poemata plaustris.'

"He had only one speaker, who was introduced to give the singers some respite. Æschylus succeeded him, and first presented dialogue, or exhibited something like a tragedy; he did not live above thirty years before Euripides and Sophocles. These poets may surpass modern tragedians in simplicity and propriety of style, but it requires an uncommon reverence for antiquity to prefer them in every other view.

"In comedy, every candid judge must give the preference to the moderns. The old comedy of the Greeks, in which living characters were introduced and ridiculed, though it might display boldness and spirit, was the coarsest, grossest ribaldry, that ever disgraced a stage. The object of it was not more reprehensible than the execution was indelicate. We cannot read, without the most lively feelings of disgust and contempt, the rough daubing of Aristophanes, by which the Athenians were instigated to put to death Socrates, one of the best men and worthiest citizens they ever had. The most worthless licentious farce ever appeared on the English stage, is not so opprobrious. The new comedy, in which Menander and others excelled, and of which we may form some notion from the translations of Terence, though the originals are lost, was a much more perfect species of composition.—Simple, however, and natural and innocent as the dialogue is, it contains little wit or spirit, and less variety of character. Nearly the same characters recur in every play; and even the circumstances in which they appear are not much changed.

"Greece and Rome are unrivalled in oratory, but many circumstances concurred to produce that effect. I explained the chief of these in the history of eloquence. Had modern genius been placed in the same situation, I doubt not of its having made as eminent a figure.

"Historical composition is the field in which comparison can be made with most equity, because circumstances are most similar; and here it must be admitted, that the respective merits of candidates are so nearly balanced as to create some hesitation. In purity and correctness of style, liveliness of description, and candour of relation, no authors surpass Thucydides and Livy; but they must be admitted to be inferior to the best modern historians in forming an interesting and instructive narration. The capital secret of composing history, namely, to extend or abridge the narration according to the importance of the matter, seems little attended to by the former. By the use of it, and that most enlightened spirit of political and philosophical knowledge with which the latter have adorned their relations, they have communicated to them a degree of perfection for which we seek in vain among the ancients.

"In moral philosophy the merit of the ancients was considerable; but it was unfortunate that the Greeks did not apply very closely to the study of it, till the most illustrious age of their literature was past. Plato, indeed, has advanced many fine views of the subject, and adorned it with all the ornaments of a rich imagination. His example was followed by Xenophon in his Memorabilia Socratis, and both may be read with much emolument. But we see in them few principles or accurate delineations of the human mind; they either deviate into abstract reasonings, or content themselves with recommendations of particular virtues from considerations of utility. The schools of philosophy, especially those of the Stoics and Epicureans, which arose from the ruins of the schools of eloquence, generated controversies and maintained systems, rather than improved the science of the human mind. Mutual antipathies tempted both to push their doctrines to extremity, and to overlook the true science of nature situated between them.

"The Stoics considered man as a pure intelligence, and made little allowance for his possessing appetites and passions. They would scarcely permit him to feel that he was a man, and considered him unnaturally as independent of things about him. The Epicureans run to the opposite extreme. They held him forth as formed principally to consult his pleasure and his ease; and were not sufficiently assiduous to inculcate virtue as the means of obtaining both. Their system was hostile to all the manly and generous efforts of the soul, and contributed to sink its votaries into indolence or criminal gratification. We need not hesitate to pronounce, that the doctrine of the human mind is now better understood than it was by either of these sects of philosophers.

"But it is in the mathematical sciences, and in the knowledge of the system of nature, that the superiority of modern attainments is most conspicuous. The ancients extended not their inquiries beyond the properties of lines of the second order, called Conic Sections; and it does not appear that they applied the science of these to any use. It was reserved for Newton to explain by their means, the laws which govern the motions of the planets. We are told that the Pythagoreans were acquainted with the Copernican system; but this acquaintance could hardly amount to more than conjecture, for they wanted every resource to proceed farther. They had no glasses with which to make observations, and their study of the heavenly bodies seems to have been directed rather to astrology than to astronomy. They might be admired by the ignorant inhabitants of Italy, among whom they lived; but their whimsical nostrums concerning abstinence from animal food, and the transmigration of souls, rather suggest the character of empirics in philosophy, than of enlightened and rational inquirers.

"Some people will conclude that Plato was acquainted with the circulation of the blood, which is supposed one of the most illustrious discoveries of modern medicine, because, in speaking of it, he employs the Greek word περιαγεσθαι, which signifies to be carried round. But if the use of figurative language is to be supposed a good argument for the knowledge of the ancients, there is scarcely any knowledge of which they may not be shown to be possessed. Had this

doctrine

doctrine been understood by them, is it possible it should never be mentioned in terms explicit and full, that no reasonings should be founded on it, no causes of diseases deduced from it? In a word, to improve our genius and our taste, we cannot read the ancients too much; but we must seek important additions to our knowledge, whether moral, political, or mathematical, among the moderns."

On Perception.

[From Mr. Scott's Elements of Intellectual Philosophy.]

"WE have seen with how little success philosophers have invented theories, in order to throw light upon the process of sensation; and to trace the particular manner in which material objects convey impressions to our intellectual principle. They have not been less desirous to investigate the mode of action of perception; but as this faculty is of a still more intellectual and refined nature, it is not to be supposed that their hypotheses have been attended with very fortunate results. Such hypotheses, however, have been very prevalent from the remotest antiquity; and, contrary to the general course of such things, have preserved a considerable uniformity, and been implicitly admitted by succeeding philosophers as a rational basis of investigation. The consequence has been, a systematic diffusion of error in this branch of science, unparalleled in any other; so as at length to be matured into a complete system of scepticism, or disbelief. Those who wish to see the gradual progress of this sceptical philosophy completely developed, are referred to Dr. Reid's Second Essay on the Intellectual Powers. Our present plan requires only a brief statement of the leading opinions of philosophers concerning the operation of perception.

"The first philosopher, in whose writings we find a systematic theory concerning perception, is Aristotle. According to this theory, perception, as well as all the other operations of the mind, is carried on by the agency of certain images, forms, or species of material objects there present. The images presented to our senses were called sensible species, or forms; and were supposed to be continually sent off from material objects, in all directions; so that by entering at the avenue of the senses, they produced perception during the day, and dreaming during the night. These images were supposed to be again presented to the memory, or imagination, in a more refined state, when they were called species, simply; and when presented to the intellect in their most refined state of all, they were called phantasms; and it was maintained, that there can be no perception, memory, or intellection, without species, or phantasms.

"This theory was well adapted to the Peripatetic philosophy, which resolved all the phenomena of the material world into the effects of two principles, called *matter* and *form*. It does not, however, appear to have originated with Aristotle; for the followers of Democritus and Epicurus held a similar doctrine

with regard to slender films of subtile matter, which they supposed to come from external objects. It is likewise probable that the Pythagoreans and Platonists taught a similar theory of perception; as may be gathered from the hints which Plato gives in the seventh book of his Republic, concerning the manner in which we perceive the objects of sense; which he compares to the situation of persons in a deep and dark cave, who see not external objects themselves, but only their shadows, by a light let into the cave through a small opening.

"The principal difference among these sects, was concerning the origin of the objects of the human understanding. According to the Peripatetics, these must all enter originally by the senses, as sensible species, and are merely refined and rendered more spiritual by the intellectual faculties. This doctrine afterwards passed into the maxim, 'Nihil est in intellectu quod non fuit prius in sensu.' Plato, on the other hand, had a very mean opinion of all the knowledge we get by the senses. All science, according to him, must be employed about what he called *ideas*, which are the eternal and immutable patterns of things, which existed before the objects of sense themselves, and are not liable to any change. This doctrine nearly coincides with what the Pythagoreans taught concerning their numbers.

"The Peripatetic philosophy, as is well known, continued to prevail in the world during a period of several centuries; nor were its metaphysical doctrines successfully opposed till the time of Descartes. The theory of perception, above detailed, received a considerable modification from this philosopher. He did not, however, totally reject it; for he held it as certain, that it is only a representative picture, form, or species of an object, that is present in the mind when we perceive, and not the object itself. But he denied that these forms, or species, are sent forth from external bodies; and shewed the absurdity of this doctrine by solid arguments. He also gave the name of *ideas* to the representative forms which he supposed to be present in the mind; a term which he seems to have borrowed from the philosophy of Plato. Another peculiarity in the Cartesian system, was the origin which it assigned to certain of our ideas, such as those of time, space, motion, &c.; which it represented to be innate, or coeval with the mind itself.

"The Cartesian theory of perception was variously modified by Malebranche, and other succeeding metaphysicians: but it is not necessary, here, to specify the peculiar notions of each. The writings of Mr. Locke are justly entitled to more consideration than those of any philosopher of the period in question. It does not appear that his opinions, concerning perception, differed materially from those of Descartes; except in respect of the origin which he assigned to the representative images, or ideas, as they now were universally named. In this respect he differed both from the Peripatetics and Cartesians; and assigned all our ideas, or notions, to two sources, viz. 1st, sensation; and, 2d, reflection or consciousness, as we have already had occasion to specify.

"It is an evident consequence of the doctrine of perception, as admitted by Descartes and Mr. Locke, that we have no direct evidence for the existence of external objects, or

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of a material world; since all the objects of our perception and consciousness are only ideas, or images, which have no dependence whatever upon external things. Both philosophers were too acute not to perceive this inference; but neither were inclined to give up the existence of a material world, although we have found them, without reluctance, relinquishing the independent existence of the secondary qualities of body. The arguments, however, by which they endeavoured to establish the real existence of matter, are not very strong, and founded chiefly upon this position, that a benevolent Supreme power would never have given us faculties like the senses, merely in order to deceive us.

"But although we find Descartes and Mr. Locke conceiving that the existence of a material world is only supported by probable arguments, we are scarcely prepared for a system so repugnant to common sense, as positively and seriously to deny the existence of any kind of matter whatever. Yet such was the system of the ingenious bishop Berkeley, who was considered as one of the most philosophical reasoners of his day. The denial of the existence of the secondary qualities of body, but as mere sensations of the mind, which we have seen formed a part of the systems of Descartes and Locke, no doubt prepared the way for this sceptical doctrine; and it was not difficult to extend the arguments, by which the non-existence of the secondary qualities of body was supposed to be proved, to the primary also. These, according to the prevailing theory of perception, were mere ideas or images present in the mind; and we know nothing of them but as ideas existing in the mind; so that of the existence of external bodies we have no evidence. Berkeley states his system as a thing very obvious, and readily to be admitted. 'Some truths there are,' says he, 'so near and obvious to the mind, that a man need only open his eyes to see them. Such I take this important one to be, that all the choir of heaven, and furniture of earth,—in a word, all those bodies which compose the mighty frame of the world, have not any subsistence without a mind.'

"Berkeley, though he denies the existence of a material world, yet, as became his cloth, decidedly espouses the existence of a world of spirits. In order to this, he admits that there are certain objects of human knowledge, which are not ideas, but things which have a permanent existence. These are our own minds, and their various operations, other finite minds, and the Supreme mind. And this he thinks must follow from the very nature of ideas, which, being inert, passive, unthinking beings, cannot be the images of thinking and active beings; of those very beings in which they exist.

"It was a large stride in scepticism to deny the existence of a material world: but the tenets soon after advanced by Mr. Hume, and grounded upon the same theory of our perceptions, go far beyond this, even to deny the existence of mind, as well as matter. This philosopher distinguishes the images, or pictures, which were supposed to be the objects of our thoughts, into two classes, which he calls impressions and ideas; and comprehends under the first, all our sensations, passions, and emotions; and, under the last, the fainter copies of these, when we remember, imagine, or reason concerning

cerning them. He sets out with this as a principle that needed no proof, (and of which, therefore, he offers none), that all the perceptions of the human mind resolve themselves into these impressions and ideas. This being granted, it was easy to shew, by the same process which Berkeley employed to prove the non-existence of matter, that there is neither matter nor mind in the universe; nothing but impressions and ideas. What we call a body, is only a bundle of sensations; and what we call the mind, is only a bundle of passions, thoughts, and emotions, without any subject: so that Mr. Hume does not leave us even a self to claim the property of these impressions and ideas.

"The system of Mr. Hume is not to be considered as a mere philosophical reverie, concerning the manner in which the operations of the mind are conducted; but as a highly dangerous and insidious attempt to overturn every principle of belief, and rule of conduct. For it admits no other standard by which our opinions and reasonings are to be guided, than those hypothetical impressions, or ideas, which we are to look for within ourselves. From this singular assumption, the author endeavours logically to deduce, that there is no such thing as power, or intelligence, in the universe; no active cause, or voluntary agent; no time or space, matter or mind: in fine, that there is no such thing as evidence, or even probability; nor any reason why we should believe one thing, more than its contrary.

"Philosophical scepticism had now arrived at its utmost limits; and it became time to assert the privilege of reason, and examine upon what foundation doctrines of so preposterous and dangerous a tendency rested. Dr. Reid has unquestionably the merit of being the first who successfully executed this task; and in his various works on the human mind, he has so completely accomplished it, as to leave little more to succeeding writers than to select and illustrate his various arguments.

"On examining the ground upon which the modern sceptical system rests, it is found to be nothing more than the hypothesis which represents all our perceptions and thoughts as carried on by means of images or representations of the thing perceived or thought of, present in the mind; which images, in modern times, have generally been called *ideas*; an hypothesis which, we have seen, has descended from a very high antiquity, under various modifications. As this theory was taught by the Peripatetics, however erroneous in its assumptions, it led to no sceptical conclusions; because it taught that the images present in the mind were sent forth by material objects; and, consequently, still left us the evidence of our senses for the existence of matter. But Descartes and his followers, while they retained the supposition of images in the mind, rejected that of their proceeding from the external body. The consequence was, that they began first with doubting the existence of material substances, and at length deliberately denied that there is any such thing in the world as matter, or mind, or any sentient being. 'It is pleasant,' says Dr. Reid, 'to observe, that while philosophers have so long been labouring, by means of ideas, to explain perception, and the other operations of the mind; those ideas have, by degrees, usurped the

the place of perception, object, and even of the mind itself, and have supplanted those very things they were brought to explain.'

"It might be reasonably concluded, that this theory, which has so long prevailed in the world, and been so implicitly admitted as to sanction conclusions apparently the most absurd, rendered our notion of perception, as well as the other intellectual faculties, very clear and intelligible. This, however, is by no means the case; for, if we apply the theory to any other of the senses, except sight, it is altogether incomprehensible. I can indeed understand what is meant by an image or representation of visible forms or colours, because, I know that such images are painted on the retina of the eye; and this fact seems to have afforded the origin of the whole hypothesis. But what is meant by the image or idea of a taste, of a smell, a sound, of sourness or sweetness, of loudness or lowness, of hardness or softness, I confess myself perfectly at a loss to determine. Much less can I pretend to understand what is meant by the images of intellectual objects, of truth or falsehood, fitness or unfitness, virtue or vice.

"Again, if we should ask, where are these images exhibited, and of what kind of materials are they formed? it would be difficult to obtain an answer from those who have most strenuously espoused the theory. It would seem, from the writings of Descartes, that he sometimes places the ideas of material objects in the brain, not only when they are perceived, but when they are remembered or imagined; but at other times he says, that we are not to conceive the images or traces in the brain to be perceived, as if there were eyes in the brain; these traces being only occasions on which, by the laws of the union of soul and body, ideas are excited in the mind. Mr. Locke also seems to have wavered between these two opinions, sometimes representing the ideas of material things as being in the brain, but more frequently in the mind itself. Other philosophers, among whom we may rank Newton and Dr. Clarke, speak of the images of material things as being in that part of the brain called the *sensorium*, and perceived by the mind, there present: but Newton speaks of this point only incidentally, and, with his usual modesty, in the form of a query. As for Berkeley, his system leaves no brain on which the images could be traced; and the system of Mr. Hume leaves neither a brain nor a mind for the reception of his impressions and ideas.

"As to the particular nature or substance of the images, philosophers are generally silent. Mr. Locke indeed says, that our sensations are 'produced in us by different degrees and modes of motion in our animal spirits, variously agitated by external objects:' and again, that, by the faculties of memory and imagination, 'the mind has an ability, when it wills, to revive them again, and, as it were, to paint them anew upon itself, though some with more, some with less difficulty.' Dr. Robert Hook is almost the only author who is explicit on this subject. He informs us (Lect. on Light, sect. 7.) that ideas are completely material substances, and that the brain is furnished with a proper kind of matter for fabricating the ideas of each sense. The ideas of sight, he thinks, are formed of a kind of matter resembling the Bononian stone, or some kind of phosphorus; the

the ideas of sound, of some matter resembling the chords or glasses which take a sound from the vibration of the air; and so of the rest. Were this doctrine any thing like the truth, we might reasonably expect to obtain a view of these ideas by a careful dissection of the brain; which, however, has not yet been found to be the case.

"What then, it may beasked, can be the cause of the very general reception of an hypothesis which is replete with so many inconsistencies and difficulties, insomuch that it rather obscures than enlightens the doctrine which it is brought to explain? This seems to be ascribable to a prejudice which is deeply rooted in the human mind, and has even been admitted, from remote antiquity, as a philosophical axiom, or self-evident principle, namely, that 'nothing can act, or be acted upon, but when and where it is present.' It seems a necessary consequence, from this principle, that when the mind perceives, either the objects of its perception must come into it, or it must go out of the body to these objects. The first of these opinions has generally been adopted as the most rational. 'We see,' says Malebranche, 'the sun, the stars, and an infinity of objects without us; and it is not at all likely that the soul sallies out of the body, and, as it were, takes a walk through the heavens to contemplate all these objects.' Yet the author of the Antient Metaphysics has, among his other singularities, espoused this last opinion.

"The origin of this prejudice, that all action is the effect of contact, it is not difficult to assign. This is the only manner in which we ourselves can act upon external objects; and it is the manner in which all our external senses are acted upon by these objects, either immediately, or by the intervention of some known medium, such as the rays of light, the undulations of the air, or the effluvia of odoriferous bodies. Yet, after all, when we come to examine the matter a little more nearly, we no more understand how bodies act upon one another when in contact, than when at a distance; and we should never have found out, independently of actual experience, that motion is the effect of contact or impulse. Nay, if the system of Boscovich be true, there is no such thing as real contact in nature, nor is such a thing possible. Again, there are many natural phenomena, such as those of gravitation, magnetism, electricity, &c. which appear to be produced by the mutual action of bodies at a distance from one another. For though we have various hypotheses of intervening media, ethers, or effluvia, which are intended to explain these phenomena, all these are mere suppositions, destitute of the least shadow of proof. The inference is, that the maxim above stated is to be ranked among those vulgar prejudices which, though very generally received, are without any real foundation in nature.

"If we seek for any other proof of the ideal theory, in the writings of those who have espoused it, than this generally received prejudice, we shall seek in vain. They all appear to assume the existence of ideas as a thing self evident, and of which, therefore, no proof will be expected. 'I presume,' say Mr. Locke, 'it will be granted me that there are such ideas in men's minds; every man is conscious of them in himself, and men's words and actions will satisfy him that they are in others.'—'It is evident,' he

he says again, 'the mind knows not things immediately, but only by the intervention of the ideas it has of them.' Berkeley, indeed, infers the reality of ideas from this circumstance, that magnitude and figure, as perceived by the eye, and as perceived by the touch, are things, in appearance, very different; and Mr. Hume employs a similar argument when he says, 'The table which we see, seems to diminish as we remove farther from it; but the real table, which exists independent of us, suffers no alteration. It was, therefore, nothing but its image which was present to the mind.' But the known laws of optics are a sufficient answer to such reasonings, and prove, that tangible magnitude must assume the precise appearances to the eye which it is known to assume. There is, in truth, an image in such cases, but it is not in the mind, but in the retina of the eye."

The Esther of Racine.

[From Kotzebue's Anecdotes and Miscellanies.]

"THE Esther of Racine was performed at the theatre of the Republic, for the benefit of madame Vestris. This celebrated piece was then very coldly received, therefore it is interesting to look back to the seventeenth century, and call to remembrance a certain evening when it threw the whole female world into the most violent emotion. It was the 3rd of February, 1689.—Racine, after his Phedra had gained him so great a reputation, willingly gave up the theatre a prey to his rivals, and resolved to write no more for the stage. Pradon remained master of the field of battle, on which account Boileau said:

'Et la scene Française est en proie à Pradon.'

Racine had, from religious enthusiasm, already for twelve years given up the profane art of poetry; when suddenly, religious duty again put the lyre into his hand. Madame de Maintenon, who, above all things, was very attentive, that the young ladies who belonged to the convent of St. Cyr should receive a suitable education, once loudly lamented, that their lovely lips should be allowed to sing and declaim the most beautiful verses, because they all treated of profane subjects. She asked Racine, if it was not possible to unite poetry, music, and piety together? Racine found her ideas very edifying, but also very troublesome to himself. Willingly would he have resigned the honour of perfecting them to another. 'He had not for twelve years made a single rhime—what would his enemies say? and if, now, even the common fate of mankind should happen to him?—if his fame should be extinguished on the spiritual stage, after it had shone so brilliantly on the worldly one?'—Yet he could not absolutely refuse madame de Maintenon; for, with all his piety, he was still a courtier. Boileau, whose advice he asked, decided positively for the negative. 'Reflect,' said the latter, 'that you have a great reputation at stake, the preservation of which is more difficult than the attainment.' After long considering for and against,

against, Racine at last came to a determination; the story of Esther presented itself, and all doubts fortunately vanished. It was not long before he carried to madame de Maintenon not only the plan of his piece, (for he was accustomed to sketch scene by scene in prose,) but the first act completely finished. She was enraptured with it, and, in spite of her great modesty, she could not help discovering in the character of Esther, and in some other trifling circumstances, very flattering compliments to herself. Even Vashti and Haman were striking portraits. As this bible piece was perfectly proper for the ladies of St. Cyr, so was the first representation got up with zeal; but only the principal courtiers, who accompanied Louis the XIVth to the chace, were allowed to be present. At supper the king could talk of nothing but Esther. Monseigneur, Monsieur, and all the princes would see it: the applause was uncommon, Esther's prayer was irresistible; all appeared great, excellently treated, worked up with dignity; even the great Condé wept.—The third representation was dedicated to the pious, viz. to the Pere de la Chaise, some bishops, twelve or sixteen jesuits, together with madame de Miriamon, and her most elevated nuns. 'To-day,' (said madame de Maintenon,) it shall only be played to the saints.' The saints applauded as highly as the children of the world, and heartily wished, that all tragedies resembled Esther.—In the end the king allowed all his courtiers to take a share in it; as was natural, they were in raptures. Madame de Maintenon was tormented on all sides for tickets of admission; there were more than two thousand applicants, and only two hundred places. The king generally made a list, as he was on the road to Marli. For he went in first, with the list in one hand, and an uplifted Spanish cane in the other; thus he himself guarded the entrance, until the chosen number were assembled.—It was also a very comic circumstance, that the young lovely actresses prayed their *Veni Creator* behind the curtain, to interest the Holy Ghost in their several parts. As the king and queen of England now expressed a wish to see Esther, it was got up with redoubled splendour, the actresses were decorated with diamonds, the orchestra consisted of the first musicians belonging to the king. Madame de Montespan and Louvois knew themselves under the name of Vashti and Haman, bit their lips and clapped. Their English majesties were delighted, that the minister, who had promoted their removal from the throne, should be represented as dazzled and deceived by hell. Louis the XIVth, who, perhaps, had piety to thank for his great reputation, who at the same time was a little tyrannical, willingly knew himself in the pride of a Persian monarch, in his love for justice, as in the tenderness of his Esther. In short, every body was satisfied. Racine wished to dedicate his work to madame de Maintenon; but she entreated him not once to mention her name in the preface. Two-and-thirty years afterwards, the players, for the first time, brought Esther on the public stage, and it had only one representation; probably because only the pure and innocent actresses of St. Cyr, with their angel voices, knew how to give a certain high interest to a play, which, as Voltaire says, represents an improbable, not an attractive incident: a foolish

king, who lived six months with his wife without knowing who she was, who, without the least pretence, ordered a whole nation to be slaughtered, and afterwards, even as madly hung up his favourite.—The cold reception that Esther again experienced in Paris in our days, appears to confirm the judgement of Voltaire."

On Good Ton.

(From the same.)

"ALL nature eternally struggles after a kind of unity, and from the intermixture of things arise new things; as once the Romans, after a dreadful fire, out of many melted metals drew the Corinthian bronze, which was valued as highly as gold: The same can almost be said of the good ton of the clubs, resources, copinos, and by what other names the assembling places are called where men form the different classes, meet together; where there arises a kind of friction of every sort of mind and breeding, which also produces a new mind and breeding, a kind of middle ton, that passes better to the whole, than the ton of every single coterie would have done, before it was modified in this way.

"This property is what has been agreed to be called *good ton*, in whatever town it may reign, may it be Paris, London, or Querfurt; the name is nothing to the purpose; the thing remains the same for the whole physical and moral world. It cannot absolutely be said, that the best *possible ton* is the ton of France, (at least not now,) or Italy, England, Germany, &c. &c. but that it is the most agreeable to each of these countries. Even as little can magistrates or soldiers, priests or men of letters, artists or men of elegant minds pretend to it; but the ton that the nearest accords with all these stations is the best. Good company, in which it should reign, is, as it were, the store-house of a free disinterested commerce, in which every well-educated man takes a share, and where people only yield to each other, to be in the highest degree themselves distinguished. To be introduced into company no offence should be given to another; to please, it requires something more, still more to be distinguished; because in that case ambition raises emulation, and the emulation is more difficult to be gained over, than to be conquered.

"But a preliminary article in all society is, that it must be understood. Every coterie has, as before said, its own language, that without its limits is not understood.

"This consequently must be avoided; for if a man will not talk so that all may understand him, it is an open usurpation on the equality before mentioned, and the exchange of words and thoughts has no longer liberty nor pleasantness. All words of art, science, scholastic or juridical expressions, are banished from good company; they must be translated or paraphrased, otherwise in the end conversation would be a kind of pick-nick, to which every one brought a dish, but so placed it, that none of the fellow-guests could come at it. Much better would it be to eat alone.

"Every

"Every seaman endeavours to make his best way to his port. In the open sea that certainly is invisible, the path is not traced out, but he reckons, estimates, makes observations, takes the northern latitude, sails courageously on, and fortunately reaches his destination. Even so it is with society. It has, like the sea, its storms, its currents, rocks, ebbs, floods, variableness, and faithfulness.

"On the question: is there a tribunal for good ton? *yes* and *no* may be answered; it holds its sittings *ever* and *never*; it assembles *every where* and *no where*; it consists of every body and nobody; it is called man. This short word man means the public, as if all its voices were formed into one.

"Amongst the deeriers of politeness, for it has them, there are people who suppose, that a man must be coarse to be free-minded. From fear, it may be believed there are polite deceivers, who deceive rather downrightly. Politeness certainly also deceives, but it pleases, and conceals from man, that which in his eyes is a horrible monster to man himself, *egotism*. These are the real enemies of society, the opposition party, that from the first have crossed every thing good, and have never been tired of destroying the best which man with united powers could found. Alas, all is *egotism*, even passion and reason, even integrity is only a *modest*, and virtue a moderated egotism. Politeness, it is true, can neither make it modest nor moderate it, but it veils it up, puts a mask before it, is the general mediatrix between every kind of pride. Benevolence and modesty will certainly never be imitated from her; but when she borrows language, features, organs, from virtue, she even then sometimes overcomes vice, as gilding protects from verdigrease. Through her alone, people of good ton are every where distinguished; who ever busy themselves with others, seldom with themselves, ever appear to acknowledge a superiority in others, and failings in themselves, in ton and manner, as it were appropriated to the other. So is politeness, as it were an *uniformity* of the mind with the body, which nature gives to no one, but company to every one.—The good *ton* is a middle ton between all tons, as beauty is a middle mould between all moulds. The perfection of both consists therein, that they are equally distant from the extremes. The most beautiful bodily form, for example, is in no country the fattest or leanest, neither the dropsy nor the consumption; so also is neither the best ton too familiar nor too ceremonious. Also in both lies (beauty and *bon ton*) something real and something conventional. Custom, manners, tourneurs change in every country, often in every town. The greatest beauty is that form which best agrees with the views of nature, but in detail, the opinions and tastes of people may always be different, and a Chinese may look upon the Germans as very ugly. So few as there are notes in music for false tones, as little can a man in company be accused of faults; these are against the good ton. Man can, as he every where does, sin by too much or too little, through ignorance as through pretension. But the first can only be reckoned singly, the second doubly. Too much elegance is, for the most part, more striking than too much simplicity. We forgive much sooner those who do not equal us, than those who will be better. A young man

man must also rather even fear to be otherwise, than wish to be better. Emulation is excellent in all that requires labour, industry, trouble, exertion: but, as it has been already observed, conversation requires neither pains nor exertions; it is for repose; it is no war, scarcely guard parade. Woe to the soldiers, who, to distinguish themselves, would fall out of their ranks! In company we must agree; to do which, it is necessary to spare, more particularly self-love, which is, of all things, the most irritable in us, that constantly intermixes with every thing that surrounds us, and never pardons those that it finds greater. Reason may for ever preach; no one ever acknowledges that they are in the wrong. The lowest place that perhaps we ever take, is the place of equality. Therefore my lord, and my lady, or honourable miss, have all possible preference for themselves before us; but they are pleased not to let it glimmer, otherwise,—no society. They are richer than we! Away with supercilious pomp, otherwise—no society. They are handsomer than we; yet they do not every moment look into the glass, otherwise—no society. They are more learned than we, but they do not suffer us constantly to feel our ignorance, otherwise—once again, no society.—The intercourse with the world must be free, without expence, man barters nothing against nothing; grace, ease, facility, compliance, are the first merits. Nothing should be prepared, the opportunity gives the subject of conversation, caprice dictates the laws. We dispute for and against, about a pin; we dread logic more than folly; a thousand subjects are rather treated of superficially than one fundamentally. A new law-book, or a new fashion, a voyage round the world, or a walk in a park, are then of equal importance. Thus now was once the world, in which we live, to cultivate which a man must please. Be what you will, stand as high as you please, you must come down, otherwise society will banish you. A perfect man could not once pass in company, for even perfection displeases, when it is not in its place; even so, as a great gentleman of seventeen would displease in a crowd of sportive children when he would display his school wisdom, or a profoundly learned pedant amongst young ladies, talking of new fashions. It would so happen to him, as if Milo of Crotona with his club was to come amongst a *plump sack* party.

"A carriage once broke down on a stony road, not far from the small and poor town of Gondrecourt. It must be repaired; the workmen were but few; it would take a considerable time. There was no resource against *ennui*, the few honourables of the place were in the country. The traveller discovered at a distance, a prettily situated neat house, with a modest steeple. It was a little convent of Capuchins. He went up to it and rung the bell. The door was opened to him, the inhabitants beheld a tolerably lean, sickly appearing man, but who was very well dressed, and who courteously entreated for their hospitality. The Capuchins had but little, but they gave what they had. After the first general compliments, this and that were spoken of; the traveller heard much, but said little. Questions were asked him, his answers were reasonable. The hora sounded.—'Will the gentleman also say his Angelus here?'—'My reverend fathers, I would even beg your

your permission to that effect.'—Upon which followed dinner, but yet somewhat better than usual, plain wholesome food, for the guest appeared feeble. During dinner the conversation arose on theology: (that is, the philosophy of the Capuchins.) The stranger was almost as well acquainted therewith as the fathers themselves, and was always of their opinion. They spoke of different convents of Capuchins in France, Germany, and Italy, which to these good people were the proper capitals of the world. The stranger in the part of geography was much better instructed than he could have been expected to be. A feature of the humility of St. Francis of Assisi was related; the stranger admired it, and related some others, which were even unknown to the fathers themselves. They became interested for the courteous stranger. So modest a man with such an excellent education! a man who could talk on every thing, and who certainly had a good study! for he even understood a couple of Latin quotations almost as well as the father guardian! a man who appeared to be acquainted with every thing that interested their order, &c. It went so far that they wished to receive him into their order, and gave him hopes one day of attaining its highest dignities. The stranger was enraptured at the honour—he would consider of it—believed himself unworthy—but did not refuse it, only put it off. The carriage was at last ready. They separated with the real tokens of respect and devotion. Now guess who could this man be, who knows how so soon to win the hearts of the Capuchins!—It was VOLTAIRE.—Alas, will this long remain the only example of its kind? In France especially, there are no longer either Voltaire or Capuchins; and should, at any time, one of these kinds return again, it will be very difficult to be a Voltaire."

ORIGIN of ROMANTIC FABLING in IRELAND.

[From Mr. PRESTON's Communication in the TRANSACTIONS of the ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, Vol. X.

"TO trace the origin of romantic fabling, in modern Europe, would be a curious, and, perhaps, not a fruitless enquiry. In proportion as the literary treasures of the East shall be opened and displayed, the means of acquiring information, on this interesting subject, will, probably, be increased. It would seem, that the magicians, knights, and damsels, with which Fairy-land is peopled, owed their birth, to the warm fancy of the Oriental romance-writers. Through what channels, the fictions of the East found their way into Europe, may be conjectured, but cannot be positively determined. To the time of the Crusades, their introduction is generally referred. I think, however, that the commercial intercourse, which formerly subsisted, between the Levant, and some of the principal Italian states, opened a channel, equally wide, and

and certainly more secure. The tumultuous crowd, that rushed to the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre, had not, probably, either leisure or inclination for mental gratifications. In the acquisition of spoils, they seem to have rather exercised their prowess, than their taste. But, we will not weary ourselves with conjecture, in regard to the medium, through which those fictions flowed into Europe; it is enough, for our present purpose, that we not only find them there, during the middle ages, but can trace them, in some of the popular romances of that period. Ariosto supplies us with an instance in point. The story of Schariar and his brother, in the Arabian Nights Entertainments, evidently appears to have laid the foundation for the well-known tale of Astolpho and Jocundo, in canto xxviii. of the Orlando Furioso. I am, I will confess, inclined to consider Italy, as the great emporium of the fictions under consideration. And as the monks of that delightful region, as well as those of France, occasionally relaxed from their severer studies, in excursions to Fairy-land, the Oriental fictions might, through their means, have spread to the neighbouring countries. Some of the early romances, as well as the legends of saints, were undoubtedly fabricated, in the deep silence of the cloister. Both frequently sprung from the warmth of fancy, which religious seclusion is so well calculated to nourish; but the former were adorned with foreign embellishments.

"While the see of Rome was fostering, with anxious solicitude, the Catholic church in Ireland, missionaries were occasionally sent, from the several monastic foundations on the continent, to regulate the ritual; and, at the same time, to invigorate superstition, by furnishing fresh supplies of holy legends. Amongst these, it may be presumed, some of the profane romances, fabricated in the continental cloisters, were introduced (perhaps we might say smuggled) into this country. And, as the brilliant fictions of the East were the elements, of which those romances were chiefly composed, they thus obtained a footing in Ireland, and furnished materials for the metrical tales of our early bards. To the stock of materials thus supplied, were, probably, added many Moorish and Arabian fables, and Spanish Historias de Cavallerias, which might have found their way to the western coast of this island, by means of the commercial intercourse, which subsisted so early, and so long, between Spain and Galway.

"'A very gallant gentleman, of the North of Ireland,' (says sir William Temple), 'has told me, of his own experience, that, in his wolf-huntings there, when he used to be abroad in the mountains three or four days together, and lay very ill a-nights, so as he could not well sleep, they would bring him one of the tale-tellers, that, when he lay down, would begin a story of a king, or a gyant, a dwarf, and a damsel, and such rambling stuff; and continue it all night long, in such an even tone, that you heard it going on whenever you awaked.' Now, as giants, dwarfs, and damsels, are topics, in which the Eastern romances are very conversant, we can be at no loss to discover the source, whence they flowed into Ireland, though we cannot determine, with certainty, the medium through which they passed. But I shall now proceed

to adduce a few instances, in support of my hypothesis.

"The similitude, between the pathetic Irish tale of Conloch, and the story of Rustam, as related by the Persian poet, Ferdusi, in his heroic poem, entitled Shah Nameh, is almost too strong to admit of its being supposed accidental. 'Ferdusi relates,' (I borrow the words of the ingenious sir William Ouseley,) 'that, after a sumptuous feast, and magnificent entertainment, given, in honour of Rustam, by the king of Sitemgam, to which wine and music contributed all their charms, a couch or bed being carefully prepared for the Persian hero, (Rustam,) he retired to rest; and, after a short time, was astonished at the appearance of a lovely damsel, who advanced from behind the curtains and hangings.' After a glowing description of the personal charms of the damsel, and a relation of the particulars of her conversation, with the hero, sir William proceeds. 'Of this mysterious interview, and the subsequent union of our hero with the princess, the result was a son, whom the king, her father, educated, after Rustam's departure, and called by the name of Sohraûb. The youth, having learned from his mother, the strange circumstances of his birth, and of Rustam's fame, resolved to set out, in quest of adventures, and immediately commenced a series of brave and gallant actions. But being so unfortunate, as to encounter his own father, each ignorant of his relation to the other, the issue of the combat proved fatal to Sohraûb; who did not, however, expire, until it was discovered that he fell by a parent's hand. The circumstances attending this discovery, the dying words, and filial affection, of the ill-fated youth, and the father's vehement affliction and distress, afford the poet, Ferdusi, a fine subject, for many interesting and beautiful passages.'

"Of the Irish tale, I shall now give the outlines, illustrated with extracts, from the very elegant and spirited version of miss Brooke. Conloch, 'haughty, bold, and brave.'

'Came to visit Erin's coast;
Came to prove her mighty host?'

"Finding the Finian chiefs assembled, on some particular occasion, he hurls defiance at them, and

'While he spoke, collecting all his might,
Fierce he address'd his conquering arms to fight;
No stop, no stay, his furious faulchion found,
Till his dire hand an hundred warriors bound:
Vanquish'd, they sunk beneath his dreadful sway,
And low on earth their bleeding glories lay.'

"A messenger is then dispatched for Cucullin. He arrives, and challenges Conloch to single combat; but first requests he will

'To him his purpose and his name confide,
And what his lineage and his land declare.'

"To this requisition, Conloch gives an unwilling refusal. He knows he is about to raise his arm against a parent; but his honour, as a knight, will not allow him to decline the combat, or declare his name.

'Reluctant, then, the chiefs commenc'd the fight,
Till glowing honor rous'd their slumbering might!
Dire was the strife each valiant arm maintain'd,
And undecided long their fates remain'd;

For,

For, till that hour, no eye had ever view'd
A field so fought, a conquest so pursu'd!
At length Cucullin's kindling soul arose;
Indignant shame recruited fury lends;
With fatal aim his glittering lance he throws,
And low on earth the dying youth extends.'

"Conloch, feeling the approach of death, addresses Cucullin, in the following pathetic terms:

'Approach!—(the wounded youth reply'd,)—
Yet,—yet more closely nigh!
On this dear earth,—by that dear side,
O let me die!'—
'Thy hand, —my father,—hapless chief!—
And you, ye warriors of our isle, draw near,
The anguish of my soul to hear,
For I must kill a father's heart with grief.'

"As this passage (a passage not inferior, perhaps, to any of those passages in the Shah Nameh, alluded to by sir William Ouseley) exhibits a fine subject for the pencil, I shall submit it to the contemplation of the academy; while I proceed to the relation of another Irish tale, which bears evident marks of an Oriental origin. The tale in question is entitled, Moira Borb; of which also miss Brooke has given a translation.

"While the Finian chiefs range carelessly along the banks of the fierce Mac-bovar, or river Erne, which, in its fall, near Ballyshannon, occasions the celebrated salmon-leap, they are surprised, by the appearance of a lovely damsel, in an enchanted bark. The damsel lands, and is courteously received by the chiefs; who, observing her trembling apprehensions, enquire into the cause. She relates her story:

'O! I am follow'd o'er the rolling wave!
O! mighty Finn! thy trembling suppliant save!
The son of Sora's king with wrath pursues,
The chief of spears, whose arm the host subdues!'

"While she speaks, a mighty warrior appears, riding over the waves, upon a magic steed. Reaching the shore, he rushes forward, and seizes the trembling damsel. A combat ensues, between him and the Finian chiefs, in which he falls; and, immediately after, receives sepulchral honours. The maid continues in the camp. Miss Brooke concludes, from the following passage in the poem, that the story does not end here.

'Woe to the champions of that lovely dame!
Woe to the land, to which her beauty came!'

"On these lines, she observes, in a note, 'It is probable that this passage alludes to some subsequent consequences of the death of Moira-borb.' It may, therefore, be presumed, that the heroine of this poem was, like the Armida of Tasso, a deceitful damsel, whose object was, to seduce some of the Finian chiefs from their duty; and destroy or enervate them, by female wiles, and the power of enchantment. Indeed, I am inclined to think, that the Italian and the Irish bards drew the materials, of which their respective tales are composed, from the same source. The similitude is certainly striking. That Tasso never saw the Irish tale, is highly probable; and, if he had seen it, he undoubtedly could not have read it: yet, it may be presumed, it was written before he was born. Miss Brooke, on the presumptive evidence of the language, refers it to the middle ages. If, therefore, it supplied Tasso with a foundation for his beautiful episode of Armida, he

must have found it in some other language; and, perhaps, under some other form. Without meaning, however, to insist on the probability of my conjecture, I shall exhibit a few parallel passages, from the two poems, and leave the reader to decide.

'All' apparir della beltà novella
Nasce un bisbiglio, e'l guardo ogn'un v'intende;
Siccome là, dove cometa, o stella
Non più vista di giorno in ciel risplende:
E traggon tutti per veder chi sia
Sì bella pellegrina, e chi l'invia.

'Argo non mai, non vide Cipro, o Delo
D'abito, o di beltà forme sì care.

'Her matchless charms the wond'ring bands surprize,
Provoke their whispers, and attract their eyes;
So mortals, through the midnight fields of air,
Observe the blaze of some unusual star.
Sudden they throng to view th' approaching dame,
Eager to learn her message, and her name.
Not Argos, Cyprus, or the Delian coast, &c. HOOLE.

'And, oh, to tell the charms her form array'd!
The winning sweetness that her face display'd!
On her alone we could or think or gaze,
And our rapt souls were lost in sweet amaze.' MOIRA-BORB.

'Stassi l'avaro sguardo in sè raccolto,
E i tesori d'Amore, e i suoi nasconde.

'Declin'd on earth, her modest look denies,
To shew the starry lustre of her eyes.
HOOLE.

'Deck'd by soft love, with sweet attractive grace,
And all the charms of mind-illumin'd face;
Before our host the beauteous stranger bow'd,
And, thrown to earth, her eyes their glories shroud.' MOIRA-BORB.

'Donna,
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

Che da te si ricerca? e donde vieni?
Qual tua ventura, o nostra, or quì ti mena?

'Say, damsel!—
What fortune bids thee to our camp repair?
What fortune sends to us a form so fair?
What art thou? HOOLE.

'Soft mariner! (the son of Cumhal cry'd,)
What chance has torn thee from protection's side?
Why com'st thou here, and from what happy earth?
And whose the noble race that gave thee birth?' MOIRA-BORB.

'Il tuo lodar troppo alto sale;
Nè tanto insuso il merto nostro arriva.
Cosa vedi, signor, non pur mortale,
Ma già morta ai diletti, al duol sol viva.
Mia sciagura mi spinge in loco tale,
Vergine pellegrina, e fuggitiva.
Ricorro al pio Goffredo, e in lui confido:
Tal va di sua bontate intorno il grido.

'Too far thy praise extends, (she made reply,)
My merits ne'er attain'd a flight so high.
Thy eyes, O chief! a mortal wretch survey,
To pleasure dead, to grief a living prey!
Unhappy fate my footsteps hither led,
A fugitive forlorn, a wand'ring maid!
Godfrey I seek, on him my hopes depend,
Oppression's scourge, and injur'd virtue's friend. HOOLE.

'Truth, O great chief! my artless story frames:
A mighty king my filial duty claims.
But princely birth no safety could bestow;
And, royal as I am, I fly from woe.

'Long have I look'd that mighty arm to see,
Which is alone of force to set me free;
To Erin's far fam'd chief for aid I fly,
And on that aid my trembling hopes rely.' MOIRA-BORB.

"But I shall not multiply quotations. Unwilling to trespass too long on the patience of the academy, I shall adduce but a single instance more, in support of my position. The story of the ring, as related by Trissino, in the Italia Liberata, and by the author of the Irish poem of the Chase, seem to bear so close an affinity to each other,

other, that, it may be presumed, they were raised upon the same foundation. But that foundation lies, and will, probably, ever lie, 'hid in night.' In both tales, we may discover the colouring of magic, with which the Saracens of the middle ages, then adepts in chemistry, tinctured all the fables, which sprung from their brilliant and creative imaginations.

"Belisarius, having ordered out a detachment of his army, to watch the motions of the enemy, the warriors are met, at the entrance of the camp, by

'Una donzella
Tanto leggiadra, e graziosa in vista,
Ch' arebbe accesa ogni gelata mente:
Ben' era piena di fallaci inganni.'

"This damsel, who appears 'sconcolata e mesta,' says, sighing, to the admiring chiefs,

'Voi mi parete cavalieri eccelsi,
Di gran valore, e di pietade adorni:
Però prendo ardimento di pregarvi,
Che m' ajutate in questo mio bisogno.
Io fui figliuola già d' una gran donna,
Signora del paese di Bitonte,
Che maritommi al duca di Crotone,
E diedemi per dote un solo anello
Di pregio estremo, e di valore immenso:
Questo avea tal virtù, che s' io il basciava,
E poi toccava ogni qualunque cosa,
Quella si convertiva in seta, o in oro,
O in tutto quel, ch' i' avea dentr' al pensiero.
Or' io tornando al dolce mio terreno,
Per rivedere i miei, con questo anello,
Ch' io nol lasciava mai da me lontano;
Passai vicina ad una bella fonte;
E veduta, ch' io l' ebbi, ivi discesi
Per bere, e l' anel presi, e lo basciai,
Volendo farmi un' ottima bevanda:
Ma mentre che volea toccar con esso
L' acqua del fonte, e trarmi ivi la sete,
Mi sopravenne un cavalier armato
Con dui giganti; e con orribil voce
Sì mi sgridaro, ch' io lasciai l' anello
Cadermi per timor nella fontana:
Poi quei crudeli mi tiraro indietro,
Nè voller più, ch' io, m' appressasse ad essa;
Ond' io, per non lasciar sì ricca gioja,
Quì mi rimasi, e vo cercando ajuto;
E s' alcun mi sarà tanto cortese,
Ch' atterri il cavaliere, ond' io racquisti
La mia sì cara, e prezioso gemma;
I' sarò più di lui, che di me stessa.'

"Yielding to her requisition, the chiefs attend her to the lake or fountain, where they find an armed knight, the son of an enchantress, ready to receive them. They engage in combat with him. They are vanquished, and led away prisoners to the palace of the enchantress, under the guard of the two giants mentioned by the artful damsel. It is not necessary, for our present purpose, to relate the adventures which followed; I shall only observe, that the waters of the fountain, into which the damsel pretended she had dropped her ring, were endued with miraculous powers.

'Chiunque beve
Di sì dolce acqua, tutto si risana;
Onde è detta la fonte del Sanajo.'

"Let us now turn to the Irish tale.

"During a feast, given in the hall of Almhain to the Finian chiefs, Finn steals from the festive board 'to breathe the fragrant gale.' An enchanted doe suddenly appears before him. He calls his dogs, and pursues her to Slieve-Guillin, where she instantly vanishes. Finn, then looking around, discovers, near a small lake,

'A weeping fair,
Upon a bank reclin'd,
In whose fine form, and graceful air,
Was every charm combin'd.'

"The chief approaches the fair mourner, and addresses her,

'Hast thou, sweet maid! of golden hair!
Beheld my hounds in chase?'

"She replies,

'Thy chase, O king, was not my care;
I nothing of it know;

Far other thoughts my bosom share,
The thoughts, alas, of woe!

* * *

'Alas, my ring, for whose dear sake
These ceaseless tears I shed,
Fell from my finger, in the lake,
(The soft-hair'd virgin said.)

'Let me conjure thee, generous king!
Compassionate as brave,
Find for me now my beauteous ring,
That fell beneath the wave.'

"The tale proceeds:

'Scarce was the soft entreaty made,
Her treasure to redeem,
When his fair form he disarray'd,
And plung'd into the stream.

'At the white-handed fair's request,
Five times the lake he try'd;
On ev'ry side his search address'd,
Till he the ring descry'd.

'But when he sought the blooming maid
Her treasure to restore;
His powers were gone,—he scarce could wade
To reach the distant shore!

'That form, where strength and beauty met,
To conquer or engage,
Paid premature, its mournful debt,
To grey and palsied age.'

"Finn is soon afterwards found by his chiefs, in the state described by the poet. They draw the enchantress from a cave, in which she had concealed herself, and oblige her, by threats, to disenchant their leader. She presents him with a medicated cup. He drinks, and immediately

'His former grace,
His former powers return'd;
Again with beauty glow'd his face,
His breast with valour burn'd.'

"I shall now conclude. I have not the vanity to think, that I have established my hypothesis; but, I flatter myself, I have thrown out a hint, which may lead to a curious and interesting investigation by some abler hand."

History of Mona, or the Island of Anglesey.

[From Sir Richard Hoare's Translation of Archbishop Baldwin's Itinerary.]

"Mona or Anglesey—This island, once the principal seat of the Druids, and the last asylum to which the distressed Britons fled for succour from the victorious Romans; the residence of the British princes, and the stronghold of their expiring armies; contains many interesting monuments of the highest antiquity, and coeval with its ancient inhabitants, the Druids. Though a large volume has been dedicated to this little island, yet its parochial and antiquarian history has not been so fully developed as the traveller could either wish or have expected, from so able, learned, and ingenious a writer as Mr. Rowlands.

"Its sovereignty appears to have been both frequently and sturdily contested for above four centuries, and was the scene on which the last and decisive battle was fought between the Welsh and English; and although prince Lhewelyn here witnessed the total overthrow of his rival king Edward the First, and the discomfiture of his army, with the loss of many of its most illustrious knights and chieftains; yet fortune, on this occasion, seems only

only to have glimmered for a moment in his favour, for in the ensuing year he was betrayed, and lost his life near Builth in Brecknock.

"The first mention made of this island in the Welsh Chronicle, is in the year 808, when its possession was disputed by Conan Tindaethwy, and Howel, sons of Roderic Molwynoc: victory decided in favour of the latter, who retained possession of it till the year 817, when it was taken from him by his brother Conan.

"A. D. 818. In the reign of Mervyn Frych and Esylht, the only daughter of the late Conan, Egbert king of the West Saxons entered Wales with a great army, and destroyed the whole country unto Snowdon hills; and about the same time, there was a sore battle fought in Anglesey, called the battle of Lhanvaes.

"About the year 843, at the commencement of the reign of Roderic the Great, Ethelwulph king of the Saxons united his forces with Burchred king of Mercia, and entering North Wales with a great power, destroyed Anglesey, and fought diverse battles with the Welsh.

"A. D. 873. The Danes having made peace with king Alfred, and according to the words of the Welsh Chronicle, 'having abjured England,' bent their force against Wales, and entered Anglesey with a large army, where Roderic the Great gave them two battles; one at a place called Bangole, and another at a place called Menegid.

"In the year 876, the English entered the island, and fought a sore battle with the Welsh.

"A. D. 900. Igmond, with a great number of soldiers, came to Anglesey, and the Welshmen gave them battle at Molerain.

"About the year 915, the men of Dublin destroyed the island.

"The modern edition of the Welsh Chronicle records a battle fought in Anglesey betwixt Howel Dha and Conan ap Edward Foel, wherein the latter fell.

"A. D. 958. Abloic king of Ireland landed in Môn, and having burnt Holyhead, spoiled the country of Lhyn; and in the year 966, Aberfraw, the royal seat of the princes of North Wales, was destroyed by the Irishmen. In the year 969, Mactus, the son of Harold, entered Anglesey with an army of Danes, and spoiled Penmon, and shortly afterwards Godfryd, the son of Harold, did subdue to himself the whole isle of Anglesey, which he enjoyed not long.

"A. D. 979. At this time, Custenyn Dhu, that is, Constantine the Black, son to Iago (who was then prisoner), hired Godfryd, the son of Harold, with his Danes, against his cousin, and they both together destroyed Anglesey and Lhyn; whereupon Howel ap Jevaf gathered his army, and setting upon them at a place called Gwayth Hirbarth, overthrew them, and Constantine was slain; but in the year 986, Godfryd entered Anglesey a third time, and having taken Llywarch, the son of Owen, prisoner, together with two thousand men, he cruelly put out his eyes. In 989, the Danes taking advantage of Meredyth's absence in South Wales, landed in Anglesey, and ravaged the whole island.

"A. D. 1073. Gruffyth, son to Conan ap Iago, the rightful inheritor of the principality of North Wales, came over from Ireland with the succour which his brethren Encumalhon king of Ulster had delivered him, and he landed in Anglesey,

Anglesey, and brought it to his subjection.

"In 1096, the island was attacked by Hugh de Mountgomery earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury, and by Hugh earl of Chester, the former of whom was killed by Magnus, as related by Giraldus in the text of this chapter.

"The island seems to have enjoyed a long period of tranquillity till the year 1151, when Cadwalader, the brother of Owen Gwynedh prince of North Wales escaped out of prison, and subdued part of the isle to himself; but his brother Owen sent an army against him, and chased him thence. In the year 1157, during the war between king Henry the Second and the Welsh, the navy of Owen Gwynedh, under the command of Madoc ap Meredyth prince of Powys, anchored off Anglesey, and put on land some soldiers, who spoiled two churches, and a little of the country thereabouts; but as they returned to their ships, the whole strength of the isle set upon them, and killed them all, so that none of those which robbed within the isle brought tidings how they sped.

"A. D. 1174. About this time, David ap Owen Gwynedh, prince of North Wales, made war against his brother Maelgon, who was in possession of the isle of Anglesey, and brought his people over Menai (for so that arm of the sea is called that separateth the island from the main land), and forcing his brother to fly to Ireland, brought all Anglesey to his subjection.

"A. D. 1193. Roderic, the son of Owen Gwynedh, by the help of Gothrike king of Man, entered Anglesey and conquered it; but before the end of the same year, the sons of his brother Conan drove him out of the island and got it themselves.

"In the year 1237, the death of Joan, daughter of king John, is thus recorded in the Welsh Chronicle. "The next spring died Joan, daughter to king John, princess of Wales, and was buried upon the sea shore within the isle of Anglesey, at Lhanvaes, as her pleasure was, where her husband (prince Lhewelyn ap Jorwerth) did build a house of bare-foot friars over her grave.

"A. D. 1245. King Henry III. having failed in his military expedition against North Wales, and having lost a great number of his most worthy soldiers and nobility, sent for the Irishmen, who landed in Anglesey, and spoiled a great part thereof, till the inhabitants gathered themselves together, and, meeting with them heavily laden with spoil, drove them back to their ships.

"A. D. 1277. Prince Lhewelyn was at length obliged to sue for peace, which king Edward I. granted, upon the following hard conditions: 'That he should pay to the king, for his favour and goodwill, 50,000 marks; that the cantref Ros, where the king's castle of Teganwy stood; the cantref Ryvonioc, where Denbigh is; the cantref Tegengl, where Ruthlan standeth, and cantref Dyffryn Clywd, where Ruthyn is, should remain to the king and his heirs for ever, and that the prince should pay yearly for the isle of Anglesey, 1000 marks, which payment should begin at Michaelmas next ensuing, and that he should also pay 5000 marks out of hand, and if the prince died without issue, the island should revert to the king and his heirs. The prince was also required to come to England every Christmas to do homage to the king for his lands.'

"The historian Carte has record-

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ed the following anecdote on this occasion. 'The barons of Snowdon, with other noblemen of the most considerable families in Wales, had attended Lhewelyn to London, when he came thither at Christmas A. D. 1277, to do homage to king Edward; and bringing, according to their usual custom, large retinues with them, were quartered in Islington and the neighbouring villages. These places did not afford milk enough for such numerous trains; they liked neither wine nor the ale of London, and though plentifully entertained, were much displeased at a new manner of living which did not suit their taste, nor perhaps their constitutions. They were still more offended at the crowds of people that flocked about them when they stirred abroad, staring at them as if they had been monsters, and laughing at their uncouth garb and appearance: they were so enraged on this occasion, that they engaged privately in an association to rebel on the first opportunity, and resolved to die in their own country rather than ever come again to London, as subjects, to be held in such derision; and when they returned home, they communicated their resentments to their compatriots, who made it the common cause of their country.'

"In the year 1281, the Welsh, with Lhewelyn and his brother David at their head, took up arms again; and Edward being now convinced that he could place no dependance upon them, as long as they had a prince to lead them, resolved to make an entire conquest of the country. He sent an army by sea to Anglesey, which they won, and slew such as resisted them, but the chief men adhered faithfully to the king, according to the oath they had taken at the last peace. Then they came over against Bangor, where the arm of the sea called Menai is the narrowest, at a place called Moel y don, and there made a bridge of boats and planks over the water, on the same spot where Julius Agricola had done the like, when he subdued the isle to the Romans. This bridge being accomplished, so that threescore men might well pass over in a front, William Latimer, with a great number of his best soldiers, and Luke de Thany with his Gascons and Spaniards (who were in the king's service), passed over the bridge, and there saw no stir of enemies: but as soon as the sea began to flow, down came the Welshmen from the hills, and set upon them fiercely, and either slew or chased them to the sea to drown themselves; for the water was so high, that they could not attain the bridge, saving William Latimer only, whose horse carried him to the bridge, and so he escaped. But the death of Lhewelyn in the same year, and the cruel execution of his brother David in the ensuing one, effectually checked the rebellious spirit of the Welsh, and secured to Edward the undisputed sovereignty of the principality.

"This island, which in modern days deserves the epithets applied to it by Giraldus in this chapter, once bore a very different appearance. When attacked by the Roman general Suetonius, the sacred woods of the Druids were levelled to the ground: 'Præsidium impositum victis, excisique luci, sævis superstitionibus sacri.' At a much later period we find it well provided with trees, for in the year 1102 the Welsh Chronicle says, 'that Magnus landed in Anglesey, and hewed down as much timber

timber wood as was needful for him.' Dreary as its outward aspect may seem to the traveller, it still contains many interesting objects of attention; it is particularly rich in Druidical remains, the finest specimen of which is to be seen in the park of lord Uxbridge, at Plâs Newydd. The Paris mountains deserve the notice of the artist as well as the mineralogist; for the majestic grandeur and effect of their excavations cannot be surpassed; neither should the stately and well preserved castle at Beaumaris be overlooked, though inferior in point of situation to its rival brothers at Conwy and Caernarvon. The parish church is a handsome Gothic building, and contains some monuments worthy of notice: the most remarkable is that of a knight in armour recumbent, with a female by his side, well sculptured in alabaster; his head rests upon a helmet, and at his feet is a lion: the female is habited in a long robe richly ornamented round the neck; the hands of which are uplifted. Various small figures dressed like knights and monks decorate the pedestal of this tomb, which is said to have been brought from the religious house at Lhanvaes, at the time of its dissolution, but the personages whom it was designed to represent have not been ascertained. It now stands before the altar, with the feet of the figures placed towards it. On the right hand side of the altar is a large tablet inserted in the wall, bearing the following devices and inscriptions: the tablet is of an oblong form; at each corner near the top are two escutcheons, encircled with the motto of *Honi soit qui mal y pense*; under the one on the left is this inscription: *Henricus Sydney ordinis garterii, miles præsidens ex consiliis marchiis Walliæ, dominus deputatus in Hibernia.*—Under the other, *Antonius Sentleger ordinis garterii, miles, quondam deputatus in Hibernia*; round a circle in the centre, *Gulielmus Thwaytes armiger*; and beneath it in a straight line, *Obiit* 20 *die Januarii* 1565. At the lower corners are also two escutcheons: the one on the left has this motto, *Franciscus Agard ex consiliis Hiberniæ*; the other on the right, *Edwardus Waterhows me posuit*; and at the bottom is this inscription, *Nosce teipsum—fide et taciturnitate*—I could not learn that any historical account was extant of this singular monument, nor on what occasion it was placed in Beaumaris church. Neither could that indefatigable traveller, Mr. Pennant, gain any positive information about it.

"Henry Sydney, in the second and third of Philip and Mary, was made general governor of all the king's and queen's revenues, within the realm of Ireland, and about two years afterwards, lord justice thereof. In the second of queen Elizabeth he was appointed lord president of the marches of Wales, and four years after was made knight of the garter. In 1568 he was constituted deputy of Ireland. He died at the bishop's palace in Worcester, A. D. 1586, and was conveyed from thence to his house at Penshurst in Kent, where he was most honorably interred. He was however previously embowelled: his entrails were buried in the dean's chapel in the cathedral church at Worcester; and his heart was brought to Ludlow, and deposited in the same tomb with his dear beloved daughter Ambrosia, within the little oratory which he had made in the same collegiate parish church. The historian Hollinshed has

has left a long and elaborate character of this celebrated personage; from whom also I have been able to collect some information respecting two of the other persons mentioned in the tablet. The historian says, that at each several time he was sent deputy into Ireland, he was furnished with a new secretary. The first was master Edward Waterhouse, now knighted, and one of his majesty's council in Ireland. The same author adds, 'He made special choice of two worthy counsellors, whom for their faithfulness in counsel for the state, good will and friendship towards him, and for their integrity and sincerity every way, he entirely loved and assuredly trusted; one of these was master Francis Agard, whom he commonly called his 'fidus Achates.'

"Sir Anthony St. Leger was lord deputy of Ireland in the year 1539. He was succeeded first by sir James Crofts, and afterwards by Fitz-Walter, earl of Sussex. When sir Henry Sidney was recalled to this high office, sir Anthony St. Leger was appointed as his coadjutor, and stationed in Munster with the title of lord president of that province. I can gain no biographical information respecting Gulielmus Thwaytes, the æra of whose death is recorded on this tablet."

HISTORY of the ORDER of BARDS.

[From the Same.]

"THE Bards or reciters of songs made so very conspicuous a figure in the history of this country, that some account of their institution and proceedings will not, I hope, be deemed uninteresting; for we must not consider their songs as mere poetical compositions, but as the primary sources of much historical and authentic information. Neither were they compiled hastily from fabulous records and vague traditions; but were composed after recent exploits, and immediately copied and dispersed amongst those who had either been actors or eye-witnesses to the deeds they commemorated.

"The Bardi were held in high estimation in Germany, and particularly amongst the nation of the Belgæ. 'Sunt illis hæc quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem Barditum vocant, accendunt animos, futuræque pugnæ fortunam ipso cantu augurantur.' 'Apud omnes tres passim nationes eximio in honore sunt Bardi, Vates, Druidæ. Bardi quidem laudationibus rebusque poeticis student.'

"By their songs they animated the troops to battle, and recorded the names and heroic deeds of those who fell in the field of glory. The poet Lucan thus addresses them:

'Vos quoque qui fortes animas belloque peremtas,
Laudibus in longum vates dimittis in ævum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi.

'You too, ye Bards, whom sacred raptures fire,
To chaunt your heroes to your country's lyre,
Who consecrate in your immortal strain,
Brave patriot souls in righteous battle slain;
Securely now the tuneful task renew,
And noblest themes in deathless songs pursue.'

"The

"The earliest mention I can find made of the Bards in Wales, is in the reign of the British king Cadwalader, who died at Rome A. D. 688; and of whom the following anecdote is recorded. This king presided at an Eisteddvod, or meeting assembled for the purpose of regulating the Bardic institution; when a minstrel appeared, and played upon his harp before this illustrious assembly in so displeasing and unharmonious a key, that he was ordered, under severe penalties, whenever he again performed before persons skilled in the art, to adopt that of Mwynen Gwynedd, or the pleasing melody of North Wales.

"During the reign of the great Welsh legislator Howel Dha, A. D. 940, we find that the Bards were held in high estimation, and enjoyed great and peculiar privileges. Y Bardd Teulu, or the *Musicus Aulicus*, (corresponding with our poet laureat) received on his appointment, from the king, a harp, and a gold ring from the queen; which harp he was to part with on no consideration whatever.

"He held his land free, and at the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, he sat at the prince's table. If the Bard desired any favor of the king, he was obliged to play one of his own compositions; if of a nobleman, three; and if of a plebeian, he was under the obligation of playing till he went to bed, or was tired with his music. His person was held so sacred, that whoever slightly injured the Bard, was fined VI cows, and CXX pence; and the murderer of a Bard was fined CXXVI cows. He preceded the army, when prepared for battle, reciting an ancient song called Unbenæth Prydain, or the Monarchal song of Britain, and for this service received his share of the enemy's spoils.

"About the year 1070, Bleddyn ab Cynvyn prince of Powys (the author of another code of Welsh laws) established some regulations respecting the Bards, revising and enforcing those which were already made.

"After the death of Trahaearn ab Caradoc in 1079, Gruffydd ab Cynan succeeded to the principality of North Wales. During his long and glorious reign of fifty-six years, he reformed the disordered behaviour of the Welsh minstrels, by a very good statute, which is extant to this day. The annotator on the Welsh Chronicle records the following particulars respecting the Bards.

"There are three sorts of minstrels in Wales.

"The first sort named Beirdh, which are makers of song, and odes of sundrie measures, wherein not onelie great skill and cunning is required, but also a certeine naturall inclination and gift, which in Latine is termed *furor poeticus*. These do also keepe records of gentlemens armes and petegrees, and are best esteemed and accounted of among them.

"The second sort of them are plaiers upon instruments, chiefelie the harpe and the crowth, whose musike for the most part came to Wales with the said Gruffyth ap Conan, who being on the one side an Irishman by his mother, and grandmother, and also borne in Ireland, brought over with him out of that countrie divers cunning musicians into Wales, who derived in a manner all the instrumentall musike that is now there used, as appeereth as well by the bookes written of the same,

same, as also by the names of the tunes and measures used amongst them to this daie.

"The third sort called Arcaneaid are those which do sing to the instrument plaied by another, and these be in use in the countrie of Wales to this daie.

"This statute or decree before mentioned doth not onelie prescribe and appoint what reward everie of the said minstrels ought to have, and at whose hands; but also of what honest behaviour and conversation they ought to be, to wit, no make-bates, no vagabonds, no ale-house hunters, no drunkards, no brallers, no whore-hunters, no theeves, nor companions of such. In which things if they offend, everie man by the said statute is made an officer, and authorized to arrest and punish them, yea and take from them all that they have about them. They are also in the same statute forbidden to enter into anie mans house, or to make anie song of anie man without speciall licence of the partie himselfe. And this statute or decree hath beene oftentimes allowed by publike authoritie of the cheefe magistrats of that countrie, as appeareth by sundrie commissions directed to divers gentlemen in that behalfe.

"The character of king Edward the first has been blackened by the imputation of the greatest cruelty towards the Bards; for after the final subjugation of Wales, he is said to have issued an edict for their extermination, on the false plea of exciting their countrymen to sedition, by the recital of the heroic deeds performed by their ancestors. This idea has been generally adopted both by poets and historians; but perhaps without good foundation. The historian Carte says 'that the only set of men who had reason to complain of Edward's severity, were the Bards, who used to put those remains of the ancient Britons in mind of the valiant deeds of their ancestors. *He ordered them all to be hanged*, as inciters of the people to sedition. Politics in this point got the better of the king's natural lenity; and those who were afterwards entrusted with the government of the country, following his example, the profession, becoming dangerous, gradually declined, and in a little time, that sort of men was utterly destroyed.'

"Sir John Wynne in his history of the Gwedir family, following the same opinion, says, 'Edward the first, who caused our *Bards all to be hanged* by martial law, as stirrers of the people to sedition, whose example being followed by the governors of Wales, until Henry the fourth his time, was the utter destruction of that sort of men. Sithence this kind of people were at some further libertie to sing and keep pedegrees as in ancient time they were wont; since which we have some light of antiquitie by their songes and writings. From the reigne of Edward the first to Henry the fourth, there is therefore noe certainty, or very little, of things done; other than what is to be found in the prince's records, which now, by tossinge the same from the Exchequer at Caernarvon to the Tower, and to the offices in the Exchequer at London, as alsoe by ill-keeping and ordering of late dayes, are become a chaos of confusion with a total neglect of method and order as would be needful for him who would be ascertained of the truth of things done from time to time.'

"Mr. Pennant, in his tour through North Wales, informs us, that in the 15th Henry VIII. an Eisteddfod

fod was held at Caerwys, Flintshire, in which the ancient laws respecting the Bards were confirmed. And he further adds, that A. D. 1568, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, a royal commission was issued for holding an Eisteddfod at the same place; on which occasion several Bards received their degrees. This commission is the last of the kind which has been granted, and is still in the possession of the Mostyn family, together with the silver harp, which, from time immemorial, had been in their gift to bestow on the chief of the faculty.—This badge of honour is about five or six inches long, and furnished with strings equal to the number of the Muses. See Pennant, vol. i. p. 463; where a copy of the commission, and an engraving of the harp are given.

"Such is the information which I have been able to collect from written authorities respecting this celebrated order of men in Wales. The following notes, drawn up by Mr. William Owen, at my request, will enable me to enter more fully, and, I trust, satisfactorily, into this subject.

"BARDS.—What we find to have been most prominent in the religion, laws, and manners of the patriarchal ages, and in that part of the world which has been generally deemed the cradle of the human race, namely, the western regions of Asia, prevailed likewise among the distant colonies of Britain.

"Were we inconsiderately to pronounce the early inhabitants of this island to have been in a savage state, according to the common acceptation of the term, it would be contrary to the tenor of a multitude of historical facts. But this is the character generally drawn of the Druids, and of the religion they practised among the Cymry. Such a picture is so contrary to the evidence we are enabled to collect from the monuments which they have left behind them, and even to the few notices taken of them by the Greek and Roman writers, that I think it useless to enter into a detail of things so much misrepresented. The common observation that the whole people were overawed by the terror of priestcraft, is foolish; for every nation is governed by the influence of its religion: and we have no evidence of any particular abuse of this power amongst the ancient Britons.

"In considering their state of religion and society, the first object that arrests the attention is the system of the Bards; the principles of which are clearly identified among the first patriarchs of mankind, and were extended to the farthest regions of India, in common with the western borders of Europe; and the agreement of systems in these two extreme regions is astonishing, as might be illustrated by numerous facts; such as the exact identity of character of the Indian Menw, and the Menw of the British Triads and romantic tales.

"One of the most striking peculiarities of the bardic system was the invention of an *oral record*; more certain than the art of writing itself, especially as it existed in its infancy, or perhaps at any other period before the discovery of printing. For the Bards required that every branch of knowledge embraced by them should be committed to memory; and this their disciples were obliged to do before they could be fully initiated into the order; and with a view of rendering them perfect therein, nothing that appertained to the institution was allowed to be committed to writing,

writing. What they thus taught was reduced into a peculiar kind of aphorisms, called *Triades*, from their comprehending three different articles classed together according to the characteristic analogy subsisting between them; and these *Triades* embraced the leading points of theology, morality, science, and history.

"Solemn meetings were held at certain seasons of the year, such as at the new and full moon, but more particularly at the solstices and equinoxes the four principal meetings of the year took place, for the promulgation of the maxims of the Bardic religion, and for other purposes. But there were other superior triennial meetings, which were great national assemblies, wherein were ratified such things as were proposed for their oral record.

"These conventions of every description took place within circles of unhewn stones; in the most public and convenient situations, such as in the open plains in the county of Wilts, whereon the principal stone circle of the whole island was raised, and of which Avebury and Sillbury-hill present, at this day, to our observation some of its vast and wonderful remains.

"The institution consisted of three orders: the Bards proper, the Druids, and the Ovates; and to each of these were attached peculiar pursuits and functions.

"The order called the Bardic was the predominant class, or that into which all the disciples were initiated in the first instance; it was, in short, the privileged national college of the Britons, for on being admitted into it, the members assumed one or the other of the three classes, as their inclination or interest directed them. To this primary order appertained the perpetuation of the privileges and customs of the system, and also of the civil and moral institutes and learning. If a Bard assumed the character of a Druid, he had to perform the functions of the priesthood; and as there was a priest or Druid in every community, and the greatest influence was attached to him, this was the class into which the greatest number of the Bards were necessarily entered. Therefore, owing to the power belonging to this character, the Bards appeared more conspicuous to strangers in the Druidical character, than when they officiated in the others; so that the accounts we find in ancient writers, who describe them, are often contradictory, but generally the names of the other orders are lost in that of the Druids.

"The Ovates were such of the Bards as cultivated particular arts or sciences: therefore it was the order to which belonged artists and mechanics of every description. And this was the only character in which the Bards were permitted to hold private meetings; in performing the functions of the other classes, they were obliged to assemble, as they expressed it, in the eye of light, and in the face of the sun. I have not the least doubt, from the information I have obtained, but that this class of craftsmen was the origin of free masonry; for in times of persecution, the Bards found it too dangerous to hold public meetings: they therefore assumed the *ovate* character, which permitted them to meet under cover; and indeed many of the very terms, arrangements, and principles of Masonry are to be found in Bardism. So that Masonry is Bardism in disguise; being so involved in technical terms that it requires great ap-

plication in those who are initiated, to see through the mysterious covering. The Bards too have a secret like the Masons, by which they can know one another. The three letters O. I. W, are with them the unutterable name of the Deity: they therefore made use of another term known only to themselves, just as the Jews, who always make use of *Adonai* when the name of Jehovah occurs. Each of the letters in the Bardic name is also a name of itself: the first is the word when uttered, that the world burst into existence; the second is the word, the sound of which continues, by which all things remain in existence; and the third is that by which the consummation of all things will be in happiness, or the state of renovated intellect, for ever approaching to the immediate presence of the Deity.

"Each of these three orders wore an appropriate dress. That of the primary order, or the Bards in general, was of sky-blue, emblematic of light, or truth, and of peace. White, as a mark of purity and holiness, was appropriated to the Druids. The *Ovates* wore green, thus denominating that the earth was the object of their pursuits.

"The fundamental object and principle of the Bardic system were, the search after truth, and a right adherence to justice and peace. They never bore arms, nor engaged in any party disputes; so that eventually they became totally exempted from all political connections; and they were therefore employed as heralds in war between different powers. So sacred were their persons considered, in the office of mediators, that they passed unmolested through hostile countries, and even appeared in the midst of battle, to arrest the arm of slaughter, while they executed their missions. But this state of disinterested virtue was at length the means of procuring to the order the supreme influence in the nation, by the perversion of its original principles; as we find to have been the case amongst the Gauls, where the office of Archdruid was established and made permanent, in direct violation of those principles; and this high-priest had acquired so great an ascendancy as to struggle successfully against the Roman power for nearly five hundred years.

"Their idea with respect to the moral government of the world was, that life was gradually increasing in perfection; that therefore truth and justice were advancing therewith; so that the Bards looked for a period when those attributes should predominate over the principles of evil and devastation; that when that period arrived, man would begin to make rapid approaches towards that perfection which his state was capable of undergoing; and then, on the consummation of such an event, the design of this terrestrial world was answered, and it would be changed into another state by fire.

"The theology of the Bards was shortly this: they believed in the existence of one Supreme Being, of whom they reasoned, that he could not be material, and that, what was not matter, must be God. The soul was considered to be a lapsed intelligence; and the punishment it was susceptible of, was a total privation of knowledge; and the possession of that knowledge was deemed essentially to imply happiness. To effect this punishment, and destruction of evil, the soul was cast into *Anoon*, the extremity of which was the lowest point

point of existence; and to regain its former state, it must pass through all the intermediate modes of existence. For such a purpose, they say, God created this as well as other innumerable worlds; that is, for the progression of intelligences through all modes of being, approximating eternally towards himself. Further, that this earth was originally covered with water, which gradually subsiding, land animals appeared, but of the lowest and least perfect species; and thus corresponding in organization with the then capacity of the soul. New orders in the scale of being were successively produced from these, whose frames and intellects improved through many ages: thus also augmenting the store of knowledge, or happiness; so that ultimately man appeared the most perfect receptacle of the soul on this earth. For this was a state wherein the soul had so augmented its faculties or knowledge, as to be capable of judging between good and evil; consequently it was a state of liberty and of choice. If the soul became attached to evil, it fell again to brutal life, or state of necessity, to a point corresponding with its turpitude of human existence; and it again transmigrated towards the state of man, for a renewed probation.—When the soul became attached to good; death was its release from the human to a higher sphere of existence, where the loss of memory was done away; so that it then recollected the œconomy of every inferior mode of existence; thus being made happy in the knowledge of all animated nature below its then condition, it became elevated higher and higher in the scale of intelligence to eternity, and consequently increased in knowledge and happiness.

"Such was the original system of the Bards; but like all other systems of theology, it was corrupted and abused: the rank weeds of superstition were sown for the sake of power, and they grew luxuriantly in a field originally cultivated to yield more wholesome fruit.

"Amongst the first aberrations, may be traced that of the knowledge of the great *Huon*, or the Supreme Being, which was obscured in the hieroglyphics or emblems of his different attributes, so that the grovelling minds of the multitude often sought not beyond those representations, for the objects of worship and adoration. This opened an inlet for numerous errors more minute; and many superstitions became attached to their periodical solemnities, and more particularly to their rejoicing fires, on the appearance of vegetation in spring, and on the completion of harvest in autumn. Others of less note grew into importance, from the peculiarity of some ceremonies; such as cutting the misletoe with a golden hook by the presiding Druid; the gathering of the cowslip, and other plants consecrated to the power of healing. The autumnal fire is still kindled in North Wales, being on the eve of the first day of November, and is attended by many ceremonies; such as running through the fire and smoke, each casting a stone into the fire, and all running off at the conclusion to escape from the black short-tailed sow; then supping upon parsnips, nuts, and apples; catching up an apple suspended by a string with the mouth alone, and the same by an apple in a tub of water: each throwing a nut into the fire; and those that burn bright, betoken prosperity to the owners through the following year, but those that

burn black and crackle, denote misfortune. On the following morning the stones are searched for in the fire, and if any be missing, they betide ill to those who threw them in.

"The authority assumed by the Bards of excommunication during the purity of the system, was an useful corrective in their discipline: but when the civil government became in a degree coalesced with the order, the sentence pronounced in the circle was clothed in all the terrors that surround an outlaw in modern times. Then too, their doctrine of expiation by sacrifice extended to more awful victims, for all the criminals (among whom captives taken in war were often considered the most guilty) were collected together at the great yearly assemblies; and there, in atoning for their offences, presented a spectacle to the whole nation at once impressive aud tremendous.

"In tracing the origin of the Bardic system, we are led back to very remote antiquity. The first who made verse the vehicle of instruction and of record, according to the Triads, was Tydain Tâd Awen, or Tydain father of the Muse, between whom and Taaut, Thoth, or Hermes of the Ægyptians, there is a striking conformity as well in the names as in their attributes. From this original were derived the privileges and peculiar customs, which were arranged and methodized by the three primæval Bards, Plennydd, Alon and Gwron, and then sanctioned and adopted as a part of the constitution of the nation, and which before only received through courtesy what afterwards was insured by law. The Triads differ as to the period when this took place, whether in the time of Prydain son of Aedd the Great, or of Dyvnwal Moelmud his son. The exact æra of all these personages is lost in antiquity; but it is curious to observe that the Alon here mentioned, seems to be the same with Olen the Hyperborean, Ailinus or Linus in the Grecian mythology. It may be pertinent here to notice another Triad, wherein it is said, that Gwyddon Ganhebon was the first who composed verse; that Hu the Mighty was the first who made it the vehicle of record and instruction: and that Tydain Tâd Awen was the first who reduced it to an art, and fixed rules of composition; and hence originated Bards and Bardism, and the regulation of the system in all its privileges, by the three primæval Bards, Plenydd, Alon and Gwron. The Gwyddon Ganhebon above mentioned, seems according to another Triad, to have achieved a work that is to be identified with the pillars of Hermes in Egypt; for this Triad mentions three great exploits, one of them being 'The stones of Gwyddon Ganhebon, upon which were to be read all the arts and sciences in the world.'

"It does not appear that the Bards had any mythological fables. They had Triads, and other kinds of aphorisms, containing their political, moral, religious, and other maxims and branches of knowledge, which it was necessary that every disciple should learn by heart, before he could gain admission into the order. Of these things as many are still preserved as would take up a long time for a person of common capacity to acquire.

"Whatever superstitions might have originally belonged to the system, must in a great measure, or perhaps totally have been expunged by the introduction of Christianity. In other respects, I believe that the system is still preserved as to the general principles within a small

small district of Glamorganshire; whilst it has become nearly unknown in every other part of Wales for several ages. This appears more particularly from a celebrated Eisteddvod or congress held at Carmarthen, about the year 1450, against which the synod of the Bards of Glamorgan protested, as being totally subversive of the ancient institutions as preserved by them. This congress at Carmarthen and those subsequently held in North Wales, were scarcely any thing more than the simple meetings of poets and minstrels under a few common and indispensable regulations for the sake of good order; and therefore not worthy of particular notice.

"The chair of Glamorgan being the only one that preserved the ancient Bardic institutes; it is of consequence to bring it more particularly to the notice of the public: for without it, we should have probably nothing left of Bardism or Druidism except in scattered ruins, of which nothing satisfactorily could now be made out.

"This provincial chair or Gorsedd has regularly preserved the ancient discipline, and has occasionally held public meetings to give effect to the functions of the Bards belonging to it. Some of these meetings were expressly convened at the desire of the Lords Marchers and other powerful families, who were desirous of learning something of this extraordinary system, which was so formed, as to have within itself the means of self-preservation under all the great changes of the nation. And to satisfy the wishes of those noble personages, several of the most intelligent Bards of the times were appointed to collect together and digest every particular relating to the order. Of the congresses convoked by such authorities, the first was under the patronage of sir Richard Neville; a subsequent one was held under the auspices of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, at Cardiff castle, in 1570; another in 1580, under the direction of sir Edward Lewis, of the Van; and the last for such special purpose was held at Bewpyr castle in 1681, under the authority of sir Richard Basset.

"The result of these meetings was entered into books, which were revised in the last mentioned congress, and of which manuscript copies are still extant; and the original register of the last meeting is in the possession of Mr. Turberville of Llan Haran in Glamorganshire."

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

Observations on Reflecting Telescopes, their Metallic Composition, and the Manner of Casting them.

[From Mr. Little's Paper in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. X.

"THERE are but few things produced by the united effort of mechanical artifice and intellectual labour, which have done more honour to the ingenuity and invention of man, than the reflecting telescope; which has many advantages over any of the dioptrical kind, notwithstanding their improvement by achromatic glasses. It will bear a greater aperture, and may be made to magnify more, (as being more distinct,) in proportion to its length, than the others, as they are at present made; and its dimensions and powers are unlimited. What its excellence is, especially the Newtonian construction of it, has been proved by Dr. Herschell, to his own honour, and that of the age, and country, and patronage, which encouraged his labours. Accordingly, the persons, eminent for science and mechanical ingenuity, appear to have felt a peculiar and disinterested pleasure, in contributing to its improvement: and the late discovery of a metallic composition for the mirrors of it, which will bear as high a polish as glass, reflect as much light as glass transmits, and endure almost equally well, without contracting tarnish, is a farther encouragement to prosecute its improvement to perfection.

"Among others, I had formerly, from admiration at its contrivance, bestowed some attention on the mechanism of this instrument: and, as it would have spared me some expence of time and trials, if any other person had previously suggested to me the hints, which I am to relate; I imagine they will be of use to others, in directing or assisting the course of their labour, in the same pursuit. I had also taken some pains, to understand the merits of the different constructions of this telescope: but, as this enquiry ended in a conviction, that the Newtonian form of it is the most perfect that can be hoped for; (it being the nature of its great author, to persevere in his researches, till he had arrived at a complete solution of his doubts, and comprehension of the subject;) so I have only to report what resulted from my experience in the mechanical fabrication of it, as to the method of casting the mirrors, and communicating to them the proper figure.

"Before I had heard of the improvements of the Rev. Mr. Edwards, in the composition of the

specula for telescopes, I had made many experiments myself with that view; which led me to give full credit to his report of the superior excellence of that composition which he recommends: because I had found, that the qualities of hardness, whiteness, and indisposition to contract tarnish, necessary to a speculum, could not, by any admixture that I could hit upon, be produced, unless the metal were so highly saturated with tin, as to be excessively brittle; and because I found that this brittleness, however inconvenient in some respects, was necessary to render it susceptible of the highest polish: for no metal yet known, except steel, (which, from its disposition to rust, is unfit for this purpose,) will take as high a polish as glass will, unless it be more brittle than glass. And indeed this property is common to all substances which we know, that are capable of such polish: they must be very hard, and, as such, brittle; for the polishing powder employed would stick and bed itself in any soft metal, instead of cutting and polishing it.

"From the result of my trials, I contented myself with the composition mentioned hereafter, as being in every respect sufficient for the purpose, and inferior to none in whiteness, lustre, and exemption from tarnish: for, as to the addition of silver, I found that, when used in a very small quantity, it had an extraordinary property of rendering the metal so soft, that I was deterred from employing it: and unless it shall be found that, without this effect, it makes the metal less porous than otherwise it might be, or less frail and brittle, I am certain that it may, in every other respect, be dispensed with. I had no opportunity to try it, in the precise quantity Mr. Edwards recommends, (though I did so before, in very nearly that proportion,) since I first saw his memoir on that subject. Sir Isaac Newton made trial of a very small portion of it, and found the same effects from it as I experienced: but it is possible, that, if it were added in the just proportion discovered by Mr. Edwards, it would be an improvement, and useful ingredient, in the composition.

"I must observe here, that a metal, not liable to contract tarnish from the air, is otherwise susceptible of it accidentally, when there happen to be minute holes in its surface, caused by the air, or sand, &c. in casting it. Such cavities will be filled with the dust, or rusty solution of the brass, in grinding; which will, in time, become a sort of vitriol, and act on the contiguous parts of the speculum, producing a canker in it, which will spread, in form of a cloud of tarnish, around each cavity. In such a case, to prevent this, I would advise, to lay the mirror, as soon as polished, in warm water, and, after drying, while it remains heated, to rub it over with spirit-varnish; from which it may be cleansed, by a piece of fine linen dipped in spirit of wine. The varnish will remain in the cavities; and, by defending the impurities in them from the action of the air, will probably preserve them from becoming corrosive to the metal.

"From numerous experiments, of the qualities of different compositions, made by several persons, it appears, that no combinations, of any other metals or semi-metals, are fit for specula, except those of copper, brass, tin, silver, and arsenic. I tried no semi-metal, except the latter, which whitens copper, and

unites intimately with it; because it is stated, in the treatise of the Art of Assaying, by the observant and accurate Cramer, that all the semi-metals rise in flowers, during the fusion: which would certainly make the metal porous. On this account, I would have rejected the brass, because of the zinc contained in it; but that it seemed to render the composition whiter, and less apt to tarnish, than it would be without it. It will have little tendency to rise in flowers, if the speculum-metal be fused, with the lowest heat requisite, and if the brass be of the best kind; because, in this, the zinc is more perfectly united with the copper, and both are purer. I used, for this purpose, the brass of pin-wire: and, because the quantity of it was only the one eighth part of the copper employed, which, I imagined, would receive too fierce a heat, if put alone into the melted copper; I first added to the brass, in fusion, about an equal quantity of the tin, and put the mass cold into the melted copper; supplying afterward the remainder of the tin, and then the arsenic; the whole being generally in the following proportion: viz. 32 parts best bar copper, previously fluxed with the black flux, of two parts tartar, and one of nitre, 4 parts brass, 16½ parts tin, and 1¼ arsenic. I suppose, with others, that, if the metal be granulated, by pouring it, when first melted, into water, and then fused a second time, it will be less porous than at first.

"In this process, whatever metals are used, and in what proportions soever, the chief object is, to hit on the exact point of saturation of the copper, &c. by the tin. For, if the latter be added in too great quantity, the metal will be dull-coloured and soft; if too little, it will not attain the most perfect whiteness, and will certainly tarnish. It is too late to discover the imperfections of the metal, after the mirrors are cast and polished; and no tokens given of them (that I know) are sufficiently free from ambiguity. But I observed the following, which proved, in my trials, at first view, indubitable marks of the degree of saturation; and I think it fit to describe them particularly, as they have not, to my knowledge, been noticed by others.

"When the metal was melted, and before I poured it into the flask, I always took about the quantity of an ounce of it, with a small ladle, out of the crucible, and poured it on a cold flag; and observed the following appearances.

"First. If the metal assumed, in cooling, a lively blue, or purple colour, commonly intermixed with clouds, or shades of green or yellow; and if, when broken, the face of the fracture exhibited a silvery whiteness, as bright and glistening as quicksilver, without any appearance of grain, or inequality of texture; then the degree of saturation of the metal, with the tin, was complete and perfect.

"Secondly. If the surface of the metal became of a dun or mouse colour, and especially if of a brown or red; and, when broken, the fracture exhibited a more yellow, or tawny hue, than that of quicksilver; then the quantity of tin in the composition was deficient, and it was necessary to add more.

"Thirdly. If the colour was an uniform dull blue, like lead, and, where broken, discovered a dull colour,

colour, with a coarse grain, like facetts; the due saturation was exceeded, and there was an over proportion of tin in the metal.

"These colours would be more distinct, if a small quantity of the metal were cast in a flask, which had been previously smoked, by a candle, made of resin mixed with tallow; in which way I used to prepare the moulds. I attribute the formation of the colours to this: that, as the calx of every metal has its own peculiar colour, so, the heat of the melted mass, calcining some of the particles on its surface, which are in contact with the air, these display the colour of the calces of those ingredients, which prevail in the composition. Whence, it may be expected, that, if the copper is the redundant metal, the mass will exhibit a reddish tinge, which is appropriate to the calx of copper; and, if the tin be prevalent, a blueish dye ought to appear. Either of these colours, therefore, appearing unmixed, shews the redundance of that metal, to which each belongs. And, as brass, when cast alone, has always a yellow tinge, so, when these three colours are exhibited in a cloud-like mixture, they shew an equality and due proportion of their respective metals in the composition. When too large a mass of the metal is cast together, its intense and lasting heat calcines the surface so deeply, as (when exposed to the air) to obscure the colours; so that a small quantity will best serve to exhibit them.

"As to the method of casting the mirrors, it has been directed, to leave the ingate, or superfluous part of the cast, so large, as to contain a quantity of metal, equal to that in the mirror itself; which would occasion a great waste of it, and render it not easy to cast, at once, more than one mirror in each mould; and even this might be done so injudiciously, as not to afford security against the miscarriage of the cast. But it will appear, that this great quantity of metal, and incommodious manner of casting it, are by no means necessary. However, a judgement cannot be formed, of what may be the safest and most eligible method for casting the mirrors, unless it be considered, what are the circumstances attending this operation, in the case of malleable metals; and how the management of speculum-metal, in this respect, must differ from that of them: since there must be peculiar difficulty in casting, in sand, a metal more brittle than glass.

"When any fused metal is poured into the flask, the external parts of it, which are in contact with the mould, congeal and harden, sooner than the internal parts, and form a solid shell, filled with the rest of the metal, in a fluid state. This will, consequently, remain in a state of greater expansion, from its heat, than the external crust; and its particles will, in the act of shrinking as it cools, recede from one another, as being more easily separable, and cohere, on each side, with the particles already fixed and grown solid: by which means a vacuum will be formed in the middle, and this will be gradually filled by the superincumbent metal, which has been later poured in, and remains longer in a fluid state. But, when there is no more metal supplied, the void, which was in this way latest formed, remains unfilled; and then the shell of the metal, adjacent to the vacuum, as yet remaining soft, and unable

unable to bear the weight of the atmosphere, resting on it, sinks, and is pressed down into the vacuum: by which means, a pit or cavity will be constantly and necessarily formed in the face of the cast, in that part of it which was last congealed; which cavity will commonly be larger or smaller, in proportion to the quantity of metal in the cast.

"The event will, in this respect, be the same with speculum-metal, as it is, in the case of that which is tough and malleable: only that as the former, in cooling, arrives sooner at its natural state of hardness and brittleness, its external solid shell will not bend, but break, and fall into the void part under it; and thus form cracks, or abrupt chasms, in the places, where tougher metals would contract only regular depressions. And also, when the body of the cast is small, or the mould is so damp or cold, as to congeal, not only the surface, but the substance, of the cast too soon, and thus prevent a gradual influx of the fluid metal, to keep the central part as distended, as the exterior shell was, when it became fixed; the farther contraction of the interior parts of this brittle, refractory metal, after it has become solid, will be apt to form rents in it, because its substance will not bear extension, without rupture.

"It would be an obvious remedy of the above inconvenience, if there could be contrived a reservoir of fluid metal, to descend into the interior part of the cast, and fill up the void made in it, as fast, and as long, as it is forming by the contraction of the metal. Now, this is effected, by having a jet or appendage to the cast, of such a size, form, and position, as will be effectual to retain the metal, composing it, in a state of fluidity; and also to suffer it to descend into the interior of the cast, until all parts of the same become fixed, and incapable of receiving any farther influx of metal. For thus, all the imperfections, that would otherwise be in the cast itself, will now exist only in the appendage to it, which is a supernumerary part, to be afterwards separated from it. This appendage ought to be of the form of a prism, and as nearly that of a cube, as the operation of moulding it in the sand will permit; for, in this gross shape, the metal in it will be the longer cooling. It should be connected with that part of the mirror, which is uppermost in the flask, and joined to it by a neck, equal in thickness to the edge of the mirror, (but so posited, that the face of the mirror may project a little above it,) and, in breadth, about twice the thickness. This neck ought to be as short as possible, i. e. just so as to permit it to be nicked round with the edge of a file, in order to break off the prism from the mirror when cast: for thus the heat of the large contiguous body of the prism will keep the neck from congealing; which, if it happened, would stop the liquefied metal, in the prism, from running down into the mirror. And, to prevent this, the prism ought not to form directly a part of the main jet or ingate, by which the metal is poured into the flask; for so the jet would cool sooner than the large mass of the mirror, and bear off the weight of the atmosphere, which ought to press on the fluid metal, in the prism underneath, and force it down into the mirror, to fill up all vacuities in it. Both the prism and the mirror, therefore, ought to be filled by a lateral channel, opening (from

(from the principal ingate) into the top of the prism; which latter should be formed broad and flat, and not taper upward, like a pyramid, lest, by cooling where it grows narrow, it might form a solid arch, and oppose the pressure of the atmosphere. When it is fashioned, as here directed, and made of a bulk equal to a third or fourth part of the mass of the mirror, or even a fifth or sixth part, when the mirrors are of large size, there will ever be found, in the top of the prism, after the metal is cast, a deep pit or cavity, which contained the metal, that had ran down into the mirror, after the outer shell of the mirror, and sides of the prism, had become solid and congealed; and the mirror itself will be found perfect, without any sinking or cavity; which could only be formed by an injudicious disposition of the jet or appendage, permitting the metal in it to freeze sooner than the whole mass in the mirror, and thus stopping its descent into it. If several mirrors be cast together, in the same flask, there must be such a separate appendage made to each of them.

"In this manner I have (without a failure in any) cast many mirrors of different sizes, and sometimes several of them together in one flask. But very small ones, such as the little mirrors for Gregorian telescopes, cannot be cast in this manner; for their masses being but small, they cool too quickly, to receive any additional infusion of metal; and their outer edges suddenly forming a solid incompressible arch, the central parts, in contracting towards it on every side, separate, and are rent asunder. And this has happened, even when I cast them in brass moulds made red hot: on which account, I have been obliged to form them out of pieces of the metal, cast in long thin ingots or bars; which, by nicking them across with a file, could be easily broken into square pieces, whose corners could be taken off, and rounded in the same manner.

"I do not repeat the other precautions to be observed in this process, which have been already so well and sagaciously described by the Rev. Mr. Edwards: but the circumstances above mentioned, a prudent attention to which is, in my opinion, essentially necessary to the success of it, are not to be collected from any directions published on the subject that are known to me. And though particular artists may, by large experience, arrive at a sufficient knowledge in this matter, for their own practice; yet, to render that knowledge general, and to contribute, as far as I could, to the improvement of this instrument in any hands, being the design of this essay, I thought it necessary to state the above particulars fully; though I doubt not that these, as well as other matters of moment in the operation, are known to many, who chuse not to make them public. Thus the great skill, in the construction of the telescope, acquired by Mr. Short, seems not to have been transmitted to any successor.

"I come now to speak of the most difficult part of the mechanism of this instrument, that of communicating a proper figure to the mirrors; on which depend the powers of the telescope, when its dimensions are given: for the manner of polishing them, to the highest degree of lustre, has been already well understood and described. They who have tried this part of the

the work, and know how inconceivably small is that incorrectness of form which will produce grievous aberrations of the rays of light, will, I am sure, readily subscribe to the assertion, that '*hoc opus, hic labor est.*' Methods have indeed been proposed for accomplishing it; but not a single hint given, that I know, of the *modus operandi*, or the grounds of these methods: insomuch, that, when I first tried to polish mirrors, I had no idea why any figure of them, different from that of a sphere, should result from the modes of polishing recommended. But, on my making the attempt, in the ways proposed by Mr. Mudge and by Mr. Edwards, I was surprised to find, that sometimes a spheroidal or other irregular figure, and sometimes (though rarely) a conoidal one, was produced by each: the cause of either being to me then unknown; and disappointment or success appearing to depend on mere accident, and not on the degree of pains and accuracy used in the process.

"At length I began to suspect, that these variations, in the event of the process, (which will be hereafter accounted for,) arose from some property, not adverted to, in the pitch that covered the polishing tool; which material has been generally used for this purpose, of communicating a proper figure, as well as a high polish, to the mirror, since it was first recommended by sir Isaac Newton; being commonly spread on the polisher, to about the thickness of a crown-piece, and then covered with the polishing-powder; (the manner of doing which I suppose the reader to be acquainted with, as also with what has been made public on the subject, by Messrs. Hadley, Mudge, Edwards, &c.;) and I was confirmed in my suspicion, from the following reasons, after I had found them approved by many repeated and diversified experiments.

"Pitch is a soft unelastic substance, which, as such, will suffer a permanent change of form, when it is made to sustain a degree of pressure sufficient to communicate an intestine motion to its particles: and this property directs us to consider, what may be the effect of the pressure of the mirror on it, when spread on the polisher, as to the figure it may then gradually acquire, during the operation of polishing, and the resistance and friction it will oppose to the mirror; for, by reason of the tenacity of its substance, it will resist a certain degree of pressure, without change of its form, but will yield to a greater pressure. But it is by its resistance the mirror is worn down and polished: if, therefore, that resistance be not uniform and equal on the whole surface of the polisher, neither will the abrasion of the mirror be equal in every part; the consequence of which must be, that both will degenerate from an uniform curvature, i. e. from a spherical figure; the mirror from unequal friction, and the polisher from its mobility, by which it will adapt itself to the successive alterations produced in the figure of the mirror; their mutual action and re-action inducing a change in both.

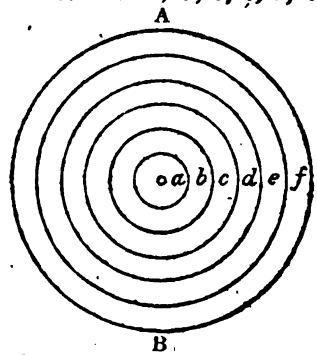
"As the pitch is (in our present enquiry) to be considered as an homogeneous substance, we must suppose, that its resisting force, as well as that of the pressure of the mirror on it, are uniformly diffused over the surface of the polisher: and, from hence, it may not, perhaps,

haps, be easy to conceive, how the surface of the mirror could sustain from it any inequality of resistance and friction. In fact, these would be equal and uniform, in every part, if the pitch were a substance, either of perfect hardness, or perfect fluidity: but it will hereafter appear, that its consistence must not be so hard, as to render it incapable of any change of form; but, on the contrary, so soft, as to yield, in a small degree, to the pressure of the mirror: at the same time, opposing a resistance, sufficient to wear down and polish it: and the enquiry is, how that resistance is modified.

"Bodies of perfect hardness, such as glass, flints, &c. will not admit a total intimate change of their form, in all their dimensions, without a dissolution and permanent separation of all the particles composing their masses, (except when they are brought to a state of fusion by heat). But soft, viscid, semifluid bodies, such as lead, pitch, &c. will suffer such change, preserving the cohesion of their particles, yet, at the same time, undergoing a general intestine motion of all the particles among themselves: so that the coat of pitch, pressed, on each side, between the parallel surfaces of the mirror and polisher, will, by their force, be equally extended laterally in every direction; by which an equal quantity of motion will be communicated to all its particles: since no particles, except those at the extremities, can move, without protruding others, and these, the rest, successively, as if the mass were a fluid body.

"But, though all parts of the surface of the polisher receive an equal pressure and motion, all do not exert an equal degree of resistance to that pressure: for those parts, that cannot move without displacing and overcoming the resisting tenacity of a greater quantity of the surrounding mass of pitch, than other parts do, must oppose the greater resistance to the mirror, as having that of the other parts superadded to their own. For ascertaining this, the force impressed, and the quantity of pitch, confining any annular tract of the polisher, should be computed. In the present case, where the coat of pitch is a thin equal stratum, of circular form, we need regard only its superficial dimension, and consider all parts of it as alike situated in the above respect, which are equidistant from the center, or from the outer edge of the polisher.

"To this purpose, let the surface of the polisher (supposed equal in size to the mirror) be represented by the circle A B; and its area be conceived to be composed of an indefinite number of concentrical zones or annuli, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, &c.



Each of these will sustain an uniform pressure, from the mirror, proportional to its area; because, the force impressed on the mirror, and its attraction to the polisher, is equably diffused on it. The areas of these annuli, taken separately, are the differences of the two circles,

cles, whose peripheries inscribe and circumscribe each of them; as the area of the annulus *d* (for instance) is the difference of the circles, whose radii are *a d* and *a c*; and they are, consequently, to each other, as the differences of the squares of their diameters, or as those of their radii; and the series of them, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, &c. taken, in order, from the center to the extremity, are strictly as a rank of figurate numbers proceeding from unity, viz. the odd numbers, 1, 3, 5, 7, &c. But, since their breadth is supposed to be indefinitely small, they may be taken as proportional to their mean diameters or radii, i. e. as their distances from the center of the polisher; which distances will, therefore, represent the pressure on each annulus, and the quantity of motion communicated by that pressure; seeing it must be, as the number of particles the annulus contains that are moved; i. e. as its area.

"But the resistance to the force impressed on any annulus, being as the quantity of pitch to be put in motion by it, will be different, not only as the annulus is nearer to, or farther from, the margin of the polisher, but different, also, as this has either one margin only, or two, i. e. when the polisher is entirely covered with pitch, or when it has a space left uncoated at the middle; which latter always is, and must be the case, when the great mirror of the Gregorian telescope is to be polished, which has a perforation at its center.

"First. When there is no vacant space in the middle: the resistance to the several annuli will be as the circumambient spaces only; because, the pitch not being compressible, it is only into these, and not towards the center, it can, in yielding to the force or weight of the mirror, extend itself, by lateral motion: and the space, surrounding any annulus, is the difference between the circular area of the polisher, and that inscribed in the annulus; and is, relatively to the rest, measured by the difference of the squares of their radii, viz. of the distances of the edge of the polisher, and that of the annulus, from the center. But since, in this case, the bodies (of pitch) are unelastic, there can be no augmentation of motion; nor can the quantity of motion and action communicated, and, consequently, the resistance to it, and re-action, exceed that which is impressed: on which account, I imagine, that the resistance to the several annuli is to be taken as proportional to the pressures they sustain, and measured by them, i. e. by their magnitudes or areas, or the number of particles in them, to which a motion is imparted; which were stated to be as their respective radii or distances from the center: and, consequently, I suppose the resistance to be the inverse of this, or as the distances of the annuli from the outer edge of the polisher; which distances measure the direct resistance, or the quantity of pitch, to which equal motion, with that in the respective annuli, is communicated.

"And from hence it follows, that, if a mirror, previously ground to a spherical figure, were to be polished on such a polisher as this: the resistance and friction of the pitch, being greatest, and increasing to a maximum at the center, and diminishing towards the extremity, would wear down and polish the mirror, most in the central part, and least towards its edges; thus giving to it a curvature, the reverse of a conoid, which it ought to have,

have, and which it can never at first acquire correctly, by any other mode of polishing, but that of wearing it most down (and thus reducing its curvature), towards its extremities.

"Secondly. When there is a hole made through the center of the polisher, or a void space left there, uncoated with pitch.

"In these circumstances, the pitch will have liberty to expand itself (when yielding to the pressure of the mirror), towards the center, as well as the edges of the polisher: and, as the resistance and friction, in any annular tract of it, is as the direct extent of pitch, bounding it on either side, it follows, from what has been laid down, that it will increase in any part, as the distance of the same annulus increases, from each extremity of the coating of the polisher; and will be in a ratio compounded of the distances, from the interior and exterior margins of the pitch. So that, if the breadth of the polisher between these margins were (for example) 5 inches: then the pressure and friction in the middle tract, equidistant from the outer and inner edges, would be, to that prevailing at the distance of half an inch from either margin, as $6\frac{1}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{4}$, (nearly as three to 1;) and the same, at proportionate distances, in polishers of any other size; which unequal pressure could never produce, in the mirror, a regular curvature of any species; and, in the spaces nearer to the margins, the inequality of pressure would be still greater. Whence may be conceived the impossibility of figuring mirrors correctly, on polishers disposed in this manner, without some remedial contrivance; whether the face, or area of them, be of a circular shape, as directed by Mr. Mudge and others, or oval, as proposed by Mr. Edwards: for the mirror would be thus least reduced, and left of a spherical form, at the middle and edges; and be worn down, and hollowed into a different and irregular curvature, in the intermediate tract.

"For these inconveniences, however, arising from the unequal friction of the polisher, there are the following easy and adequate remedies; which will, in the sequel, be more fully explained, and applied as in practice, to effect the degree of curvature, or any correction of the same, which may be requisite.

"First. Since the curvature of the mirror ought to be gradually reduced towards its edges, which can only be effected by an increase of friction in the corresponding part of the polisher; and that this latter effect is to be produced in any part of it, by enlarging the surrounding coat of pitch: it follows, that, for this purpose, the breadth of the polisher must be enlarged above that of the mirror; and this, in the same degree, as the curvature of the mirror is to be diminished: so that the polisher is to be of greatest breadth, for a mirror of an hyperbolic, and least, for one of a spherical figure. This, however, is to be done, under the limitations hereafter mentioned.

"Secondly. To preserve the regular gradation of curvature towards the middle of the mirror, the uncoated space, at the center of the polisher, should be contracted to a certain limit, which will be defined; though, for the reasons above mentioned, it can never be filled up altogether.

"Thirdly. Where the resistance and friction of the pitch, in any tract on the face of the polisher, is computed as above, or found in effect,

effect, to be too great; it may be lessened and regulated, in any degree, by cutting, out of that part of its surface, some of the pitch, at proper intervals, in narrow channels or furrows: the number and depth of which ought to be proportioned to their distance from the edges of the coat of pitch directly, and to the reduction of curvature, proper to the corresponding parts of the mirror inversely, and should be in a ratio compounded of both; for, by these cavities, the continuity of the pitch being dissolved, its resistance, depending thereon, may be modified at pleasure.

"In this manner may the polisher be so disposed, as to communicate a correct figure to large mirrors, and even to those of smallest size. Now, whatever success may have attended the efforts of other persons, in communicating a proper figure to the great speculum, (especially Mr. Short, whom I have manifold reasons for believing to have been among the most eminent opticians, as well as artists, that have laboured in the improvement of this instrument;) I have not heard, that any method has been proposed, of communicating, to the little mirror of the Gregorian telescope, any other than a spherical form, which yet may in this manner be done. And it must, in this telescope, be a thing most desirable to accomplish; especially when its size and aperture is so great, that it would be difficult to impress, on the extensive surface of its great mirror, (merely by the small alteration of figure, which could be produced, in the delicate operation of polishing,) the degree of change, from its prior state of spherical curvature, which would be requisite; since the defect of form in this mirror, may, in these cases, (as will be shewn,) be easily compensated, in the figuration of the little mirror. For the greater size of this latter, in such instances, will render it capable of more steady handling and motion, and more equal pressure; and so more manageable, and susceptible of a correct figure, in proportion as the encreased magnitude of the great mirror renders it unmanageable: which is, plainly, a great advantage, in the fabrication of this telescope; whose mirrors will thus, in the cases where it is most especially necessary and desirable, admit mutual correction and compensation for each other's defects."

On the Germination and Fermentation of Grain and other Farinaceous Substances.

[By MM. Vauquelin and Fourcroy; inserted in the Annales du Museum d'Histoire Naturelle.]

"SIX years have now elapsed since we undertook a course of extensive inquiries upon vegetation, germination, and fermentation, in the laboratories of the Museum of Natural History. Although our experiments were very numerous a long time ago, we did not wish to publish them until we might consider our labours on the subject

subject as completed. In spite of all our exertions this period has not yet arrived; the multiplicity of our experiments, however, has presented us with several facts, which, from their novelty, must be useful to the arts and sciences dependent on them. Besides, as several chemists are about to publish memoirs and experiments upon the same subject, we thought it advisable to publish our observations in their present shape. We shall commence, therefore, by an analysis of the principal alimentary grains, and by the experiments we had made upon their germination and fermentation. We shall give, at the conclusion, our labours upon the chemical phænomena of vegetation.

§ I. *Analysis of the Farina of Wheat.*

"The water in which this farina has been macerated in equal quantities for six hours, clears very slowly; it is colourless, of a mild insipid taste, with the smell of bruised green corn; it becomes frothy by agitation; it does not redden turnsole paper, and it is not acid like barley water; it is precipitated by gall-nuts, by the acids, and particularly by the oxymuriatic acid; almost imperceptibly by the oxalate of potash, and not at all by lime water. It does not contain phosphate of potash, like the water which has been used in the maceration of garden beans.

"This liquor speedily becomes sour, and even during filtration; it precipitates yellowish flakes by means of heat; reduced to one-half by evaporation, it becomes a little saccharine; evaporated further, it is of a golden yellow, saccharine, acid and bitter, and becomes as thick as a strong solution of gum. In this second evaporation it forms on its surface a slender flexible pellicle of yellowish flakes; it deposits upon the vessel containing it, a white hard crust of phosphate of lime.

"When thus thickened, the liquor is not disturbed by water; it is precipitated by the alkalis in a small quantity; abundantly by gall-nuts, by oxalate of ammonia, and by the acids. Alcohol coagulates it into a white, gluey, membranous, glutiniform substance, which, being evaporated, leaves a little deep yellow saccharo-acid matter.

"The substance precipitated by alcohol is at first white and dry, softens and changes to brown on losing the alcohol; it then becomes semi-transparent, mild, and nauseous; at last it dries in the air, and is hard, brittle, and transparent, like strong size; when burning it bubbles up with a white and fetid smoke, and leaves plenty of charcoal.

"It results from these experiments, that cold water makes of the farina of wheat a frothy substance precipitable by acids and gall-nuts, and which also sours, dissolves then more abundantly, and dissolves at the same time more of the phosphate of lime: it is analogous to gluten. It is united to a little mucilage, with a very small quantity of saccharine matter.

§ II. *Analysis of the Gluten of Wheat.*

"Fresh gluten well washed and very pure, macerated a long time in a little distilled water, renders it opake, leaving in it a substance minutely suspended, which does not separate from it: repeated filtrations clarify it. The clear water is frothy; by infusion of galls it precipitates yellow flakes; by oxymuriatic acid it precipitates white flakes. Thus the gluten of wheat is soluble in cold water.

"This solution when heated becomes muddy, deposits yellowish flakes, and retains them in spite of long ebullition.

"The gluten placed in the oxymuriatic acid becomes soft quickly, seems to dissolve, and afterwards coagulate into yellowish white flakes, which become transparent and greenish upon drying; placed upon burning charcoal it crackles, exhaling oxymuriatic acid, and afterwards has all the appearances of common gluten.

"It dissolves very freely in concentrated acetic acid, which it renders turbid, and from which it may be separated by means of the alkalis, with all its properties, even after a lapse of many years. This fact is already well known to chemists.

"Plunged into water at the temperature of 12° (53·6 Fahr.), this gluten melts, bubbles up to the surface, becomes sour and fetid, and exhales carbonic acid gas. The water filtered, and not clarified, reddens turnsole paper very strongly; is soon precipitated and clarified by the acids; the oxymuriatic acid produces an abundant precipitate, if used in great quantity: it is precipitated also by infusion of gall-nuts and by the fixed caustic alkalis, which disengage ammonia from it. The latter, precipitated by the alkalis, is dissolved in plenty of water.

"The water of fermentation of the gluten (one pound with three ounces of white sugar) converted sugar into good vinegar, without either fermentation, effervescence, or contact of the atmosphere.

"The gluten already fermented, put a second time into water at the temperature of 12 degrees (53·6 Fahr.), ferments again, disengages carbonic acid, is weakly acidified, and its acidity is not increased at the end of three or four days. The water decanted, and by this time fetid, reddens tincture of turnsole but slightly, and precipitates it; it becomes turbid by ammonia, the acids, infusion of galls, and the oxalate of ammonia; it deposits gluten by an excess of potash, exhaling an ammoniacal vapour.

"After this second fermentation, which had formed ammonia and saturated the acid, the gluten becomes of a violet purple colour, forms at the surface of the water a pellicle of the same colour, becomes very fetid, passes afterwards to a blackish gray, and soon exhales the same odour with putrefied mucous membranes. At this period the water which floats above is blackish and muddy; it browns the nitrate of silver; blackens that of mercury at the minimum of oxidation by losing its own colour; becomes milky and inodorous by the oxymuriatic acid, and is no longer precipitated by infusion of galls.

"After three months' putrefaction (March, April, and May,) the gluten had a brown colour, and exhaled only a weak smell, but presented a great diminution in volume and mass. Separated, and then submitted to desiccation, it dried into lumps, the smell of which resembled that of the earth of burying-places: it softened under the finger like wax; it melted and burned with a flame and a smell like fat, yielded very little carbon, and dissolved in alcohol, to which it gave a brown colour; the portion not dissolved was dry, pulverulent, inodorous, insipid, and very like the ashes of charcoal; it burned with the sharp smell of wood, without ammonia, and left reddish gray ashes, in which iron and silex were found.

"In

"In this putrid decomposition of gluten azote is united to hydrogen, and a portion of carbon to oxygen, in order to form ammonia and carbonic acid. The carbon united more abundantly to hydrogen had produced the fat; and the principles superabundant to the formation of the carbonic acid, ammonia and fat, remained combined in a state something like that of a ligneous body.

§ III. *Analysis of Barley.*

"Good wholesome and fresh ground barley contains almost always the acetic acid completely formed, and an animal matter more abundantly soluble in water than that of the farina of wheat, on account of the presence of the acid. Some barleys are not acid at all.

"The water in which the farina of barley is diluted in equal volume, forms a thick, gluey, mucilaginous soup; when clarified, it is of an amber colour; its surface becomes brown, and the colour fades by degrees. After the departure of the acid, the water in which the barley is dissolved remains milky, and does not clarify, except by repeated filtrations. When drawn off, this water clarifies by itself, and becomes purple. It is very acid, and very nauseous; it contains an acid formed by fermentation, and an animal matter in large quantity, which the acid renders soluble.

"The last solution of the barley contains no more saccharine matter; it however experiences the acetic fermentation, is precipitated purple by gall-nuts, white by the acids and the alkalis, which re-dissolve the precipitate, and it is precipitated green by the prussiate of potash. The substance which thickens the different waters which had washed the barley, is very analogous to the gluten of wheat.

"The above waters heated to 60° (140° of Fahr.), become muddy, deposit very abundant yellowish gray flakes, and yield red pellicles, brown at their surface. These flakes and pellicles, when burnt, leave a fifth of their weight of phosphate of lime and magnesia; they do not cause the saccharine matter to ferment. The liquor, after acquiring the consistence of syrup by evaporation, mixed with sugar, ferments no longer, so that the vegeto-animal matter of barley, dissolved in water, or already altered by fermentation, is not the ferment of sugar.

"The syrup of barley diluted in three or four parts of water, and the mixtures of the precipitates and of sugar, fermented and became sour, but without showing any appearance of alcohol; the vegeto-animal matter of the barley and sugar contributed to the formation of the acid. These syrups always preserved their saccharine matter and their vegeto-animal viscous matter. The sugar, being greatly diminished by these operations, may thus be acidified without being first converted into wine, and without the contact of the air.

"Barley water thickened into syrup, is brown, sweet, and acid; it is abundantly precipitated by gall-nuts, oxymuriatic acid, and the alkalis. Alcohol precipitates from it a very abundant brown matter, which furnishes a good deal of phosphate of lime by combustion.

"These phænomena, belonging to the solution of a vegeto-animal matter, explain why the vinegars produced from grains are less agreeable and less decomposable than

those produced from wine; and also why they precipitate by gall-nuts, ammonia, and the acids, while wine vinegars do not present these characteristics. We see also by this how the vinegar of grains is better preserved after a slight ebullition, recommended by Scheele, who, no doubt, meant this kind of vinegar alone.

"Barley, exhausted by washings in cold water, when digested a few days in alcohol, gives a yellow colour to it; when distilled this alcohol contracts the smell and taste of spirits distilled from grain; it leaves a thick oil, yellow, brown, and greenish, which is even got from barley not diluted, and which is then mixed with the saccharine substance. This discovery accounts for the bitterness of the water of peeled barley, and for the necessity of throwing away the first decoction of this grain.

"One hundred parts of the farina of barley, macerated for thirty hours in alcohol, gave it a golden yellow colour, and the sharp taste of spirits distilled from grain. This alcohol is precipitated by means of water, and becomes much more odorous. When distilled, it preserved its smell, and left eight grammes of an oily matter, yellow, brown, and bitter, and which condensed into a species of soft beer. This matter contained sugar, which the water had separated from it, and was reduced to nearly an eighth of its primitive weight, in such a manner, that the oil of the barley only made an hundredth part of the grain.

"This oil becomes clotty like olive oil; it volatilizes on red hot iron; it burns like any other fat oil, and forms a soap with alkalis. It is manifestly this oil which gives a bitter rancid taste to barley bread, and the disagreeable smell and taste which belong to spirits from grains. We may observe, that this fixed or fat oil is not dissolved in alcohol, but by employing the latter in very great quantity.

"The farina of barley, treated twice by alcohol, was washed four times with water; the water evinced the same appearances as already said, only the vinegar which they yielded was of a lively taste and smell; this certainly depends upon the alcohol which remained in the farina.

"The husks, steeped in water, placed in fine linen and agitated in plenty of water, deposited starch; there remained in the linen a sort of gray gluten, flaky, and a little elastic, which gave the same products, when exposed to the fire, as that of the farina, the incinerated charcoal of which furnished phosphate of lime and magnesia, quick-lime and iron.

"According to these experiments barley contains, 1st, fat oil, capable of concreting, weighing one hundredth; 2dly, sugar, forming about seven hundredths; 3dly, starch; 4thly, an animal matter, partly soluble in the acetic acid and partly consisting of glutinous flakes; 5thly, phosphates of lime and magnesia; 6thly, silex and iron; and, 7thly, acetic acid, which, however, is not in all barleys, but which is often enough found to deserve notice.

§ IV. *Analysis of Garden Beans.*

"The infusion of the farina of garden beans, drawn clear off, and put into a phial well corked and completely filled, becomes troubled like milk, and makes an abundant deposit, which clears it up. Left in the phial for twenty days, it liberates no gas; it is acid, preserves the

the taste of beans, reddens turnsole, and is precipitated, by means of lime water, in transparent flakes: by the oxalate of ammonia it is precipitated abundantly; by ammonia, but slightly; by gall-nuts, in flakes like wine lees; by the nitrates of mercury and silver, in yellowish white; and by the prussiate of potash, in green flakes which become blue.

"The spontaneous deposit becomes transparent upon drying, and burns like horn.

"The same infusion, put into a large bottle about three fourths empty, acts in the same manner as at first; it diminishes the volume of air, which afterwards contains a fifth part of carbonic acid, and the residue of which is then formed of 97·5 of azotic gas and of 2·5 of oxygen gas. The liquor assumes a smell slightly putrid, without acidity; it precipitates lime water, gall-nuts, &c. &c.

"The precipitate formed by lime water is of a purple colour, which blackens on drying; it yields ammonia on being burnt, and leaves a gray cinder, soluble in the muriatic acid with effervescence, from which ammonia precipitates it in gelatinous flakes, and the prussiate of potash in white. Thus this precipitate contains an animal matter—phosphate of lime and phosphate of iron, besides the phosphate of potash, remarked by M. Saussure, junior.

"We burned some dry garden beans to ashes in a platina crucible. The taste of these ashes was alkaline and caustic; they contained potash and phosphates of lime, magnesia, and iron, which the nitric acid dissolves.

"Garden beans also contain starch, an animal matter, phosphates of lime, magnesia, potash, iron, and free potash. No sugar is found in it, at least not in any appretiable quantity.

"The tunic, or coat of these beans, contains tannin in abundance.

"This analysis explains, 1st, why beans putrefy so easily, and become infectious: 2dly, why they are so nourishing, and susceptible of filling the place of all other food: 3dly, why, when cooked with the skins on, they are better preserved: and, 4thly, why this article yields at once the aliment, the basis, and the materials proper to form and colour the blood, and to nourish the bones.

§ V. *Analysis of Lentils.*

"The farina of lentils, macerated in water, spreads the smell of this green leguminous herb; after an hour's maceration the water does not become clear, except after two filtrations; its taste is weak and nauseous; it is not acid; it precipitates abundantly by gall-nuts and the oxymuriatic acid, as well as by sulphate of iron: lime water renders it milky. It becomes troubled spontaneously, and becomes speedily milky; the alkalis render it clear by making it yellow; the acids, which clear it at first, put into it afterwards in excess, precipitate it strongly. This seems to indicate that the liquor owes its limpidity to the alkali which absorbs the acid, either spontaneous or added.

"The infusion grows frothy and coagulates at a boiling heat; when filtered, it precipitates, but less abundantly, by the re-agents indicated.

"Upon inclosing, at a low temperature, this infusion, already troubled, in two flasks, the one filled, and the other three-fourths

empty with Woolf's tubes, we saw it become clear, and deposit white flakes after some hours. We did not observe, after a few days, any apparent change of the liquor, disengagement of gas, or absorption of air, the water was ascescent, and the air above it contained a little carbonic acid gas.

"Lime hindered the spontaneous precipitation of the infusion until it was saturated by its fermented acid.

"Fifteen parts of alcohol, digested several times upon the coarser farina of lentils, was coloured a greenish yellow, and acquired a bitter and sharp taste. When distilled, the produce yielded a very strong smell of *vanilla*, which water caused to disappear by changing it into another very disagreeable. The residue of this distillation is yellowish green; a thick green oil floats at the surface; the liquor is thick and gluey, of a saponaceous smell, and of a rancid taste; the acids and lime water coagulate it like a water of soap. Sulphuric acid, by decomposing it, collects on its surface a rancid greenish oil of the smell of *tobacum*: upon evaporating the water a black residue is obtained of a saline appearance, but in such a small quantity that we could not determine the nature of it.

"Whole lentils, macerated in double their weight of water, yield, after twenty-four hours, a greenish yellow infusion of an astringent taste. Water precipitates a strong size, sulphate of iron a fine blue, and acetate of lead a yellowish white, without reddening the blue colours: lentils, stripped of their skin, afford no traces of tannin, which seem only to belong to this envelope.

"When cleaned completely by means of water, the skins of these lentils macerated in alcohol gave it a fine yellowish green colour; spontaneously evaporated, this alcohol deposited green flakes and a crust of the same colour; it blackened the solution of iron. After this double treatment, these skins are dry and arid. They furnished upon distillation a good deal of oil, the smell and taste of which resembled tobacco smoke; the water of the distillation is acid, but yields ammonia by means of potash. Thus, besides the feculent matter, lentils contain a kind of albumen and a little green oil: their bark contains tannin and more oil.

§ VI. *Analysis of the Farina of Lupines.*

"1st, This farina is yellow and very bitter; when exposed to the fire, it exhales an animal odour.

"2d, Distilled in a retort it yields three-twelfths of charcoal, nearly seven-twelfths of a fœtid red oil, a twelfth of phlegm, and a twelfth of crystallized carbonate of ammonia. The water contains a little ammoniacal acetate. We find in the charcoal phosphate of potash, because its watery ley precipitates calcareous phosphate by the addition of lime-water. We also find in the ashes of the burned farina of lupines, phosphates of lime, magnesia and iron.

"3d, It colours alcohol yellow, and renders it bitter; the latter, spontaneously evaporated, leaves a yellow, thick, and very bitter oil, forming a seventh of the weight of the farina, which almost entirely dissipates upon burning coals, with the smell of fat oil.

"4th, The farina of lupines gives water a yellow colour, a bitter taste, and a frothy quality, without rendering it either acid or alkaline. This water precipitates white flakes by

by the oxymuriatic acid; a purple coagulum by infusion of galls*; very abundant white flakes by the nitrates of mercury and silver, and the acetate of lead: there are a few muriates, not soluble by the nitric acid, in the latter precipitates. It yields also yellowish flakes by means of lime water, and a white powder of calcareous oxalate by means of the ammoniacal oxalate.

"5th, The farina, treated twice successively by alcohol and water, is dissolved almost entirely afterwards in the concentrated acetic acid: this solution, by means of the infusion of galls, precipitates in abundance oxymuriatic acid, ammonia, and mercury.

"6th, Diluted in water, and exposed to a gentle heat, the farina of lupine ferments, exhales carbonic acid, forms acetic acid, without any vestige of alcohol, and soon putrefies, exhaling a fœtid odour.

"It results from this analysis that the farina of lupines contains:

"1st, A bitter and coloured oil, to the amount of a seventh, which communicates its properties to the whole mass.

"2nd, A vegeto-animal matter, soluble in plenty of water, and much more so in the acetic acid. It is this which furnishes oil and ammonia upon distillation, and which gives to the watery infusion all its properties of precipitation.

"3rd, Phosphates of lime and magnesia abundant enough, and small quantities of phosphates of potash and iron.

"4th, It contains neither starch nor sugar, and, on this account, differs from the other leguminous farinas.

§ VII. *Upon the Germination of Leguminous Seeds.*

"1st, In Floreal of the year 12, we placed lentils and garden beans, freed from their husks, under a bell-glass full of atmospheric air, placed upon water, and in a capsule of porcelain. The former germinated three or four days afterwards; their radicles were very long, and the plumules very perceptible; twelve days afterwards their height was three centimetres; their leaves were displayed. The beans had no sign of germination at all; their radicles, however, were lengthened, without the plumule having made any progress. They began to turn mouldy, and at this period the experiment was stopped. The air of the bell-glass extinguished a taper and precipitated lime water, although it still allowed phosphorus to burn a little.

"2nd, The same seeds, placed at the same period under a bell-glass full of hydrogen gas placed upon water, presented no appearance of germination, not even a development of the radicle; they preserved their freshness and consistence; the beans did not turn mouldy. The hydrogen gas contained carbonic acid entirely formed by the seeds, which afterwards germinated in the open air. Thus hydrogen gas does not favour germination; but it does not take away from seeds the property of germinating.

"3d, Garden beans macerated in water, deprived of their skin, and afterwards replunged in this liquid, did not germinate in the course of eight days: the water became sour, and assumed the smell of sour cheese.

* M. Vauquelin attributes this colour to a little phosphate of iron.

"4th, The water sharpened with a little oxymuriatic acid had no more success. The lentils, treated in the same manner, did not germinate. These seeds no longer germinated in the air; those which had been plunged in water, on the contrary, germinated in the air.

"5th, The same seeds peeled, covered with a little water, enough, however, to be deprived of the contact of the air, putrefied, instead of germinating. When only moistened, however, and without being deprived of this contact, they germinated very well, and sent out coloured leaves, although in the shade.

"We may conclude from these experiments that the influence of the air is requisite for germination, as has been already announced by M. de Saussure.

§ VIII. *Experiments upon the Fermentation of Grain.*

"1st, Two pounds of ground germinated barley, placed with six pounds of water heated to 55° (131° Fahr.) in a matrass furnished with a crooked tube, fermented in four hours in a heat of 22° (72° Fahr.) The fermentation continued 36 hours. The gas disengaged and collected was partly formed of carbonic acid and partly of hydrogen gas pure enough. Six days afterwards this barley was distilled, from which a product was obtained equal at least to one-third of the water employed. This produce, heavier than water, was acid and empyreumatic. This acidity demonstrates the conversion of alcohol into acetous acid. The liquor, which was saccharine at the period of distillation, was no longer so afterwards.

"2d, The same ground and germinated barley, but deprived of its bran by bolting, was treated in the same manner as in the first experiment; it fermented with the same appearances, and yielded an equal part of carbonic acid gas, and hydrogen gas. Thus the bran was not the source of the latter gas, as at first supposed.

"3d, Brewers' mash, exposed in the same apparatus to the same temperature of 22 degrees, fermented more quickly with a more rapid effervescence, and its gas was merely carbonic acid, without hydrogen gas. Thus the latter depends upon the farina mixed with flour.

"4th, The farina of germinated barley, with water, exposed in the matrass to a temperature of 13° (55° of F.) did not ferment until the end of five hours; and its gas was condensed by potash. Upon raising the temperature to 22 degrees, there came off a mixture of gas not soluble and inflammable, the proportion of which was soon equal to that of the carbonic acid. Thus it is necessary that there should be a heat of upwards of 20° (68° of F.) before there can be any liberation of hydrogen gas in the farina of barley which is fermenting.

"5th, Six pounds of ground barley, not germinated, treated at three several times with twelve pounds of warm alcohol, furnished one ounce two drachms of pure sugar; while six pounds of germinated barley, treated in the same manner, yielded four ounces and two drachms, or about 5 per cent; which is four times what the barley contained previous to germination. Thus, germination forms sugar, as we have announced.

"6th, We put 24 pounds of farina of barley, not germinated, into a tub, with seven times its weight of hot water at 70° (158° of F.) and four pounds of mild beer yeast.

Fermentation

Fermentation immediately commenced with great violence, and continued seven days. The liquor submitted to distillation, with the husks, yielded nine litres of a weak and empyreumatic liquid, which, being passed again through the still, furnished 16 decilitres of an alcohol at 16 degrees, which comes to nine decilitres at 40 degrees. These nine decilitres, weighing 23 ounces, and 24 pounds of barley not germinated, containing only five ounces of sugar, it follows, that four times more alcohol was formed than there was sugar in this farina. Lavoisier, however, asserts that 100 pounds of sugar furnish only 58 pounds of alcohol.

"7th, Twenty-four pounds of germinated and ground barley, made to ferment under the same circumstances as barley not germinated, presented the same phænomena, and only varied in their products. There were two litres 0·3 of alcohol at 40 degrees, which makes five pounds of alcohol for a quintal of barley, or three times more alcohol than there was sugar; and this answers to the produce of barley not germinated.

"It must be concluded from these results that it is some other substance than sugar which is converted into alcohol, although sugar is indispensable to its production and to the establishment of fermentation.

"8th, Two pounds of farina of bolted wheat, mixed with six pounds of water at 60° (140° F.) remained six hours without motion. The next day, after having remarked the swelling of the mass, we placed the matrass upon a sand-bath a little heated, and added water to favour the disengagement of the gas. We obtained hydrogen gas twice larger in volume than carbonic acid. The vessel, having been taken off the sand-bath, the temperature having decreased to 14° (57° of F.) the fermentation all at once stopped. The liquid, when submitted to distillation, did not yield alcohol, but an acid liquor.

"The farina of wheat, therefore, does not form alcohol by fermentation; yeast is indispensable for this fermentation, although it does not enter into the composition of alcohol; by accelerating the alcoholic fermentation, it opposes the formation of vinegar. When, on the contrary, the fermentation is very slow, the alcohol becomes acetous in proportion as it is formed; perhaps even then sugar and the other fermenting substances pass into the acid state without acoholizing."

New Process for clearing Feathers from their Animal Oil.

By Mrs. Jane Richardson.

[Inserted in the Transactions of the Society of Arts, Commerce, &c.]

"TAKE for every gallon of clean water, one pound of quick-lime; mix them well together, and when the undissolved lime is precipitated in fine powder, pour off the clear lime-water for use, at the time it is wanted.

"Put the feathers to be cleared in another tub, and add to them a quantity of the clear lime-water, sufficient

sufficient to cover the feathers about three inches when well immersed and stirred about therein.

"The feathers, when thoroughly moistened, will sink down, and should remain in the lime-water three or four days, after which the foul liquor should be separated from the feathers by laying them on a sieve.

"The feathers should be afterwards well washed in clean water and dried upon nets; the meshes about the fineness of cabbage-nets.

"The feathers must from time to time be shaken upon the nets, and as they dry will fall through the meshes, and are to be collected for use.

"The admission of air will be serviceable in the drying. The whole process will be completed in about three weeks; after being prepared as above mentioned, they will only require beating for use.

"Mr. Jolly, poulterer, of Charing-cross, attended a committee of the society appointed to inspect the feathers, and stated that Mrs. Richardson had bought from him forty pounds weight of feathers, in the state they were plucked from dead geese, and in such a condition that if they had been kept in the bag only four days, without being cleansed, they would have been very offensive; that the feathers exhibited by Mrs. Richardson appear to be the same he had sold her, but they were now in a much cleaner state, and seemed perfectly cleared from their animal oil.

"The committee, in order to authenticate more fully the merits of Mrs. Richardson's process, requested Mr. Grant, a considerable dealer in feathers, to furnish some specimens of feathers of different kinds in an unclean state, to be cleansed by Mrs. Richardson; in consequence whereof an application was made to Mr. Grant, and the following letter received from him:

"'Sir,—I take the liberty of sending herewith three samples of feathers, on which the experiments may be tried; but should the quantity not be sufficient, on being favoured with your commands, shall with pleasure send any quantity necessary.

"'The bag No. 1, contains the commonest feathers we ever make use of—it is a Russian produce of various wild fowl; No. 2, gray Dantzick goose; No. 3, a superior kind of Dantzick goose.

"'The two first are in their raw state, just taken out of the bags in which they were imported; the last have been stoved the usual time (three days), but retain their unpleasant smell. Should it not be considered giving you too much trouble, shall be extremely obliged by your favouring me with a line when the experiment has been made, and I shall be happy in waiting upon you to know the result.

'I am respectfully, &c.

No. 226, 'Thomas Grant.'
Piccadilly.

"After the feathers last mentioned were sent back by Mrs. Richardson, Mr. Grant attended to examine them, and declared that they appeared to be perfectly well cleaned.

"Certificates from Mr. Christopher Bushnan, No. 10, Beaufort-row, Chelsea, and from Mr. W. Baily, testified to the efficacy of Mrs. Richardson's process."

New

New Method of Cleansing Silk, Woollen, and Cotton Goods, without damage to the Texture or Colour.

By Mrs. Ann Morris.

[From the Same.]

"TAKE raw potatoes, in the state they are taken out of the earth, wash them well, then rub them on a grater over a vessel of clean water to a fine pulp, pass the liquid matter through a coarse sieve into another tub of clear water; let the mixture stand till the fine white particles of the potatoes are precipitated, then pour the mucilaginous liquor from the fecula, and preserve this liquor for use. The article to be cleaned should then be laid upon a linen cloth on a table, and having provided a clean sponge, dip the sponge in the potatoe-liquor, and apply the sponge thus wet upon the article to be cleaned, and rub it well upon it with repeated portions of the potatoe-liquor, till the dirt is perfectly separated; then wash the article in clean water several times, to remove the loose dirt; it may afterwards be smoothed or dried.

"Two middle-sized potatoes will be sufficient for a pint of water.

"The white fecula which separates in making the mucilaginous liquor will answer the purpose of tapioca, will make an useful nourishing food with soup or milk, or serve to make starch and hair-powder.

"The coarse pulp which does not pass the sieve is of great use in cleaning worsted curtains, tapestry, carpets, or other coarse goods.

"The mucilaginous liquor of the potatoes will clean all sorts of silk, cotton, or woollen goods, without hurting the texture of the article, or spoiling the colour.

"It is also useful in cleansing oil paintings, or furniture that is soiled.

"Dirty painted wainscots may be cleaned by wetting a sponge in the liquor, then dipping it in a little fine clean sand, and afterwards rubbing the wainscot therewith.

"Various experiments were made by Mrs. Morris in the presence of a committee, at the Society's house: the whole process was performed before them upon fine and coarse goods of different fabrics, and to their satisfaction."

POETRY.

POETRY.

ODE FOR THE NEW YEAR.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq. POET LAUREAT.

WHEN ardent zeal for virtuous fame,
When virtuous honour's holy flame,
Sit on the gen'rous warriors sword,
Weak is the loudest lay the Muse can sing,
His deeds of valour to record;
And weak the boldest flight of Fancy's wing:—
Far above her high career,
Upborne by worth th' immortal Chief shall rise,
And to the lay-enraptur'd ear
Of seraphs, list'ning from th' empyreal sphere,
Glory, her hymn divine, shall carol through the skies.

For though the Muse in all unequal strain*
Sung of the wreaths that Albion's warriors bore
From ev'ry region and from ev'ry shore,
The naval triumphs of her George's reign—
Triumphs by many a valiant son
From Gaul, Iberia, and Batavia won;
Or by St. Vincent's rocky mound,
Or sluggish Texel's shoaly sound;
Or Haffnia's† hyperborean wave
Or where Canopus' billows lave
Th' Egyptian coast, while Albion's genius guides
Her dauntless Hero through the fav'ring tides,
Where rocks, nor sands, nor tempests' roar,
Nor batteries thund'ring from the shore,
Arrest the fury of his naval war,
When Glory shines the leading star;—
Still higher deeds the lay recording claim,
Still rise Britannia's sons to more exalted fame.

The fervid source of heat and light,
Descending through the western skies,
Though veil'd awhile from mortal sight,
Emerging soon with golden beam shall rise,

* Alluding to a poem called Naucratia, written by the author, and dedicated by permission to his Majesty.

† Copenhagen.

In

In orient climes with brighter radiance shine,
And sow th' ethereal plains with flame divine.
So, damp'd by Peace's transient smile,
If Britain's glory seem to fade awhile,
Yet, when occasion's kindling rays
Relumine valour's gen'rous blaze,
Higher the radiant flames aspire,
And shine with clearer light, and glow with fiercer fire.

From Europe's shores th' insidious train,
Eluding Britain's watchful eye,
Rapid across th' Atlantic fly
To Isles that stud the western main;
There proud their conqu'ring banners seem to rise,
And fann'd by shadowy triumphs, flout the skies:
But, lo! th' avenging Pow'r appears,
His victor-flag immortal Nelson rears;
Swift as the raven's ominous race,
Fly the strong eagle o'er th' ethereal space,
The Gallic barks the billowy deep divide,
Their conquests lost in air, o'erwhelm'd in shame their pride.

The hour of vengeance comes—by Gades' tow'rs,
By high Trafalgar's ever-trophied shore,
The godlike warrior on the adverse Pow'rs
Leads his resistless fleet with daring prore.
Terrific as th' electric bolt that flies
With fatal shock athwart the thund'ring skies,
By the mysterious will of Heaven
On man's presuming offspring driven,
Full on the scatter'd foe he hurls his fires,
Performs the dread behest, and in the flash expires—

But not his fame—While chiefs who bleed
For sacred duty's holy meed,
With glory's amaranthine wreath,
By weeping Victory crown'd in death,
In History's awful page shall stand
Foremost amid th' heroic band;
Nelson! so long thy hallow'd name
Thy country's gratitude shall claim;
And while a people's Pæans raise
To thee the choral hymn of praise,
And while a patriot Monarch's tear
Bedews and sanctifies thy bier,
Each youth of martial hopes shall feel
True valour's animating zeal;
With emulative wish thy trophies see,
And heroes, yet unborn, shall Britain owe to thee.

ODE FOR THE KING'S BIRTH-DAY.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq. POET LAUREAT.

LONG did chill Winter's dreary reign
Usurp the promis'd hours of Spring;
Long Eurus o'er the russet plain
Malignant wav'd his noisome wing.
O'er April's variegated day
The frolic zephyrs fear'd to play;
Th' alternate change of suns and showers
Call'd not to life her silken flowers;
But arm'd with whirlwind, frost, and hail,
Winter's ungenial blasts prevail,
And check her vernal powers.

But o'er the renovated plain
See Maia lead her smiling train
Of halcyon hours along;
While burst from every echoing grove
Loud strains of harmony and love,
Preluding to the choral song,
Which opening June shall votive pour
To hail with proud acclaim our Monarch's natal hour.

Still must that day, to Britain dear,
To Britons joy impart;
Cloudy or bright, that day shall wear
The sunshine of the heart.
And as before the fervid ray
That genial glows in summer skies,
Each cloud that veil'd the beam of day
Far from the azure welkin flies:
So may each cheerless mist that seems
Awhile to cloud our prospects fair,
Dispell'd by hope's enlivening beams,
Our brightening ether fly, and melt away in air.

Awhile though Fortune adverse frown—
By timid friends their cause betray'd,
With bosom firm and undismay'd,
On force depending all their own,
A living rampire round their parent Lord,
The British warriors grasp th' avenging sword;
While youths of royal hope demand the fight,
To assert a Monarch and a Father's right.
United in one patriot band,
From Albion's, Erin's, Caledonia's land,
Elate in arms indignant shine
The kindred heroes of the Briton line,
To whelm invasion 'neath our circling flood,
Or stain our verdant fields with Gallia's hostile blood.

CORYDON

ADDRESS of MARY QUEEN of SCOTLAND, on the ANNUNCIATION of her fatal SENTENCE.

[Translated by Lord HOLLAND, from LOPE DE VEGA's POEM on this unfortunate Princess.]

THANKS for your news, illustrious lords, she cried;
I greet the doom that must my griefs decide:
Sad though it be, though sense must shrink from pain,
Yet the immortal soul the trial shall sustain.

But had the fatal sentence reach'd my ears
In France, in Scotland, with my husband crown'd,
Not age itself could have allayed my fears,
And my poor heart had shudder'd at the sound.
But now immur'd for twenty tedious years,
Where nought my listening cares can catch around
But fearful noise of danger and alarms,
The frequent threat of death, and constant din of arms,

Ah! what have I in dying to bemoan?
What punishment in death can they devise
For her who living only lives to groan,
And see continual death before her eyes?
Comfort 's in death, where 't is in life unknown;
Who death expects feels more than he who dies:—
Though too much valour may our fortune try,
To live in fear of death is many times to die.

Where have I e'er repos'd in silent night,
But death's stern image stalk'd around my bed?
What morning e'er arose on me with light,
But on my health some sad disaster bred?
Did Fortune ever aid my war or flight,
Or grant a refuge for my hapless head?
Still at my life some fearful phantom aim'd,
My draughts with poison drugg'd, my towers with treachery flamed.

And now with fatal certainty I know
Is come the hour that my sad being ends,
Where life must perish with a single blow;
Then mark her death whom steadfast faith attends:
My cheeks unchang'd my inward calm shall show,
While free from foes, serene, my generous friends,
I meet my death—or rather I should say,
Meet my eternal life, my everlasting day.

The

The Lucky Escape.

[By the Same, translated from the Arcadia of the Same.]

IN the green season of my flowering years,
I liv'd, O Love! a captive in thy chains;
Sang of delusive hopes and idle fears,
And wept thy follies in my wisest strains:
Sad sport of time when under thy controul,
So wild was grown my wit, so blind my soul.

But from the yoke which once my courage tam'd
I, undeceived, at length have slipp'd my head,
And in that sun whose rays my soul enflam'd,
What scraps I rescued at my ease I spread.
So shall I altars to *Indifference* raise,
And chaunt without alarm returning freedom's praise.

So on their chains the ransom'd captives dwell;
So carols one who cured relates his wound;
So slaves of masters, troops of battle tell,
As I my cheerful liberty resound.
Freed, sea and burning fire, from thy controul,
Prison, wound, war, and tyrant of my soul.

Remain then, faithless friend, thy arts to try
On such as court alternate joy and pain;
For me, I dare her very eyes defy,
I scorn the amorous snare, the pleasing chain,
That held enthrall'd my cheated heart so long;
And charm'd my erring soul unconscious of its wrong.

Corydon. (A Monody.)

[From Mr. Raymond's Life of Thomas Dermody.]

[In this Monody the author, a youth of ten years of age, bewails the death of his brother; who died of the small-pox, *an.* 1785, *ætatis* 7.)

WHAT dire misfortune hovers o'er my head?
Why hangs the salt dew on my aching eye?
Why doth my bosom pant, so sad, so sore,
That was full blithe before?—
Bitter occasion prompts th' untimely sigh;
Why am I punish'd thus, ye angels! why?
A shepherd swain like me, of harmless guise,
Whose sole amusement was to feed his kine,
And tune his oaten pipe the livelong day,

Could-

Could he in aught offend th'avenging skies,
Or wake the red-wing'd thunderbolt divine?
Ah! no: of simple structure was his lay;
Yet unprofan'd with trick of city art,
Pure from the head, and glowing from the heart.—
Thou dear memorial of a brother's love,
Sweet flute, once warbled to the list'ning grove,
And master'd by his skilful hand,
How shall I now command
The hidden charms that lurk within thy frame,
Or tell his gentle fame?

Yet will I hail, unmeet, his star-crown'd shade;
And beck his rural friends, a tuneful throng,
To mend the uncouth lay, and join the rising song.
Ah! I remember well yon oaken arbour gay.
Where frequent at the purple dawn of morn,
Or 'neath the beetling brow of twilight grey,
We sate, like roses twain upon one thorn,
Telling romantic tales, of descant quaint,
Tinted in various hues with fancy's paint:
And I would hearken, greedy of his sound,
Lapt in the bosom of soft ecstacy,
Till, lifting mildly high
Her modest frontlet from the clouds around,
Silence beheld us bruise the closing flow'rs,
Meanwhile she shed her pure ambrosial show'rs.

O Shannon! thy embroider'd banks can tell
How oft we stray'd beside thy amber wave,
With osier rods arching thy wizard stream,
Or weaving garlands for thy liquid brow.
Ah me! my dearest partner seeks the grave;
The ruthless grave, extinguisher of joy.
Fond Corydon, scarce ripen'd into boy,
Where shall I ever find thy pleasing peer?
My task is now (ungrateful task, I ween!)
To cull the choisest offspring of the year,
With myrtles mix'd, and laurels varnish'd bright;
And, scatt'ring o'er thy hillock green
The poor meed, greet the gloom of night.

Ye healing Pow'rs, that range the velvet mead,
Exhaling the fresh breeze from Zephyr's bow'r,
Oh! where, in that unhappy hour,
Where did you fly from his neglected head?
O Health, thou mountain maid of sprightliest cheek,
Ah! why not cool his forehead meek?
Why not in his blest cause thy pow'r display,
And chase the fell disorder far away?

For he erewhile, most lovely of thy train,
Wont the entangled wood to trace,
Would hear the jocund horn, and join the chase:
Till thou relinquish'dst him to grief and pain,
E'en in the bloom of flourishing age;
And Death, grim tyrant, from his plague-drawn car
Espied the horrid Fury's ruthless rage,
Then wing'd his ebon shaft, and stopp'd the ling'ring war.

Yet cease to weep, ye swains; for if no cloud
Of thwarting influence mar my keener sight,
I mark'd a stranger-star, serenely bright,
Burst from the dim inclosure of a shrowd,
'T was Corydon! a radiant circlet bound
His brow of meekness; and the silver sound,
Shook from his lyre, of gratulations loud,
Smooth'd the unruffled raven-plume of Night.—

Thus chanted the rude youth his past'ral strain,
While the cold earth his playmate's bosom press'd.
And now the sun, slow westing to the main,
Panted to give his wearied coursers rest;
The azure curtains took a crimson stain,
And Thetis shone, in golden garment drest.
The shepherd-minstrel bent his homeward way,
And brush'd the dew-drops from the glitt'ring spray.

The Poet's Recantation.

Addressed to Mr. Berwick.

[From the Same.]

"Facit *recantatio* versum.*"

PUFF'D with false hopes of fame and honour,
My muse (the Philistines upon her!),
Stiff in her own bold *ipse Dixit*,
Erst sent me out a true Don Quixote;
Despising wealth, content, and pleasure,
For authorship's enchanted treasure:
Nor could the great Eliza's† kindness
Purge from my eye poetic blindness.
At last, well vers'd in cares and trouble,
I see my former folly double
(As Œdipus, with haggard eyes,
Saw double suns and worlds arise;

* "Facit indignatio versum." Hor. † Countess of Moira.

And

So Virgil, prince of epic fellows,
Is pleas'd in his ninth book to tell us);
And, startled at my faults and foibles,
Firm as if sworn on fifty Bibles,
Declare eternal hate, and lasting,
To lagging rhymes and paper-wasting.
Not Brutus did so much determine
To hunt from Rome the royal vermin.
Thus then, in a most furious fashion,
I write (not *read*) my recantation.

Imprimis (pray your godship, mind me);
Phœbus, I cast thee far behind me;
And all thy books, facete or tragic,
I look upon as spells or magic.

In second place, I do combine
Body and blood against the Nine:
Ill-natur'd ballad-chanting slatterns;
That spoil'd my luck, and lost my patrons.

Lastly, *cum vi, et corum rege*,
I do, my reverend sir, engage ye,
To view a quill from goose or sparrow
As if it was a Parthian arrow,
Or William Tell's unerring dart,
Directly bouncing to my heart.
Neither shall ink or black or pallid,
(I *swear*, to make your trust more valid,)
For me in cup or bottle teem,
No more than Pluto's Stygian stream.
For ink's, I find by disquisition,
The very essence of perdition;
The gall was made for man's undoing,
And signs the bond 'twixt him and ruin.
And if, some time hence, sorely smit
By flashes of electric wit,
I should, in deep-designing malice,
Deal with the volume-vending tories*,
May Scandal plant his blackest gallows,
And hang me in his attic stories;
Where the grim-phyz'd Reviews exhibit
(Fell vaticides!) their ruthless gibbet.

---

* 'Tories' is here used merely as a term of reproach, in which sense it was first given to the political party now bearing this appellation. In its origin it is appropriate to robbers or freebooters; being derived from the native Irish *toree*, or give me.'

Moreover, may the prince of printing
(You well may guess him by my hinting)
Roll up each page in sulphur-pills;
When from his stately chariot's wheels,
In doctor's semblance, he bestows
Disease and death where'er he goes.

Now, having made this adjuration,
I find there is some slight occasion
To seek some other method (knowing
The mouth must still be kept a-going)
By which, in lieu of rhymes unpleasant,
I may carouse with Port and pheasant:
While at my door, with hat in hand,
Vile bards (once brothers) shivering stand;
And, cursing me (a proud Egyptian),
Request his honour's least subscription.
O friend, whose goodness plac'd me once
Above the sneer of every dunce,
Above the scorn of fools well-drest,
In Hastings' generous bounty blest!
Once more her pitying heart assail
With youthful indiscretion's tale;
And bid above the viler throng,
A princely patron grace my song.

So ends recant: by marv'lous care,
I've clench'd it with a poet's pray'r;
A kind of anti-scribling matin
To scare the fiends of Greek and Latin:—

From notes unpaid, that make us mourn;
From Marshalsea's close-grated bourn,
From whence no debtor can return;
From teasing countesses with letters,
And rash intrusion on our betters;
From Cambrian booksellers, who scrape or
Conceal all profits with a caper;
From shillings scant, that often send us
To tasteless lords;—good Lord, defend us!
But if it be thy will immortal,
Let Moira-house extend its portal;
Forgiving the ill-fated sinner,
And welcome Dermody to dinner:
And may he live at ease again,
Its bard for ever and—Amen.

VERSES written by MRS. HUTCHINSON.

[In the small Book containing her own Life, and most probably composed by her during her Husband's retirement from public business to his seat at Owthorpe, about the year 1659.]

ALL sorts of men through various labours presse
To the same end, contented quietnesse;
Great princes vex their labouring thoughts to be
Possest of an unbounded soveraignetie;
The hardie souldier doth all toyles susteine
That he may conquer first, and after raigne;
Th' industrious merchant ploughs the angrie seas
That he may bring home wealth, and live at ease,
Which none of them attaine; for sweete repose
But seldome to the splendid pallace goes;
A troope of restlesse passions wander there,
And private lives are only free from care.
Sleep to the cottage bringeth happie nights,
But to the court, hung round with flaring lights,
Which th' office of the vanisht day supplie,
His image only comes to close the eie,
But gives the troubled mind no ease of care;
While countrie slumbers undisturbed are;
Where, if the active fancie dreames present,
They bring no horrors to the innocent.
Ambition doth incessantly aspire,
And each advance leads on to new desire;
Nor yet can riches av'rice satisfie,
For want and wealth together multiplie:
Nor can voluptuous men more fullnesse find,
For enioy'd pleasures leave their stings behind.
He's only rich who knows no want; he raignes
Whose will no severe tiranny constreins;
And he alone possesseth true delight
Whose spotlesse soule no guiltie feares affright.
This freedome in the countrie life is found,
Where innocence and safe delights abound:
Here man's a prince; his subiects ne'er repine
When on his back their wealthy fleeces shine:
If for his appetite the fattest die,
Those who survive will rayse no mutinie:
His table is with home-gott dainties crown'd,
With friends, not flatterers, encompast round;
No spies nor traitors on his trencher waite,
Nor is his mirth confin'd to rules of state;
An armed guard he neither hath nor needs,
Nor fears a poyson'd morsell when he feeds;

Bright constellations hang above his head,
Beneath his feete are flourie carpetts spred;
The merrie birds delight him with their songs,
And healthfull ayre his happie life prolongs.
Att harvest merrily his flocks he sheares,
And in cold weather their warme fleeces weares;
Unto his ease he fashions all his clothes;
His cup with uninfected liquor flows:
The vulgar breath doth not his thoughts elate,
Nor can he be o'erwhelmed by their hate;
Yet, if ambitiously he seeks for fame,
One village feast shall gaine a greater name
Then his who weares th' imperiall diadem,
Whom the rude multitude doe still condemne.
Sweete peace and ioy his blest companions are;
Feare, sorrow, envie, lust, revenge, and care,
And all that troope which breed the world's offence,
With pomp and maiestie, are banisht thence.
What court then can such libertie afford?
Or where is man soe uncontroul'd a lord?

The Eve of St. John.

[From Mr. Scott's Ballads and Lyrical Pieces.]

THE Baron of Smaylho'me rose with day,
He spurred his courser on,
Without stop or stay, down the rocky way,
That leads to Brotherstone.

He went not with the bold Buccleuch,
His banner broad to rear;
He went not 'gainst the English yew,
To lift the Scottish spear.

Yet his plate-jack* was braced, and his helmet was laced,
And his vaunt-brace of proof he wore;
At his saddle-gerthe was a good steel sperthe,
Full ten pound weight and more.

The Baron returned in three days space,
And his looks were sad and sour;
And weary was his courser's pace,
As he reached his rocky tower.

---

* The plate-jack is coat armour; the vaunt-brace, or wam-brace, armour for the body; the sperthe, a battle-axe.

He

He came not from where Ancram Moor *
Ran red with English blood;
Where the Douglas true, and the bold Buccleuch,
'Gainst keen lord Evers stood.

Yet was his helmet hacked and hewed,
His acton pierced and tore;
His axe and his dagger with blood embrued,
But it was not English gore.

He lighted at the Chapellage,
He held him close and still;
And he whistled thrice for his little foot-page,
His name was English Will.

"Come thou hither, my little foot-page;
Come hither to my knee;
Though thou art young, and tender of age,
I think thou art true to me.

Come, tell me all that thou hast seen,
And look thou tell me true!
Since I from Smaylho'me tower have been,
What did thy lady do?"

"My lady, each night, sought the lonely light,
That burns on the wild Watchfold;
For, from height to height, the beacons bright
Of the English foemen told.

"The bittern clamoured from the moss,
The wind blew loud and shrill;
Yet the craggy pathway she did cross,
To the eiry beacon hill.

"I watched her steps, and silent came
Where she sat her on a stone;
No watchman stood by the dreary flame;
It burned all alone.

"The second night I kept her in sight,
Till to the fire she came,
And, by Mary's might! an armed knight
Stood by the lonely flame.

"And many a word that warlike lord
Did speak to my lady there;
But the rain fell fast, and loud blew the blast,
And I heard not what they were.

* See an account of the battle of Ancram Moor, subjoined to the ballad.

" The third night there the sky was fair,
And the mountain blast was still,
As again I watched the secret pair,
On the lonesome beacon hill.

" And I heard her name the midnight hour,
And name this holy eve;
And say, 'Come this night to thy lady's bower;
Ask no bold Baron's leave.

" 'He lifts his spear with bold Buccleuch;
His lady is all alone;
The door she 'll undo to her knight so true,
On the eve of good Saint John.'

" 'I cannot come; I must not come;
I dare not come to thee;
On the eve of Saint John I must wander alone:
In thy bower I may not be.'

" 'Now, out on thee, faint-hearted knight!
Thou should'st not say me nay;
For the eve is sweet, and when lovers meet,
Is worth the whole summer's day.

" 'And I 'll chain the blood-hound, and the warder shall not sound,
And rushes shall be strewed on the stair;
So, by the black rood-stone*, and by holy St. John,
I conjure thee, my love, to be there!'

" 'Though the blood-hound be mute, and the rush beneath my foot'
And the warder his bugle should not blow,
Yet there sleepeth a priest in the chamber to the east,
And my foot-step he would know.'

" 'O fear not the priest, who sleepeth to the east!
For to Dryburgh† the way he has ta'en;
And there to say mass, till three days do pass,
For the soul of a knight that is slayne.'

" He turned him around, and grimly he frowned;
Then he laughed right scornfully—
'He who says the mass-rite for the soul of that knight,
May as well say mass for me.

---

* The black rood of Melrose was a crucifix of black marble, and of superior sanctity.

† Dryburgh Abbey is beautifully situated on the banks of the Tweed. After its dissolution, it became the property of the Halliburtons of Newmains, and is now the seat of the right honourable the earl of Buchan. It belonged to the order of Premonstratenses.

'At

"'At the lone midnight hour, when bad spirits have power,
In thy chamber will I be.'—
With that he was gone, and my lady left alone,
And no more did I see."—

Then changed, I trow, was that bold Baron's brow,
From the dark to the blood-red high;
"Now, tell me the mein of the knight thou hast seen,
For, by Mary, he shall die!"

"His arms shone full bright, in the beacon's red light;
His plume it was scarlet and blue;
On his shield was a hound, in a silver leash bound,
And his crest was a branch of the yew."

"Thou liest, thou liest, thou little foot-page,
Loud dost thou lie to me!
For that knight is cold, and low laid in the mould,
All under the Eildon-tree*."

"Yet hear but my word, my noble lord!
For I heard her name his name;
And that lady bright, she called the knight,
Sir Richard of Coldinghame."

"The bold Baron's brow then changed, I trow,
From high blood-red to pale—
The grave is deep and dark—and the corpse is stiff and stark—
So I may not trust thy tale.

"Where fair Tweed flows round holy Melrose,
And Eildon slopes to the plain,
Full three nights ago, by some secret foe,
That gay gallant was slain.

"The varying light deceived thy sight,
And the wild winds drowned the name;
For the Dryburgh bells ring, and the white monks do sing,
For Sir Richard of Coldinghame!"

He passed the court-gate, and he oped the tower grate,
And he mounted the narrow stair,
To the bartizan seat, where, with maids that on her wait,
He found his lady fair.

---

* Eildon is a high hill, terminating in three conical summits, immediately above the town of Melrose, where are the admired ruins of a magnificent monastery. Eildon-tree is said to be the spot where Thomas the Rhymer uttered his prophecies.

That

That lady sat in mournful mood;
Looked over hill and dale;
Over Tweed's fair flood, and Mertoun's* wood,
And all down Tiviotdale.

"Now hail, now hail, thou lady bright!"
"Now hail, thou Baron true!
What news, what news from Ancram fight?
What news from the bold Buccleuch?"

"The Ancram Moor is red with gore,
For many a southern fell;
And Buccleuch has charged us, evermore,
To watch our beacons well."

The lady blush'd red, but nothing she said;
Nor added the Baron a word:
Then she stepp'd down the stair to her chamber fair,
And so did her moody lord.

In sleep the lady mourn'd, and the Baron toss'd and turn'd,
And oft to himself he said—
"The worms around him creep, and his bloody grave is deep—
It cannot give up the dead!"

It was near the ringing of matin-bell,
The night was well nigh done,
When a heavy sleep on that Baron fell,
On the eve of good St John.

The lady looked through the chamber fair,
By the light of a dying flame;
And she was aware of a knight stood there—
Sir Richard of Coldinghame!

"Alas! away, away!" she cried,
"For the holy Virgin's sake!"
"Lady, I know who sleeps by thy side;
But, lady, he will not awake.

"By Eildon-tree, for long nights three,
In bloody grave have I lain;
The mass and the death-prayer are said for me,
But, lady, they are said in vain.

"By the Baron's brand, near Tweed's fair strand,
Most foully slain I fell;
And my restless sprite on the beacon's height,
For a space is doomed to dwell.

* Mertoun is the beautiful seat of Hugh Scott, Esq. of Harden.

"At

"At our trysting-place *, for a certain space,
I must wander to and fro;
But I had not had power to come to thy bower,
Had'st thou not conjured me so."

Love mastered fear—her brow she crossed;
"How, Richard, hast thou sped?
And art thou saved, or art thou lost?"—
The Vision shood his head!

"Who spilleth life, shall forfeit life;
So bid thy lord believe:
That lawless love is guilt above,
This awful sign receive."

He laid his left palm on an oaken beam;
His right upon her hand:
The lady shrunk, and fainting sunk,
For it scorched like a fiery brand.

The sable score, of fingers four,
Remains on that board impressed;
And for evermore that lady wore
A covering on her wrist.

There is a Nun in Dryburgh bower,
Ne'er looks upon the sun:
There is a Monk in Melrose tower,
He speaketh word to none.

That Nun, who ne'er beholds the day,
That Monk, who speaks to none—
That Nun was Smaylho'me's Lady gay,
The Monk the bold Baron.

The Birds of Scotland.

[From Mr. Grahame's Poems.]

HOW sweet the first sound of the cuckoo's note!—
Whence is the magic pleasure of the sound?
How do we long recal the very tree,
Or bush, near which we stood, when on the ear
The unexpected note, *cuckoo*! again,
And yet again, came down the budding vale?
It is the voice of spring among the trees;
It tells of lengthening days, of coming blooms;
It is the symphony of many a song.

---

* *Trysting-place*—place of rendezvous.

But, there, the stranger flies close to the ground,
With hawklike pinion, of a leaden blue.
Poor wanderer! from hedge to hedge she flies,
And trusts her offspring to another's care:
The sooty-plum'd hedge-sparrow frequent acts
The foster-mother, warming into life
The youngling, destined to supplant her own.
Meanwhile, the cuckoo sings her idle song,
Monotonous, yet sweet, now here, now there,
Herself but rarely seen; nor does she cease
Her changeless note, until the broom, full blown,
Give warning, that her time for flight is come.
Thus, ever journeying on, from land to land,
She, sole of all the innumerous feathered tribes,
Passes a stranger's life, without a home.

Home! word delightful to the heart of man,
And bird, and beast!—small word, yet not the less
Significant:—Comprising all!
Whatever to affection is most dear,
Is all included in that little word,—
Wife, children, father, mother, brother, friend.
At mention of that word, the seaman, clinging
Upon the dipping yard-arm, sees afar
The twinkling fire, round which his children cow'r,
And speak of him, counting the months, and weeks,
That must pass dreary o'er, ere he return,
He sighs to view the sea-bird's rapid wing.

O, had I but the envied power to chuse
My home, no sound of city bell should reach
My ear; not even the cannon's thundering roar.
Far in a vale, be there my low abode,
Embowered in woods where many a songster chaunts.
And let me now indulge the airy dream!
A bow-shot off in front a river flows,
That, during summer drought, shallow and clear,
Chides with its pebbly bed, and, murmuring,
Invites forgetfulness; half hid it flows,
Now between rocks, now through a bush-girt glade,
Now sleeping in a pool, that layes the roots
Of overhanging trees, whose drooping boughs
Dip midway over in the darkened stream;
While ever and anon, upon the breeze,
The dash of distant waterfall is borne.
A range of hills, with craggy summits crowned,
And furrowed deep, with many a bosky cleugh,
Wards off the northern blast: There skims the hawk
Forth from her cliff, eyeing the furzy slope
That joins the mountain to the smiling vale.

Through

Through all the woods the holly evergreen,
And laurel's softer leaf, and ivied thorn,
Lend winter shelter to the shivering wing.
No gravelled paths, pared from the smooth-shaved turf,
Wind through these woods; the simple unmade road,
Marked with the frequent hoof of sheep or kine,
Or rustic's studded shoe, I love to tread.
No threatening board forewarns the homeward hind,
Of man-traps, or of law's more dreaded gripe.
Pleasant to see the labourer homeward hie
Light-hearted, as he thinks his hastening steps
Will soon be welcomed by his children's smile!
Pleasant to see the milkmaid's blythesome look,
As to the trysting thorn she gaily trips,
With steps that scarcely feel the elastic ground!
Nor be the lowly dwellings of the poor
Thrust to a distance, as unseemly sights.
Curse on the heartless taste that, proud, exclaims,
"Erase the hamlet, sweep the cottage off;
Remove each stone, and only leave behind
The trees that once embowered the wretched huts.
What though the inmates old, who hoped to end
Their days below these trees, must seek a home,
Far from their native fields, far from the graves
In which their fathers lie,—to city lanes,
Darksome and close, exiled? It must be so;
The wide-extending lawn would else be marred,
By objects so incongruous." Barbarous taste!
Stupidity intense! Yon straw-roofed cot,
Seen through the elms, it is a lovely sight!
That scattered hamlet, with its burn-side green,
On which the thrifty housewife spreads her yarn,
Or half-bleached web, while children busy play,
And paddle in the stream,—for every heart,
Untainted by pedantic rules, hath charms.

I love the neighbourhood of man and beast:
I would not place my stable out of sight.
No; close behind my dwelling, it should form
A fence, on one side, to my garden plat.
What beauty equals shelter, in a clime
Where wintry blasts with summer breezes blend,
Chilling the day! How pleasant 't is to hear
December's winds, amid surrounding trees,
Raging aloud! how grateful 't is to wake,
While raves the midnight storm, and hear the sound
Of busy grinders at the well-filled rack;
Or flapping wing, and crow of chanticleer,
Long ere the lingering morn; or bouncing flails,
That tell the dawn is near! Pleasant the path

By sunny garden-wall, when all the fields
Are chill and comfortless; or barn-yard snug,
Where flocking birds, of various plume, and chirp
Discordant, cluster on the leaning stack,
From whence the thresher draws the rustling sheaves.

O, Nature! all thy seasons please the eye
Of him who sees a Deity in all.
It is His presence that diffuses charms
Unspeakable, o'er mountain, wood, and stream.
To think that He, who hears the heavenly choirs,
Hearkens complacent to the woodland song;
To think that He, who rolls yon solar sphere,
Uplifts the warbling songster to the sky;
To mark His presence in the mighty bow,
That spans the clouds, as in the tints minute
Of humblest flower; to hear His awful voice
In thunder speak, and whisper in the gale;
To know, and feel His care for all that lives;—
'T is this that makes the barren waste appear
A fruitful field, each grove a paradise.
Yes! place me 'mid far stretching woodless wilds,
Where no sweet song is heard; the heath-bell there
Would soothe my weary sight, and tell of Thee!
There would my gratefully uplifted eye
Survey the heavenly vault, by day,—by night,
When glows the firmament from pole to pole;
There would my overflowing heart exclaim,
The heavens declare the glory of the Lord,
The firmament shews forth his handy work!

Less loud, but not less clear, His humbler works
Proclaim His power; the SWALLOW knows her time;
And, on the vernal breezes, wings her way,
O'er mountain, plain, and far-extending seas,
From Afric's torrid sands to Britain's shore.
Before the cuckoo's note, she, twittering, gay,
Skims o'er the brook, or skiffs the greenwood tops;
When dance the midgy clouds in warping maze
Confused: 'tis thus, by her, the air is swept
Of insect myriads, that would else infest
The greenwood walk, blighting each rural joy:
For this,—if pity plead in vain—O, spare
Her clay-built home! Her all, her young, she trusts,
Trusts to the power of man: fearful, *herself*
She never trusts; free, the long summer morn,
She, at his window, hails the rising sun.—
Twice seven days she broods; then on the wing,
From morn to dewy eve, unceasing plies,
Save when she feeds or cherishes her young;

And

And oft she 's seen, beneath her little porch,
Clinging supine, to deal the air-gleaned food.

From her the husbandman the coming shower
Foretells: Along the mead closely she skiffs,
Or o'er the streamlet pool she skims, so near,
That, from her dipping wing, the wavy circlets
Spread to the shore: then fall the single drops,
Prelusive of the shower.

The MARTINS, too,
The dwellers in the ruined castle wall,
When low'rs the sky a flight less lofty wheel.
Presageful of the thunder peal, when deep
A boding silence broods o'er all the vale,
From airy altitudes they stoop, and fly
Swiftly, with shrillest scream, round and around
The rugged battlements; or fleetly dart
Through loopholes, whence the shaft was wont to glance;
Or thrid the window of the lofty bower,
Where hapless royalty, with care-closed eyes,
Woo'd sleep in vain, foreboding what befel,—
The loss of friends, of country, freedom, life!

Long ere the wintry gusts, with chilly sweep,
Sigh through the leafless groves, the swallow tribes,
Heaven-warned, in airy bevies congregate,
Or clustering sit, as if in deep consult
What time to launch; but, lingering, they wait
Until the feeble of the latest broods
Have gathered strength, the sea-ward path to brave.
At last the farewell twitter spreading sounds;
Aloft they fly, and melt in distant air.
Far o'er the British sea, in westering course,
O'er the Biscayan mountain-waves they glide:
Then o'er Iberian plains, through fields of air,
Perfumed by orchard groves, where lowly bends
The orange bough beneath its juicy load,
Thence over Calpe's thunder-shielded rock
They stretch their course to Mauritania's plains.

There are who doubt this migratory flight.
But wherefore, from the distance of the way,
Should wonder verge on disbelief,—the bulk
So small, the buoyant wing so large and strong?

Behold the CORN-CRAIK; she, too, wings her way
To other lands: ne'er is she found immersed
In lakes, or buried torpid in the sand,
Though weak her wing contrasted with her bulk.
Seldom she rises from the grassy field,

And

And never till compelled; and, when upraised,
With feet suspended, awkwardly she flies;
Her flight a ridge-breadth: suddenly she drops,
And, running, still eludes the following foot.

Poor bird, though harsh thy note, I love it well!
It tells of summer eves, mild and serene,
When through the grass, waist-deep, I wont to wade
In fruitless chace of thee; now here, now there,
Thy desultory call. Oft does thy call
The midnight silence break; oft, ere the dawn,
It wakes the slumbering lark; he upward wings
His misty way, and, viewless, sings and soars.

A POETICAL TRIBUTE to the MEMORY of LORD NELSON;

Inscribed, to the Honourable CHARLES GREY.

[By Mr. PERCIVAL STOCKDALE.]

NELSON, with all the patriot's ardour fired,
Like our great Wolfe, in Victory's arms expired.
Triumphant Calpe, on the hostile shore,
Heard the last thunder of his cannon roar;
Firm as our hero, with a proud disdain,
It claimed our empire o'er the land, and main.

Oft had he suffered for his country's good;
His laurels oft took vigour from his blood;
Where'er our fleets unfurled their prosperous sails,
His glory flew with as propitious gales.

May thy illustrious deeds, in History's page,
With dignity be told, to every age;
May, to present thee to admiring eyes,
A Dionysius, or a Livy rise!

Shall feeble age endeavour to throw forth
Some strong ideas, to express thy worth?

Though long the British flag hath ruled the sea,
Its bravest heroes were excelled by thee;
The shades of Hawke, and of Boscawen shine
With fainter glories, when compared with thine.
This praise to a new height exalts thy name;
Thus, on the *summit* placed, of human fame.

DOMESTIC

DOMESTIC LITERATURE

Of the Year 1806.

CHAPTER I.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

Comprising Biblical Criticism; Theological Criticism; Sacred Morals; Sermons; Single Sermons; Controversial Divinity.

THE only biblical version that has made its appearance within the range of our present limits is "The Apocalypse or Revelation of St. John, translated; with Notes critical and explanatory; by John Chappel Woodhouse, M. A. Archdeacon of Salop. 8vo." This version is introduced by our author's Dissertation on the Divine Origin of the Apocalypse, which he published about four years ago, in reply to the objections of professor Michaelis; and which, having then cursorily noticed, we shall have the less occasion to enlarge upon at present. With regard to the translation, we can truly affirm that it is faithfully and most correctly executed; in reality, we had almost said it is executed somewhat too faithfully; for, while in every language there is an idiom and grammatical construction characteristic of itself, and incapable, without great uncouthness and violence, of being extended to any other, there is a constant endeavour, in the version before us, to give, not only the minutest phrasings, but the whole series of the accidence and syntax of the original, without the omission of scarcely a single particle or government: whence the greater number of the pages are so loaded with Grecisms, as not only to exhibit considerable inelegance, but, in many instances, to be altogether unintelligible to the mere English reader. The arrangement is in three columns; the middle consisting of Griesbach's text, which is that our author has chosen as his standard; the new version occupying the one side of it, and the common English lection the other. With the latter we might certainly have dispensed, if not with the former; for we are confident there is not a single house into which the present version will ever enter, that will be found destitute of the vernacular text; and to tag on to an original work, a work that is already in the hands of every one, is rather to evince a specimen of the art of book-making than the art of criticism. The explanatory notes are numerous, well applied, and for

the most part satisfactory. The introductory dissertation, as we have just observed, has already made its appearance in a detached form; the object of which is to give a new and different interpretation of this mystical book from any that has hitherto been advanced; as also to inquire into its genuineness, and to indicate its author. Respecting the Apocalypse there are three important questions, which, to this hour, remain in a greater or less degree undecided, notwithstanding all the attempts that have been made to settle them in a satisfactory and incontrovertible manner. The first is, at what period was it written? the second, who was its author? and the third, to what æra do its prophecies apply? In regard to the first question, however, if we cannot answer it definitively, we can at least make a pretty near approach towards such a desideratum: for we know it to have been in existence in the second century of the Christian epoch, from the concurrent testimony of not less than twelve of the fathers of that period, who are here produced as actually quoting or referring to it, of whom it may be sufficient to mention Irenæus, Athenagoras, and Origen. The name of the author is John; but whether the evangelist, or a name-sake of the evangelist, is a point which admits of much doubt. There is a single passage in Eusebius, H. E. iii. 18, which has generally been appealed to in proof of its having been the production of the evangelist, and written towards the close of the reign of Domitian, in which case the evangelist must have been between ninety and a hundred years old; but unfortunately this passage is capable of another interpretation; while in other parts of his writings Eusebius himself appears to have been undecided upon the subject; and in regard to the genuineness of the book (of which there could be no doubt had it proceeded demonstrably from the pen of St. John), he represents the matter as a controverted point, and promises, what unhappily he never performed, further information "when it shall be settled by the testimony of the antients." There are hence some doubts whether the Apocalypse were admitted in the second and beginning of the third century of the church into the class of books termed ὁμολογουμενοι, those universally read and admitted to be genuine, or transferred to the νοθοι, the spurious or apocryphal—those whose authenticity or divine inspiration was incapable of proof, but which might be usefully perused, as containing pious sentiments and apostolical doctrines. Yet, as by many, and perhaps by most of the Christian fathers of the ages immediately subsequent, several of the books denominated by Eusebius νοθοι or apocryphal (which included the Epistles of James and Jude, the second of Peter, the second and third of John, the Acts of Paul, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Institutes (Διδαχαι) of the Apostles,) were admitted and appealed to as authentic, it cannot be wondered at that no question could be entertained of the propriety of regarding the Apocalypse in the same character; more especially as Eusebius himself, notwithstanding his doubts, was inclined to enter this book from the first into the class of ὁμολογουμενα, along with the four Histories of the Evangelists, the Epistles of St. Paul, the first Epistle

Epistle of John, and the first of Peter—επι τουτοις τακτεον, says he, ειγε ΦΑΝΕΙΗ Αποκαλυψιν Ιωάννου. Hence the church is perfectly justified in continuing it in its canon; and our expositors in endeavouring to decipher and interpret its meaning.

The most difficult question of all is, to what epoch does the Apocalypse immediately apply, and what are the events it is intended to predict? That the chain of these events has *commenced*, is doubted by no one who admits its divine inspiration; the only subject of dispute being, whether they be wholly accomplished, or merely in a train of fulfilment; whether the "things which must come to pass in a short time," the expressions "I come quickly," and "the time (of accomplishment) is at hand," refer to the decline and fall of the Roman empire, and the general propagation and triumph of the gospel at the period in question: or whether, independently of this, as an individual series of facts, they embrace also such additional series as the origin of Mohammedism, the origin and downfall of Popery, the French revolution, and other events of the present day, together with the final restoration of the Jews? Upon all these subjects so various have been the opinions advanced, and so plausibly and with such opposite arguments supported, that we confess ourselves to be totally incapable of forming a decision. All we know and all we feel is, that, as well in the imagery as in the spirit, there is a solemn awe and grandeur which have never been surpassed, perhaps never equalled, in any production, whether sacred or profane, and which seem best to be exemplified by supposing an union of the sublimity of Isaiah with the mystical majesty and magnificence of Ezekiel. The theory before us extends the chain of predictions in the Apocalypse to the entire history of the Christian church. Our author conceives the first three chapters to relate to the state of the gospel in Asia, about the time of the publication of the book, and this part of his arrangement he denominates *ἁ εἰσε*. The four ensuing chapters he applies to the subsequent epochs of the church, which he extends to its final consummation; and this department he entitles *ἁ μελλει γενεσθαι*. These four chapters, and the events they pre-figure, fill up the imagery of the first six seals. The successive sounding of the trumpets, and effusion from the vials, which follow progressively, are merely auxiliary scenes, and repeat in minuter detail some of the more important transactions, which are but rapidly glanced at in the prior and more general sketch. Here, as in most other theories, the great Babylon is the usurpation of the Vatican, whose fall, as usual, is supposed to be typified by the captivity of the great dragon; immediately after which our author commences his Millennium. Yet, contrary to the bulk of our interpreters, he supposes another apostasy, and of a peculiar kind, after the epoch of the Millennium, in which the enemies of the church are to be incalculably numerous and formidable. Upon this epoch, however, he speaks with some hesitation; yet he describes it as the last powerful effort of Satan against the church, and the prelude to his *eternal* imprisonment. The general judgement succeeds, and the sublime mythos closes with the appropriate reward of the good, and punishment of the wicked.

We have dwelt the longer upon this subject, because it seems to have been the favourite and leading pursuit of our biblical critics throughout the whole of the year before us; and because not less than eight or ten other publications upon the same point have actually issued from the press. Of these the chief are Mr. Faber's "Dissertation on the Prophecies that have been fulfilled, are now fulfilling, or will hereafter be fulfilled, relative to the great Period of Twelve hundred and sixty Years, &c." in two volumes, 8vo; Mr. Whitaker's "Letter—occasioned by some Passages in the Rev. G. S. Faber's Dissertation on the Prophecies;" Mr. Faber's "Supplement—containing a full Reply to the—Rev. E. W. Whitaker;" Mr. Butt's "Revelation of St. John, compared with itself and the rest of Scripture;" Mr. Kett's new edition of his "History the Interpreter of Prophecy, with additional Notes;" and Mr. Bicheno's "Destiny of the German Empire; or an Attempt to ascertain the Apocalyptic Dragon, and the Millennary State." Upon these we shall offer a few words; nor need they be otherwise than few after the comprehensive view we have just taken of the subject at large. Mr. Faber endeavours to assimilate the prophecies of Daniel and of the Apocalypse; and believes that, in the former, as well as the latter, the progress both of Popery and Mohammedism is referred to *seriatim*, as well as their ultimate overthrow—that the duration of both, as prefigured by the Jewish as well as by the evangelical prophet, is to embrace an epoch of 1260 years, commencing from the year 606 of our own reckoning; that towards the close of this epoch a third power peculiarly characterized as atheistical, or indifferent to all religions, is likewise to make its appearance; which, notwithstanding some temporary triumph it may have to boast of, will also be destroyed, in conjunction with the other two powers, at the termination of this grand æra; that Palestine will be the glorious scene of the triple defeat—and that the restoration of the Jews to the country of their forefathers will immediately commence. This theory carries upon the first blush of it, an intimation that the present moment is the direct point of its consummation: that the atheistic or infidel power is the French revolution, and that the Hebrew restoration may be already foreseen from the interest which Bonaparte has lately discovered in regard to a concentration of this dispersed and rejected people. Our expositor is, in some cases, extremely minute, and undertakes to discover not only the year, but even the month, week, and day, in which many of the prophetic visions have been fulfilled. Thus he tells us that the third woe-trumpet began its tremendous blast on August 12, 1792; and that on the 26th of the same month the first vial was poured forth. According to the calculation before us, some few of our readers, perhaps of our own corps, may yet live to see the first glancings of the Millennium, which is to commence in about thirty or forty years: the restoration of the Jews is to take place in about ten years afterwards, who are to be escorted to Palestine by *a great maritime power*—most probably that of England—when the reign of the saints on earth will begin. and continue through the enormous revolution of not less than *three hundred and sixty thousand years!!!*——We have some scruple, we confess, as

to

to this calculation: but our author is so great an adept *at figures*, that we dare not throw down the gauntlet in opposition to him.

Yet the difficulty we dare not undertake has been actually encountered by Mr. Whitaker, a veteran in the cause, it must be acknowledged, and whose theory it has been Mr. Faber's endeavour, in a great degree, to subvert. Mr. Whitaker, whose uniform object it has been to turn the attention of Protestants to the tyranny and downfall of Popery almost exclusively, and to deny to Bonaparte and to infidel France the honour of any concern in the prophetic history, has principally rebutted his assailant upon this last point: and Mr. Faber in his "Reply" admits "that I have frequently expressed myself too positively respecting the proper *date* of the 1260 years." Yet he still thinks that their most probable commencement is in 606 of the Christian epoch. Being doubtful, however, of the date, which is the foundation of all his calculations, he ought consequently to have been doubtful of every thing, as every derived application must inevitably rest upon this fact: yet it is too much to relinquish the whole of a favourite hypothesis, and Mr. Faber still contends that the grand outlines of his exposition remain unshaken; being more desirous of the character of a blind and doting father, than of an accurate and impartial judge.

Mr. Butt appears to regard this sublime mythos as an allegorical history of modern Europe; and, in his view of the subject, there are certain chapters contained in it, as the eighteenth, for example, that typify every event as minutely as they will be found in Hume or Macaulay—in some verses of which he undertakes to decipher the very names of Rousseau, Voltaire, Gibbon, and Weishaupt. He commences the first rudiments of his Millennium with the revolution, by which the complete subversion of the Papal power is to be ultimately accomplished.

Of Mr. Kett it is sufficient to observe, that in this new edition of his work on prophecy, he has taken the opportunity of enlarging it by some additional notes in support of the theory he has formerly thought proper to advance.

In Mr. Bicheno we have a bolder performer than in any who have hitherto appeared on the Apocalyptic stage. With this author the old red dragon is the late continental regime—and Bonaparte, the grand hero who has triumphed over him; thus handsomely counterbalancing the incivility of Mr. Faber. Like Mr. Butt, Mr. Bicheno, too, conceives that the age of the Millennium has actually commenced: but while the first of these three expositors extends its duration, after some such arithmetical table as that of Daniel, to three hundred and sixty thousand years, the last, like our modern interpreters of the Indian avaters, sconces it of upwards of three hundred and fifty thousand nine hundred and eighty of these three hundred and sixty thousand years, and reduces it to something less than *twenty* years in the whole; so that, as the Millennium has already commenced for two or three lustres, if we do not look carefully about us, it will soon slip through our fingers without our being aware of its existence. We are not disposed to turn matters of this kind into ridicule; but while we behold them so variously, and in some instances so absurdly treated, we cannot be surprised, nor even very angry, at the

tempt which was made, and with high success, only a few years ago, to prove, in a very humorous and satirical poem, entitled The Millennium, the commencement of this long expected epoch at the present period, from the discoveries and blessings of jacobinism, illuminism, and the unquestionable progress towards what was lately called perfectibility in regard to Europe at large;—and in regard to our own country, from our facility of acquiring domestic enjoyments, and the cheapness of our provisions—from our increased charities and public soup-shops—the universal display amongst us of prodigality and contempt of wealth—equality of affluence—community of property through the medium of sharpers, shop-lifters, swindlers, and other general agents and negotiators—from our daily display of domestic virtue and happiness—and the vast and miraculous progress amongst us of religion, public virtue, patriotism, and political honesty.

"God and the King!" the universal roar
From utmost Shetland to the Cambrian shore;
"God and the king!" the bounding hills reply;
This the sole vow—to conquer or to die."

But we proceed to subjects more comprehensible and practical. Dr. Holmes, whose collation of the Septuagint, so far as it has yet been published, we spoke of with no small degree of approbation in our last year's Retrospect, has since yielded to the common lot of mortality; but he has left the world one or two legacies which we trust will long endear his memory to posterity. He lived long enough to complete his collation of the Septuagint, and we have no doubt that the remaining part of this work will be soon published by those to whose superintendance he has committed it. We are now, however, particularly called to a posthumous production of his already presented to the public, entitled "Treatises on Religion and Scriptural Subjects," in one large octavo volume. The whole of these, indeed, have formerly appeared under different shapes and designations; but generally in a cast so fugitive that we cannot but approve of the pious direction of the author, as expressed in his will, that they should be collected and arranged in their present and more permanent form, exhibiting a more accurate division, and affording greater facility of reference. "The first, third, fifth, and sixth of these treatises, together with the discourse on Humility, were published in one volume 8vo. in the year 1788. The second treatise was printed in the year 1801, under the title of 'A Manual of Reflections on the Facts of Revelation.' The fourth treatise, 'On the Prophecies and Testimony of John the Baptist, and the Parallel Prophecies of Jesus Christ,' originally appeared in the form of Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, at the Bampton Lecture, in the year 1782. It is now re-printed, with such alterations and corrections as had been made by the author himself in a copy which he left prepared for the press. The discourse entitled 'The Resurrection of the Body, deduced from the Resurrection of Christ, and illustrated from his Transfiguration,' was preached before the University of Oxford, and first published in 4to, in the year 1787." Upon the whole, this last treatise, in its present shape, is the most interesting in the collection; it displays much reading, great

great readiness of composition, and a sound and accurate judgement.

"An Attempt to display the original Evidences of Christianity in their genuine Simplicity, by M. Nisbett, A. M. Rector of Tunstall," 8vo. p. 204. This is a plain and instructive work, and will by no means discredit the author's anterior publications. The present writer, like the late Mr. Cappe, as well as many other biblical critics of modern times, refers the predicted approach of the kingdom of heaven in glory to the destruction of the Jewish hierarchy, and the triumphant propagation of the gospel over every quarter of the world: believing that they hereby resist most successfully the sneers of Mr. Gibbon and other infidel writers, who continue to ridicule the prophetic annunciation, by asserting that it has not yet taken place, notwithstanding the solemn assertion that these grand and solemn events were at hand even in the life-time of our Saviour;—and by insinuating that the Christian church is compelled to refer the whole of them, speedily as it was foretold that they would make their appearance, to the end of the world and the great consummation of all things. In conjunction with this view of our Saviour's prophecies and of the Apocalypse, Mr. Nisbett, with a laudable uniformity of system, applies St. Paul's man of sin to the Jewish church, rather than to that of modern Rome.

"An Historical View of Christianity, containing select Passages from Scripture: with a Commentary by the late Edward Gibbon, Esq. and Notes by the late Lord Bolingbroke, M. de Voltaire and others," 4to. p. 135. A book in favour of Christianity from a body of writers of this description may well startle our readers, till the mystery is explained. The most exalted system of ethics, as well as the simplest and purest code of religion, that has ever been offered to mankind, is to be found in the Christian scriptures. Infidels, who have seldom made any scruple of adverting to every system and to every code, whenever it has had a chance of answering some particular object they have been in pursuit of, have, on this account, not unfrequently turned to the sacred pages, and the earlier history of the Christian church, in a strain of the highest approbation and eulogy. Yet the instances are by far too numerous, in which they have pretended to praise with the mere view of being thought impartial, while a spirit of the keenest ridicule or sarcasm has pervaded every sentence of the hollow panegyric. It is from such passages that the anonymous writer before us has drawn up a volume, in which many of the arch-enemies of the Christian faith are depicted as its warm and genuine apologists. But to have executed such a work with complete success, requires a greater degree both of taste and discernment than are here exhibited. To convict an adversary by the words of his own mouth, is one of the most decisive triumphs we can obtain—but it becomes us to take care that the words we appeal to have no double meaning, and that they have been altogether confined to their primary or most obvious construction. In the volume before us we are afraid that this is not always the fact: there is an artfulness in many of the selected passages, which should have induced our author to have rejected them as of a very suspicious tendency, to speak of

them in the most complimentary terms. *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*, is a motto he should have had more frequently in his mind. Upon the whole, we are better pleased with the intention than with the execution of this tessellated testimony. It consists of five chapters: of which the first is entitled The progress of the Christian religion; the second treats of Polytheism; the third is devoted to the spirit of Christianity; the fourth, to the persecutions of the Christians; and the fifth, to the state of the Jews, and their dispersion. Every chapter consists first of a certain number of texts of scripture, occupying the upper part of the page: below which follows the commentary, extracted from Mr. Gibbon's Fall and Decline in a kind of regular series; and lowest of all a variety of notes from works of a similar tendency, and import, conducing to the same point.

The very excellent bishop of London has again exerted his pen in the cause of our holy religion, so near to his heart and so familiar to his understanding. In a small octavo volume, entitled "The beneficial Effects of Christianity on the temporal Concerns of Mankind proved from History and from Facts," he has revived and given additional spirit and popularity to the argument that the general melioration of mankind in the present age, and progressively, from the first introduction of Christianity into the world, is to be ascribed solely to this beneficent institution. That the purest systems of philosophy, the most amiable manners of the best inclined savages, the aggregate learning and accomplishments of Greece and Rome, never *did* conduct to the admirable and harmonious system of morals most strictly inculcated, and actually and universally produced, by the gospel, wherever it has been professed in its purity—and that hence it is but fair to conclude, that such causes never *would* nor *could* conduct to such effects. The learned prelate peculiarly alludes to domestic chastity, the parental relations, the condition of servants, the mitigation of the common horrors of war, and the total abolition of human sacrifices.

We have often had occasion to observe, that one injudicious friend to a cause is frequently more injurious to it than a host of open and undisguised enemies: and we are compelled to repeat this remark in consequence of Mr. Geo. Nicholson's "New, clear, and concise Vindication of the Holy Scriptures," than which we have never seen a work replete with arguments more hackneyed and worn out instead of new, more cloudy instead of clear, or more cumbrous instead of concise. The only consolation that remains to us is, that the book can produce but little mischief, because it is sure of being but little read. Mr. Nicholson may have thought it an act of duty in him to publish this Vindication: we are afraid, however, that his sin of commission is heavier than would have been his sin of omission if he had let it alone.

"Further Evidences of the Existence of the Deity: by George Clark," 8vo. pp. 46. This little tract is, "intended as an humble supplement to archdeacon Paley's Natural Theology;" and, though here denominated a *supplement*, was in fact written before the publication of Dr. Paley's work. Our readers cannot but recollect that the object of the Natural Theology is to infer intention and design from

from the general mechanism and evidences of art apparent in the animal frame—an intelligent cause from an effect evincing intelligence. Mr. Clark proceeds one step further, and from the nature of the *genus* of an animal adverts to the nature of the *gender*, attempting "to show prospectively, from the constitution of the sexes, and the formation of the first individual of each species of animals, that there must have been a pre-cogitation, a previous intention, a pre-ordination; to show from the formation of one of the sexes, that a pre-supposal of the certain future formation of the other sex must then have existed: and that, upon atheistic principles, it was impossible, even if an animal of one sex had been fortuitously produced, that another co-ordinate and correspondent animal of the other sex could have been so produced as to have perpetuated the species; and finally to show that this impossibility attaches to, and is multiplied in, every instance of the formation of sexes, in all the species of animals which have been produced." The argument, as a branch of the general principle advanced by Dr. Paley, has its individual force, and is here ably maintained, and done justice to.

Mr. Warner of Bath has applied his indefatigable pen to a new edition of the book of Common Prayer, &c. introduced by various disquisitions, upon the whole not unentertainingly drawn up; comprising a history of the English liturgy; a sketch of the Reformation in England; and a view of the English translation of the Holy Scriptures. He has moreover accompanied the calendar, rubrics, services, and book of psalms, with many useful notes historical, explanatory, and illustrative.

Mr. Bates, who is also indefatigable in his pen, has now added to his "Rural and Christian's Philosophy" a volume of "Christian Politics;" and he is still entitled to our attention and even to our thanks. His present work is divided into four parts: the first comprehends a view of civil government in its influence on virtue and happiness, chiefly in the relation it bears to liberty and property: the second descants upon the importance of religion, both to society and the individual, with reflections on religious establishments and toleration; towards the close of which he concludes "*on the whole*, that an establishment with a toleration, especially when the toleration is complete," is the best plan that can be devised for maintaining purity of religious worship. Our author, in his third part, points out the conduct of a good citizen under any moderate government, and advances a code of regulations that may enable him to preserve such a character. The concluding part teaches us "the way to live happily under all governments and in all situations;" the foundation of which is laid in peace of conscience and holy and well regulated affections. We have been pleased with this work in no ordinary degree, though we honestly confess it possesses less spirit and entertainment than our author's Rural Philosophy.

"The Temple of Truth; or the best System of Reason, Philosophy, Virtue and Morals, analytically arranged." This system the writer before us, who calls himself Parresiastes, and dedicates his pages "to the illustrious author of the Pursuits of Literature," affirms to be "the oracles of the living God;" and the *temple* here presented he undertakes

undertakes to assert roundly is "erected upon that basis which the divine architect himself has laid in his own oracles:" and intoxicated with the same self-sufficiency, he adds, towards the close of his work, "it will be acknowledged, he hopes, that he has erected a basis with artless simplicity; that its basis is the very foundation which infinite wisdom itself has laid; that it is disfigured by no needless ornaments; that it is illuminated only by the beams of "the sun of righteousness;" and that nothing has been proclaimed in it but the riches and the glory of divine grace." Yet we have met with intoxications far more diseased and infinitely more grovelling. The builder of the temple before us, whimsical and filled with conceit as is its outline, is a skilful planner and an excellent reasoner; his intimate acquaintance with the scriptures of the New Testament in their original we highly approve, nor have we any great objection to "the nine great arches upon which is erected and elevated this temple of truth;" we can walk in the portico and admire its symmetry and elegance; but when admitted into the interior of the building, there are various detached parts of which it is composed that we would wish to see removed, and which unquestionably, in our opinion, neither add to its strength nor to its ornament. Those who are fond of the *porch* of Calvinism, and have long and cordially frequented it as students, may walk in and partake of the esoteric exhortations here prepared for them, with high mental satisfaction; it is their own fault if they be not soon discharged with the diploma of γνησιοι μαθηται, or *genuine and approved disciples*.

We proceed to the class of Sermons; and shall have to notice several publications under this division, which are certainly capable of maintaining the credit of our national pulpit oratory. We commence with Mr. Van Mildert's "Historical View of the Rise and Progress of Infidelity, with a Refutation of its Principles and Reasonings; in a Series of Sermons preached for the Lecture founded by the Hon. Mr. Boyle, in the Parish-church of St. Mary-le-Bow, from the Year 1802 to 1805." 2 vols. 8vo. This excellent institution has of late years been almost entirely overlooked, although for upwards of half a century the lecture was continued with little intermission, and, as early as the year 1739, the various discourses which were judged worthy of being presented to the public extended to a collection that filled three large folio volumes. Of late years, however, the last sermon that was conceived to be entitled to a similar distinction was preached and printed in 1783. Yet between this date and the present, the world has been more endangered than ever by the dispersion of infidel and atheistic principles; by those of illuminism and cosmopolitism in Germany; of revivified paganism in France, with all the rites, ceremonies, and annual festivals of the Dea Mater; by systems of wild and incoherent *perfectibility* in all countries, but especially in our own, where also we have been tormented with *Ages of reason*, and new dreams of *Platonism*, many of which absurdities and abominations have been purposely dressed up in language and ideas peculiarly calculated to attract the multitude: while not a single warning voice has been heard, throughout the whole extent of this period, beyond the range of Bow-church walls,

nor

nor often, we are afraid, to any very great effect within their limit. Mr. Van Mildert, therefore, may well commence his subject, as in fact he does, in a manner that would seem to intimate that the whole was new and untrodden ground from the first moment of a revelation of any kind. Regarding all the discourses already delivered, and the volumes already published upon the subject before him, as long since obsolete and forgotten, he feels it necessary to step back so far as to the æra of Moses and the prophets, and to clear away in some degree the rubbish of Jewish as well as of Gentile sceptics, by an *historical* retrospect of biblical truth *à parte ante*, before the argumentative division of his subject, its individual proofs and intrinsic excellence, can be adduced with their appropriate force and lustre. "In the first part of these lectures, therefore," says he, "it is my design to take a summary view of the endeavours made to counteract the revealed will of God, in the times antecedent to the Christian dispensation; then to show the perverseness of both Jews and Gentiles in their rejection of the gospel, and their various efforts to overthrow it from the time of our Lord's personal appearance on earth to the downfall of paganism in the Roman empire: afterwards to continue the inquiry through the middle ages, when almost the whole world was overspread by Mahometan and Gothic barbarism; then to contemplate the new aspect which infidelity assumed on the revival of letters, and the introduction of the Protestant reformation; and lastly, having brought down the history of its progressive labours to the present day, to consider what expectations we may justly entertain respecting the final issue of this tremendous contest. The historical view of the subject being closed, it is intended, in the second part of these lectures, to enter upon a general vindication of the grounds and principles of the Christian faith, in answer to the arguments most commonly urged against its authority and credibility. These arguments, whether deduced from reasoning *à priori*, to show the improbability, unfitness, and inutility of revelation, or of reasoning *à posteriori*, to invalidate its evidences as a matter of fact—will be distinctively considered, in order to expose their futility, and to show the spirit of perverseness by which they are generally dictated." The field is ample, the plan good, the execution highly creditable. Upon the whole, however, we have been better pleased with the former than the latter part of our author's undertaking. The very idea of an *argument* implies an appeal to the *reason* of the mind, and consequently a determination to abide by her fair and impartial decision: yet in too many instances in this division of our author's labours, we are afraid he will be said to have departed from his challenge; and from an undue degree of timidity, as we should phrase it, or an apprehension of defeat, as it will unquestionably be termed by the adversary, to have quashed all further investigation, by pretending that the doctrine discussed and affirmed to be *contradictory* to reason is a *mystery*, a divine and unintelligible dogma, into which reason has no right to pry. Now, though we are very far from asserting that where mystery begins religion ends, or that the Christian religion contains no mysteries whatever,—mysteries which alone can justify its communication,

tion, and are the strongest proofs of its divine authority,—yet we would not so soon relinquish the combat. Nothing is, in strict truth, a divine mystery but that which is absolutely *incomprehensible* to human reason: not *contrary* to its deductions, but *superior* to its powers of contemplation. When the infidel pretends that a proposed doctrine is totally repugnant to reason, or in other words a plain contradiction, it is our bounden duty to rebut his remark, not to fly from it. It is our duty to do this at all times, but more especially when we undertake, like our author, in the latter half of his work, an *argumentative* inquiry into the truth of the Christian faith; that faith which, in appealing to the external evidence of historic facts in behalf of the solidity of its foundation, appeals to reason in the very outset, and which, in the prosecution of its appeal, uniformly and universally abjures all *self-contradiction*, though it contend for *incomprehensible sublimities*. Those who have carefully perused this body of divinity will at once be able to apply and appreciate these remarks; and most of them, like ourselves, will probably regret that a champion who has so completely clad himself in the panoply of the Christian armoury should, on particular occasions, have made so timid and unsatisfactory a defence.

"Fifty-three Discourses; containing a connected System of doctrinal and practical Christianity as professed and maintained by the Church of England: 2 vols. By the Rev. Edward Brackenbury, A. B. Vicar of Shlendleby in the County of Lincoln, 8vo." A connected system of christianity is what preachers should more frequently endeavour to communicate to their hearers than we commonly find to be the fact. Discourses on single texts and single subjects may be occasionally useful: but divinity is a science; and if not learnt as other sciences are, it will never be learnt at all. In fact, *as a science*, it is much too little learnt in most places. And hence we far more generally meet with persons who have committed to memory detached portions of scripture, and are staunch champions for a few peculiar doctrines which, from a partial and unconnected course of reading or instruction, they suppose to be grounded on them, than with those who have studied the gospel as a whole, and have acquainted themselves with its various bearings and dependencies. Yet the Christian religion, like every other science, has its different views and systems; and the writer before us, as a minister of our own church, has honourably and conscientiously adhered to the system of her own profession. This system he has endeavoured to support by that which, after all, can alone support it, an appeal to holy writ—to the various or at least the most prominent passages from which, in his estimation, the different articles it maintains are deduced. In this fair and liberal elucidation he is, for the most part, highly successful: but we have to enter our protest against several of his citations, as by no means referable to the doctrines he is endeavouring to establish, and which, unquestionably, were never in the contemplation of the authors of our national articles at the time of their compilation. Mr. Brackenbury discovers no acquaintance with the Hebrew. This in a man pretending to holy orders is a defect unpardonable in every instance, considering the facility

with

which a very competent knowledge of the Hebrew tongue may be acquired, and the high importance and even necessity of such an acquisition, in order to understand and explain the great subject intrusted to him. But, where a due knowledge of the original cannot be acquired, the next point of imperative duty is, that the preacher thus deficient should avail himself of every possible aid to obtain a full knowledge of the literal meaning of the holy scriptures, by a comparison of one version or commentary with another. This our author has not done in a variety of instances, and he has, hence, in one or two cases weakened, instead of having confirmed, some of the most essential doctrines of the church, by placing them on a foundation which does not apply to them, and was never intended to support them. But these are rare defects; and while the general system is by no means radically affected by them, our author is entitled to the thanks of the community for having honestly and conscientiously laboured in his high and holy calling to the utmost of his power, and for having produced a very valuable though not a faultless publication.

"Forty Sermons on doctrinal and practical Subjects: selected from the Works of the Rev. Dr. Sam. Clarke, for the Use of Families. To which is prefixed a Sketch of his Life. By the Rev. Sam. Clapham, M. A. 8vo." Mr. Clapham has been engaged in a good office, and in many respects has successfully accomplished it. Dr. Clarke's discourses are peculiarly valuable from the powerful and irresistible mode of reasoning which runs through them: but his method is sometimes tedious from its precision, and his language is, in a good degree, become obsolete. Our reviser has certainly selected with ability, has disencumbered him with judgement, and given new spirit and vivacity to his diction. But we cannot approve of making an author profess sentiments which we know him to have habitually and zealously, however erroneously, opposed—and thus of presenting him to us in false and disingenuous colours. The staunch adversary of the Athanasian creed is here converted into a zealous asserter of its mysteries; and the sermons which uniformly and intentionally, in their original form, are silent upon the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, or, when they allude to it, only allude to it with disapprobation, are exhibited, in their new version, as peculiarly friendly to this article of our established creed, and occasionally terminate with a Trinitarian dorology. "It may be proper," says Mr. Clapham in his preface, "to acquaint the reader that I have in a few instances *changed the expression* of the author; my conviction forbidding me to become the instrument of promulgating a doctrine derogatory to the character and dignity of the son of God and the spirit of truth." But our editor has done something more than merely *changing the expression* to attain his object; he has made his author utter sentiments and doctrines (as we have already observed) repugnant to his own conviction, and to the direct object of the greater part of his publications. The cause of truth is not to be served by such means: and theologians are at least as much entitled to a retention of their characteristic opinions as writers of any other class. We should as soon think of making Mr. Burke, in a new and revised edition of his works, an apologist for the French revolution,

Newton

Newton the espouser of a plenum, or Copernicus of the Ptolemaic philosophy, as Dr. Sam. Clarke an advocate for the Trinity; and we should be as much justified in the three former cases as in the latter. We had occasion to make the same remark only a few numbers back, in noticing a new collection of psalms and hymns for what is called Unitarian worship, selected for the most part from Trinitarian poets, in which the stanzas were so completely trimmed, pruned and lopped off, to meet the proposed standard, that Cowper, Addison, Watts, and Merrick, seemed to have arisen from their graves for the express purpose of recantation, and of holding a joint council to determine how they might most effectually oppose opinions which it had been the uniform tenor of their lives to establish. We objected to the practice then, and we object to it now: for what is wrong on the one side can never be right on the other.

Dr. Halliday, who has now relinquished the cure of souls for that of bodies, by having exchanged the duties of the ministry for the profession of physic, has published a small octavo volume, comprising seven sermons, composed by him in his former capacity. The subjects are as follow:—The shortness of life—The blessedness of those who die in the Lord—The importance of holiness—The advantages of early piety—The benefits of the death of Christ. If there be little novelty in these discourses there is much good sense, and a forcible impressive style. We are glad to see the doctor thus looking back to a function which we are sorry he has been compelled to quit, with a kind of longing, lingering, retrospect; and are confident that he will not make the worse physician for carrying into his new profession a serious conviction of the importance of religious duties; a conviction which is not carried into it quite so frequently as we could sometimes wish it were.

Dr. Grant has published a third volume of his "Sermons on various Subjects and Occasions," consisting of twenty-four discourses; of which it is sufficient to observe, that they possess the same merits and the same defects, the same plainness and perspicuity sometimes descending to a diction too low and colloquial, which characterize his preceding labours. Dr. Grant is minister of the English episcopal chapel at Dundee, and for various reasons, which to us are altogether satisfactory, finds himself incapable of following the example set before him by several of his brethren, of submitting to the canonical authority of the Scotch bishops, from a mistaken idea that no essential difference exists between the two churches, and that hence to continue in a state of separation from the local establishment is to evince an unjustifiable obstinacy of spirit. On this account, the volume before us closes with what the author chooses to call "An apology for continuing in the communion of the church of England." It is an essay which we heartily recommend to all who are interested in the question.

Mr. Cooper, the rector of Hamstall Ridware, has published a second volume of sermons, of which the first was presented to the public in 1804, and will be found noticed in our Literary Retrospect for that year, p. 283. The subjects discussed in the volume before us, twelve in number, are as follow; The sin and danger of neglecting the great salvation of the gospel—The life and death of the real

real christian—The duty of surrendering ourselves to God explained and enforced—Angels rejoicing over the penitent sinner—Consolation to the afflicted—Expostulation with careless sinners—The grace of Christ sufficient for his people—Hezekiah's fall considered and applied—The duty of confessing Christ before men—The advantages of godliness to the present life—Earnestness in religion recommended and enforced—The marks of true faith stated and explained. The character we gave of the former volume will apply to the present: the discourses are plain, serious, and forcible; doctrinal rather than practical: yet the doctrine is for the most part of the best and most established character. Our author discovers in every page a strong desire to be sincerely useful in his day and generation; and we rejoice that he has had sufficient encouragement to add to the length of his labours.

Of the single Sermons that have occurred to our notice, by far the most extraordinary on various accounts, though not the most praiseworthy, is that preached by the rev. F. Stone, M. A. F. S. A. rector of Cold Norton, before the archdeacon of Essex, at his visitation holden at Danbury, July 8, 1806; and which he entitles "Jewish Prophecy, the sole Intention to distinguish between genuine and spurious Christian Scripture; or a humble Attempt to remove the grand and hitherto insurmountable Obstacles to the Conversion of Jews and Deists to the Christian Faith. Affectionately submitted to their Consideration." In the course of this sermon the present minister of the church of England, a beneficed priest in his profession, before a full and public convocation of his brethren in holy orders, undertakes to assert, and attempts to prove, that all the chief articles of the national creed are founded in falsehood or imposture: that our blessed Saviour was a man, and nothing more than a man: that he was conceived not by the Holy Ghost, but by Joseph his reputed father, brought forth not of the *virgin* Mary, but of Mary the *wife* in consequence of the consummation of her nuptials—and born not at Bethlehem but at Nazareth: that the first two chapters of St. Matthew, upon which the orthodox belief is chiefly founded, are a gross fraud and imposition upon the Christian world: that the hypostatic union is an old wives' fable—the Arian trinity all fiction and sophistry—the Athanasian trinity a monster of absurdity—and the doctrine of the atonement a disgusting impossibility!!! How many of the reverend auditory to whom this string of indecencies and blasphemies was addressed had the spirit and consistency to quit the walls of a church so profaned, in the midst of the profanation itself, we are not told; nor what was the vote of censure passed unanimously upon the renegado preacher, by the clergy present, in consequence of his open and avowed apostasy—nor whether any such vote was passed at all. The only point that appears creditable upon the occasion—and the credit of this is merely negative—is, that the sermon before us does *not* appear to be published at the request of those who were hearers of it, whether clergy or laity. The manly and liberal spirit of our constitution tolerates the religious opinions of every man, so long as they are restrained within the bounds of sobriety and good manners; and we trust it will long continue to tolerate them: but in the present instance there appears to have been neither

neither good manners, nor sobriety, nor even common *honesty*; and though we are no friends to persecution of any kind, much less to religious persecution, we trust that some effectual method will be taken to prevent the repetition of so scandalous an outrage and abuse of toleration in future. The rev. Mr. Francis Stone is certainly at full liberty to become an Unitarian, or a Mahometan, or even a Deist or an Atheist, if he choose; but he is not at liberty, upon any principles we can conceive of common honour or honesty, of religion or morality of any kind, to continue in such case rector of Cold Norton; to retain possession of his benefice while he publicly avows his apostasy: to live, and that in ease and affluence, upon the very church with which he is in open rebellion, nor to anathematize from the pulpit the peculiarly characteristic doctrines of the national creed—immediately after having, in the pew, pretended to join in a liturgy that is full of such doctrines*.

From Mr. Belsham we expect a profession of many of the principles thus parricidiously advocated by the rector of Cold Norton: and however we may object to his argument as advanced in the discourse we are now called upon to notice, entitled "The Importance of right Sentiments concerning the Person of Christ—preached at Essex-street Chapel, April 10, 1806," we have no right to object to his honesty. Mr. Belsham does not make use of one system of divinity in his prayers and another in his pulpit—nor receive tithes from an establishment with whose creed he is at open warfare. The sermon before us, indeed, independently of the peculiar tenets it propounds, is somewhat too dogmatical and self-important, but, in point of general liberality and true christian charity, is certainly entitled to our approbation.

From Dr. Maltby we have received an admirable sermon preached before the university of Cambridge on Commencement Sunday—the text John ix. 4. "I must work the works of him that sent me while it is day: the night cometh when no man can work." There is, in this discourse, a perspicuity of method, a justness of reasoning, a purity of language, and a force and solemnity of application, which we earnestly recommend to the study of every one who wishes to acquire the best, the most solid and useful oratory of the pulpit. That it was *heard* with effect we have no doubt of; that it has been *read* with effect we can personally answer for.

"A Sermon preached at Leicester, June 6, 1806, at the Visitation of the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lincoln: by the Hon. and Rev. H. Ryder, A. M. Rector of Lutterworth." The hon. and rev. H. Ryder fills, in the rectory of Lutterworth, a pulpit which was once the possession of Wickliffe—and long may he fill it while he preaches such sermons as the present is the honest prayer of our heart. The preacher's subject is of high consequence in our own times, in which we find, among a certain description of persons, so much sanctimonious confidence and self-conceit; it is devoted to the doctrine of pre-election and the certain assurance of salvation, and his text is

* We have since understood that an ecclesiastical prosecution has been commenced against Mr. Stone, in the name of the Bishop of London, by his vicar-general Sir Wm. Scott.

1 Corinth. ix. 27. His object is two-fold—to point out the grand evils of spiritual pride, and at the same time general relaxation in spiritual duties which it is too apt to engender—and to prove that it is a doctrine equally incompatible with the test of scripture itself; the examples and precepts of its inspired authors; the interpretations of their more immediate successors, and the general sentiments of our established church; although the preacher admits that there have been, occasionally, distinguished persons belonging to the church who have erroneously adhered to such a tenet. "Let us therefore," says he, "relinquishing all vain expectation of preternatural conviction, pursue the plain path which the gospel points out, and to which our church will lead us: let us walk with the fear of God on the one hand, and the comfort of the Holy Ghost on the other: with such a fear of being cast away as, keeping us steadfast unto the end, will be changed into awful reverence; with such a hope of the prize of our high calling as, brightening gradually to the last, will be lost in the vision of celestial glory—in a possession of "the fulness of joy."

We have also to notice a very excellent Sermon preached in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, July 13, 1806, at the Consecration of the Rev. Dr. C. B. Warburton, Bishop of Limerick: by the Rev. Richard Groves, D. D. M. R. I. A. Our preacher's text is derived from the last three verses of St. Matthew,—and a more argumentative, convincing dissertation in favour of a regular hierarchy, derived chiefly from that source which is first of all to be consulted and abided by on such occasions, the New Testament, we have never met with. To the different classes of dissenters we recommend it strenuously: we have a full knowledge of the liberality of a great number of them, and on such we are confident it will produce impression, if not thorough conviction.

The other single Sermons which have occurred to us as chiefly worthy of notice, but upon which we cannot dwell in detail, are Mr. Walker's, preached in bishop Strachan's chapel, Dundee, at the Consecration of the R. R. Dan. Sandford to the office of a bishop in the Scotch episcopal church, entitled "On the Condition and Duties of a tolerated Church;" doctor Gaskin's, delivered at St. Benet, Gracechurch-street, &c. entitled "The English Liturgy, a Form of sound Words;" Mr. Cracknell's, preached at Hoxton chapel before the Supporters of the Hoxton College, at their anniversary, June 26, from Ephes. iv. 12.; Mr. Hawkey's, preached at Holy-rhood church, Southampton, August 10, 1806, entitled "On the Duty of Humanity toward the irrational Part of the Creation;" and Mr. Aspland's on the death of Mr. Fox, preached at the Gravel-pit Meeting, Hackney, September 21, 1806.

We lament to find that the dispute concerning the real principles of our established church continues in a state as unsettled as ever. It is disgusting to retread the grounds we have already trodden for several years past upon this same subject, and again to bring forward the arguments, the sophistries, the wrath that have been occasionally advanced on all sides, with a view of confounding whatever might happen to be asserted by the opposite party. Amidst the myriads of pages that have been compiled on this subject, we know of but three

works that have entered into a fair, historical and circumstantial inquiry concerning it: and these are bishop Prettyman's Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Lincoln, delivered at the Triennial Visitation in 1803, an account of which our readers will find in our Literary Retrospect of the same year; Dr. Lawrence's Bampton Lectures preached at Oxford in 1804, and noticed, with due approbation, in this journal in our last year's number; and a most candid and erudite work now before us, the production of an old and venerable clergyman, who has served in the sacred ministry for nearly half a century, but who, with a modesty not often to be met within the present day, still chooses to conceal his name, while he is endeavouring, with an ability that cannot fail of success, to subserve the best interests of his holy profession. This work is entitled "Primitive Truth; in a History of the internal State of the Reformation, expressed by the early Reformers in their Writings, and in which the Question concerning the Calvinism of the Church of England is determined by positive Evidence." It is a thin octavo of 283 pages. Our readers may form some judgement of its importance and research from the following catalogue of its sections. 1. Events in the reign of queen Mary. 2. Circumstances in the reign of Elizabeth. 3. Contention about vestments and ceremonies. 4. Answer of Jewel bishop of Salisbury to frivolous objections against the church government. 5. What the church truly is. 6. Reformation in the reign of queen Elizabeth compared with that in the reign of Edward VI. 7. Comparison of the church articles with the sentiments of all the chief foreign reformers. 8, 9, 10. Continuation of the same. 11. Of sin, from Bullinger. 12. Of the gospel, from the same. 13, 14. Of providence and predestination, signs and sacraments, from the same. 15. Archbishop Parker's articles of religion, as drawn up for subscription in 1560. 16. His preface to the Bishop's Bible. 17. Public apology of the church of England. 18. Bishop Jewel's description of the worship of the church. 19, 20. Other extracts from the works of the same, intimately connected with the question. 21. Opinion of Sands archbishop of York. 22. Origin of the reformation in Switzerland. 23, 24, 25. Continuation of the same. 26. Party-prejudice. 27. The inconsistency of the appeal to the same authorities for the vindication of opposite opinions. In the course of the entire discussion, the author is, in the highest degree, liberal to the parties from whom he differs; and in truth more of the milk of human kindness, or true christian charity, we have never met with. All parties should read this work, and all may read it with moral and devotional as well as intellectual improvement. In the main he agrees completely with bishop Prettyman, whose words we thus quoted from the charge we have just referred to, "Our church is not Lutheran—it is not Calvinistic—it is not Arminian—it is SCRIPTURAL!" Our author in section 5 of the inquiry before us repeats these words in substance. Yet in sections 7, 8, 9. he endeavours strenuously to establish, what the bishop of Lincoln certainly never intended nor even supposed, that

that though the church be not Lutheran, not Calvinistic (or, as it should rather be called, Calvinic,) not Arminian, but *Scriptural*, yet that it is, at the same time, truly and directly ZUINGLIAN, and that its interpretation of scripture was collected from the doctrines of Zuinglius. We confess, therefore, that the dispute is still open—and the more so from Dr. Lawrence's conclusion, after his own most cautious and accurate inquiry, that, in opposition to both the preceding theologians, the church articles are "neither the production of Parker nor of the Convocation; that they were not borrowed from any Calvinic or Zuinglian, but from a *Lutheran* creed."

We are not alone in this apprehension: the very powerful Charge of Dr. Horsley, delivered in the course of the current year at his first visitation as bishop of St. Asaph—alas! that it should have been both his first and his last! apparently from the very same feeling—a full knowledge of the perplexity of the point—and with a wisdom to which we most implicitly bow—thus terminates its exhortation: "These intricate questions tend to nothing but perplexity and scepticism; and the discussions of them conduce to endless discord and dissention.—Leave these barren disquisitions to the theologians of the schools. Apply yourselves with the whole strength and power of your minds to do the work of evangelists. Proclaim to those who are at enmity with God, and children of his wrath, the glad tidings of Christ's pacification. Sound the alarm, to awaken to a life of righteousness a world lost and dead in trespasses and sins. Lift aloft the blazing torch of revelation, to scatter its rays over them that sit in darkness and the shadow of death: and guide the footsteps of the benighted wanderer into the paths of life and peace." This was his last and almost his *dying charge*: one more solemn or more truly important and in character he could not have given, had the clergy of his diocese been assembled around his *dying bed*.

How infinitely more wise, and prospective of eventual benefit, than to endeavour to accomplish many of the same ends by new acts of parliament and legislative interferences, as his grace of Canterbury is warmly recommended to do by an anonymous clergyman, in a pamphlet published with much assumed consequence, and an intimate acquaintance with his grace's predecessor, under the title of "Hints for the Security of the Established Church." In the course of which address it is our author's object to turn out of the ecclesiastic pale all those preachers who are vulgarly denominated Methodists; but of whose religious opinions as constituting a system—probably from the Proteus-shape and perpetual variation of those opinions themselves—our author does not appear to possess any very accurate conception. In his view of the subject, though not in our own, this is certainly a matter of no small degree of personal consequence to our national primate; since from the existence of this cause alone, "if the object of martyrdom," says our author, "ever formed an object of your ambition, you have, in the estimate of many, as fair a prospect of having that wish gratified, or, at least, of witnessing the annihilation of your

high dignity, as any of your predecessors since the days of Cranmer."

We have of late years had to speak repeatedly of internal dissensions and separations among the people called Quakers—and dissensions and separations which we only collected from their own histories, and which threatened a speedy subversion to the entire sect. We are now to notice a work which is certainly of a pleasanter kind, in as much as it represents them in a far more harmonious and amiable light than they have of late represented themselves, and which we well know to have been peculiarly grateful to the larger body of them. We allude to Mr. Clarkson's "Portraiture of Quakerism, as taken from a View of the Moral Education, Discipline, Peculiar Customs, Religious Principles, Political and Civil Economy and Character of the Society of Friends:" and which we classify in this department, because quakers have been usually regarded as constituting a religious rather than a political sect; and because they have heretofore occupied the present ground-plot of our Retrospect. We have long perceived an approximation in this fraternity towards the rest of the world, and we have rejoiced at it. The author before us seems to deny it; but we ask for no clearer proof of our assertion than the very book before us, coupled as it is well known to have been with the *imprimatur* of the society whose history it records. Perhaps the modernized arguments for separation and peculiarity of customs here advanced are in every respect superior to those of a quainter and more mystical nature urged by Fox, Penn and Barclay: but we are sure that they are arguments which would not have been equally current in their respective æras. We have here reason appealed to instead of feeling: external motives instead of internal spiritualism. We are glad that the book is approved of, though we cannot always approve of the motives and the reasons adverted to;—but the very approbation indicates in our mind, a serious constitutional change in the sensations of this harmless society, and which, in no illegible characters, prognosticates its approaching downfall. Our author himself, indeed, admits that its members are supposed to have diminished of late years: nor does he intimate that its provincial charity-schools, many of which we lately pointed out as in a state of ruin, have received any additional encouragement since we brought the topic before the public.

We close with a subject in which we can truly rejoice—we mean the "Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society;" the rapid progress and increased means of which, are only commensurate with the heart-reviving and truly astonishing advantages which seem to have resulted not only in all quarters at home, but in all parts of the north of Europe, from the vast extension of its most honourable and glorious exertions. The first year of the institution of this excellent Society produced a joint subscription throughout Great Britain of 550*l.* in the second it was nearly doubled; and there is every reason to hope it will continue to augment in an equal proportion. The Bible, that best guide and hope of man, is now gratuitously circulated from England in almost all languages to almost all places.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

Comprehending Medicine and Surgery, Natural History, Experimental Philosophy, Agriculture, Mechanics, Astronomy, Commerce, Arithmetic, Naval and Military Tactics.

WE shall open this chapter, according to our usual custom, with the most important branch of all physical knowledge —physiology, and the laws of preserving or re-acquiring health; the *hygicine*, or *hygicia* as it is denominated by the French schools. M. Pinel's excellent "Treatise on Insanity," which has already passed through our hands in its original form, has been carefully translated into English by Dr. Davis of the Sheffield Infirmary; to which version the translator has prefixed an introductory essay of his own, containing a cursory view of the history of insanity as connected with the human mind. It is well placed, and discovers a close attention to the best writers upon this important but still recondite subject. The translation of M. Pinel's treatise into our own tongue was certainly a desideratum: for we have no work upon mental alienation so compendious, and at the same time so truly scientific and practically useful.

Yet Dr. Arnold of Edinburgh has furnished us, in his "Observations on the Nature, Kinds, Causes and Prevention of Insanity," with a larger work on the same topic, which is well entitled to attention, and, for the most part, to no small portion of approbation. Dr. Arnold is no novice in this disease. Nearly twenty years ago he published a volume on the same tremendous malady, which was by no means destitute of merit: his attention has ever since that period been occasionally directed to the same point; and in the "Observations" before us we have his maturer sentiments, as they have arisen in the course of his intermediate practice. We shall take an ampler glance at the disease before us, because we have the fullest conviction, as well from our own professional remarks, as from the unanimous testimony of every medical writer of reputation in every part of Europe, that it is progressively increasing in the world. Were this observation confined to our own country, we think we could offer a variety of plausible reasons to account for such a fact—and reasons which this hint alone will be sufficient to excite in the mind of every man, without particularly detailing them: but when climate, when manners, when the distresses of the country, and the force of many of its religious opinions, are withdrawn from the mass of causes —when we find this cruel malady as largely multiplied in one part of Europe, if not of the world, as in another—in France as in England—in Italy as in Germany—we confess ourselves at a loss as to the general or procatarctic cause of the augmentation, however we may flatter ourselves that we have discovered its proegumenal stimuli. Perhaps there is no disease but has its cycle—perhaps there is none but has its birth, maturity and declension

Many diseases which are now known were certainly not known in the times of the Greeks and Romans, among which we may mention rachitis, siphilis and scrofula—and hence the absurd and unclassical appellations which they have obtained in our modern nomenclatures: many of the diseases, then fully known and described, have since altogether disappeared: and many again which have arisen, even since the revival of literature (comparatively of ephemeral existence) have already begun to die away. The English sweating fever was almost literally an ephemeral malady. The rickets, which have now endured for about a century and a half only, are at this hour so considerably on the decline, that probably the next generation will have to wonder what was meant by the term. The siphilis, or syphilis, for the origin of the term is uncertain, though by no means worn out, and perhaps more common than ever, has dropped more than half its horror; and had vaccination not been discovered till a century hence, so less proportionably severe is the small-pox of the present day compared with the same disease in the time of Sydenham, and so progressively is it diminishing in virulence and fatality, that, unquestionable as is the boon to us now, it might then be regarded as a discovery of supererogation.

Complex as is the mechanism of the body, the mechanism of the mind is more complex still—and the dreadful malady to which it is idiopathically subject does not yet appear to have reached its perfect acme. But we are bewildering ourselves in a maze of prospective melancholy from which no good can possibly result. What, in the language of Dr. Arnold, are the "kinds," for we give up the *cause*, and what more especially the "prevention" of this fearful calamity? Of the *kinds* our author enumerates two—ideal and notional; the first admitting of four species, phrenetic, incoherent, maniacal, sensitive; the second embracing not less than nine, viz. delusive, whimsical, fanciful, impulsive, scheming, vain or self-important, hypochondriacal, pathetic, appetitive. We cannot enter into his species, or we should object to several of them, but his kinds or grand divisions are defined as follows: "*Ideal* insanity is that state of mind in which a person imagines he sees, hears, or otherwise perceives or converses with, persons or things which have either no external existence to his senses at that time, or have no such external existence as they are then conceived to have: or, if he perceives external objects as they really exist, has yet erroneous and absurd ideas of his own form, and other sensible qualities; such a state of mind continuing for a considerable time, and being unaccompanied with any violent or adequate degree of fever. *Notional* insanity is that state of mind in which a person sees, hears, or otherwise perceives external objects as they really exist, as objects of sense, yet conceives such notions of the powers, properties, designs, state, destination, importance, manner of existence, or the like, of things and persons, of himself and others, as appear obviously, and often grossly erroneous, and unreasonable, to the common sense of the sober and judicious part of mankind. It is of considerable duration, is never accompanied with any great degree of fever, and very often with no fever at all."

It

It is here sufficiently obvious that our author, though he have not confined himself to the terms, has at least limited his views to the division of Mr. Locke—and that, in the language of this excellent metaphysician, the wording of Dr. Arnold's two distinctions would be *insanity* of *sensation*, and *insanity* of *reflection*, or sensitive and reflex insanity. We prefer Mr. Locke's terms to his own. It is also equally obvious, that in his general character of the disease, he has embraced every species of the *hallucinatio* of Sauvage, as well as those of his *delirium*; and that his description is so comprehensive as to include almost, or perhaps altogether, every one who puts what the writer himself may deem a false estimate on any object or subject introduced; and of course so comprehensive as to include every person who differs from himself in opinion. For, when he speaks of "the common sense of the sober and judicious part of mankind," he can only mean, as is meant by every one else who employs such a phraseology, that which *he* regards as its sober sense—no person, in this respect, allowing any other to determine for him. Yet much as we object to our author's definition, we highly approve the indefatigable industry with which he has studied his subject in the writings and opinions of the most esteemed authorities. We are chiefly sorry that after all, notwithstanding his adventuring to touch upon the "nature, kinds, causes, and prevention of insanity," he has not felt himself warranted to speak upon the *cure* of this disease. We give due credit to his modesty, and lament over the hopelessness that restrains him.

The cowpox is still, we perceive, waging its *bellum ad internecionem*, although we had flattered ourselves we should have been at liberty to have dropped it with the observations we advanced in our last year's number, and especially as we ventured to step a little beyond our due limits to save ourselves and our readers the trouble of reverting to it for several subsequent numbers. But the trumpet is still sounding, and we have nothing to do but to obey the call. Besides the tracts and treatises we have already anticipated, the current year has furnished us with "Vaccine Inoculation," by Robert Willan, M. D. F. A. S. which has already attained a second edition: "The Vaccine Contest;" by Wm. Blair, M. A. &c.: and not less than three answers to Mr. Birch in consequence of his pamphlet in repudiation of the practice: one by Mr. James Moore; one by the indefatigable Mr. Ring; and one by an anonymous "Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in London." We have but little fresh matter, however, notwithstanding this fresh accession of materials, to add to the observations we have already advanced: the argument is altogether with the vaccinists, but the triumph most assuredly *for the present* with their opponents; for we believe no unprejudiced practitioner will pretend to say, that at the moment before us there is not a stronger and more extensive prejudice against vaccine inoculation than there was a year and a half or two years ago. In truth, we have always thought the cause injudiciously handled by its best or rather by its warmest advocates: it was an instrument that required much delicacy of touch—and they have snapped the strings by screwing them up too tightly. Had the discovery been suffered to take its own

course, and to find its own level, we verily believe there would have been at this time scarcely a dissenting voice heard against it. But it has been weakened by excess of kindness; systematic encouragements have produced systematic oppositions; and the personal and earnest entreaties which have been made to vast numbers of the poorest families, and from the best and most benevolent of motives, to be allowed the honour of inoculating their ragged brats, have been received generally with a suspicion of self-interest, and often with a contemptuous refusal. The anti-vaccinists have availed themselves of the common feeling hereby engendered, and every dying prejudice has been resuscitated with tenfold vigour. For the uninitiated, Dr. Willan's is by far the best book to be consulted: for the controversialist, the best reply is that of Mr. Moore.

We have already noticed in our review of foreign literature M. Cabanis' valuable "Coup d'Œil," or, as his translator names it, "Sketch of the Revolutions of Medical Science;" and are now happy to announce an English version of this useful work from the pen of Dr. Henderson, who has executed his task with no small credit to himself. The volume, as we hinted in our last number, is devoted to the two considerations of the history of medical science, and the various æras of its chief revolutions, and the means by which this science may be still further reformed and improved. In the former part our author enters with considerable minuteness—more so, indeed, than the few scanty details of unquestionable facts which we possess would seem to justify—into the life and pursuits of Hippocrates, and the origin of the school of Cos: he glances rapidly at the succeeding schools of Greece, Rome and Arabia; and, among the moderns, dwells with peculiar complacency upon Stahl, Sydenham and Boerhaave. In his second part he advises an employment of the analytical plan to a greater extent—the deduction of legitimate results from facts more largely collected and generalized: he offers some valuable remarks upon nosology, which we think stands in need of even more correction than he has here suggested—and that in every ramification which belongs to it, whether of classification, nomenclature, or terminology; and concludes with recommending a close attention to various accessory departments of medicine. The whole should be perused with care, and the careful reader will not peruse in vain.

"A Practical Treatise on the power of Cantharides when used internally: by John Robertson, Surgeon, Edinburgh," thin octavo. This is a useful inquiry into the powers of a very active and, when skilfully directed, a very valuable medicine. The diseases in which the author has chiefly found it serviceable are gleet and leucorrhœa. From a personal and very considerable experience of many years, we can honestly concur with him in its recommendation. It is of great consequence, however, that in the case of gonorrhœa the constitution be not possest of high nervous irritability: for we have found most painful and obstinate dysuries introduced in such habits even by small doses, and especially when, from the existence of permanent strictures in the course of the urethra, there is a greater disposition to spasmodic contraction. In leucorrhœa this consideration is of much

much smaller consequence; and here we believe it may be administered with most success. The tincture is judiciously recommended in the present work; and the dose, which should be gradually increased, commences with from eight to twelve drops. Our author recommends the same medicine, also, in cases of indolent ulcers: but in these instances even his own practice does not appear to have been highly fortunate. He has added some valuable experiments on the use of both the tincture and powder in large doses on dogs: a dram and half of the former produces great chylopoietic inflammation; and half a dram of the latter was generally sufficient to destroy the animal.

We shall extend our attention to other diseases connected with the Sexual System. Mr. Howard, who some time since published various observations on Siphilis, has now presented us with a larger work in two octavo volumes upon the same subject, under the title of "Practical Observations on the Natural History and Cure of the Venereal Disease." Mr. Howard is certainly an attentive observer, and in some parts of his work appears to have been an attentive reader. In his history of the origin of lues venerea he inclines to the opinion that it is not a simple disease, but of hybrid breed, and the mere result of the yaws and leprosy, produced in Africa by the Moorish Jews after their expulsion from Spain. In his mode of cure he does not differ essentially from the best general methods of practice: he regards gonorrhœa as generated by a different poison from lues, and as curable without mercury; yet, with an irregularity of reasoning we cannot account for, he recommends the use of mercury in the former as well as in the latter. We have also received a work of some value in the "Practical Observations" of Mr. Henry Johnston, occupying a thin octavo, and directed to strictures of the urethra; diseases of the bladder and prostate gland; and urinary gravel and stone. Calculi, he proves by additional cases and experiments, may have a chance of being dissolved by injections into the bladder, the nature of the calculus, whether acid or alkaline, being in the first instance ascertained. Yet, where injections may not be used, or even advisable, the disease in its commencement may be alleviated, if not totally destroyed, by the introduction of alkalies into the stomach, which should hence seem to counteract the secretion of the uric acid by the kidneys. In the case of stricture, our author is decisive in preferring the medical cure by the caustic bougie, to the mere relaxation of the constricted ring by the common bougie: or rather, he is certain that the first method alone produces a radical cure. Connected herewith we may mention, that in a very enlarged form, and certainly enriched by many subsequent observations and improvements, Dr. Adams has republished his "Observations" on what he calls "Morbid Poisons." These he divides into acute and chronic: the first comprehending siphilis, yaws, sivvens, elephantiasis, and the anomala confounded with them: the second, febrile contagions, particularly the variolous and vaccine. The theory of constitutional susceptibility and disposition, invented by Mr. John Hunter, is here embraced in its utmost latitude, and enforced by many ingenious conjectures and observations of the

author's

author's own. Upon siphilis he is very full, but rather as a commentator, than a propounder of new or extraordinary information.

Dyspeptic affections have received some attention from various quarters. A pamphlet written by the accurate and indefatigable Daubenton has been anonymously translated into English; on which, without entering into his theory, we shall only observe, that the author strongly recommends, and from successful experiments on his own person, small doses of ipecacuanha, each consisting of about three grains for an adult, and of course incapable of exciting vomiting, to be taken in the morning fasting. From Dr. Stone we have also received a short but a more general treatise upon dyspepsia, which not only comprises "Diseases of the Stomach and of Digestion," but also the "History and Treatment of those Affections of the Liver and digestive Organs which occur in Persons who return from the East or West Indies: with Observations on various Medicines, and particularly on the improper Use of Emetics." In the midst of much desultory chit-chat we meet with some valuable remarks. Our author is a decided enemy to the use of digitalis, and objects to that of castor oil from its frequent impurity. Yet he confirms the practice of Dr. Hamilton as to the benefit almost sure to result from purgatives in most dyspeptic diseases, and especially in hypochondriasis and hæmorrhage of the stomach. Gout may, in some measure, be regarded as a link in the same chain; and from the pen of the late Dr. Hamilton, of Lynn Regis, we have received a posthumous treatise, which, though little imbued with the spirit or science of modern chemistry or physiology, is highly respectable in regard to the facts it contains, and the mode of practice it offers. The author was a severe victim at one period of his life to this cruel scourge, and to the last an occasional sufferer from its returns: but, both in his own person and in others, he uniformly found the podagral paroxysms pass off with comparative ease and brevity by the use of bleeding, calomel with opium, cathartics freely employed, topical blistering, and, if not refrigerant applications, at least keeping the part perfectly cool, and free from the incumbrance of additional flannels.

The other medical publications of the year, which are chiefly worthy of notice, are Dr. Reid's "Treatise on the Origin, Progress, Prevention and Treatment of Consumption;" a work containing some sensible remarks, but purposely enveloped in Brunonian mysticism, and too much brocaded with the tinsel of fine writing. "Observations on Abortion," by Mr. Burns of Glasgow, for the most part well worth perusing by every one whose studies are chiefly devoted to the obstetric art; affording much that is novel, and not a little that is interesting, but a good deal that is totally unfounded, or at least in direct opposition to the experience of other practitioners. "Essay on the Diseases incident to Indian Seamen or Lascars on long Voyages;" by W. Hunter, A. M. &c. The disease here chiefly referred to is a peculiar species of anasarca, noticed very frequently in several vessels in the Company's service in 1801, and which our author proposes to call anasarca cacotrophica. The accounts given both of this and the other maladies of the Lascar tribe are well drawn up from actual observation,

servation: and the volume, which was printed at Calcutta, is highly worthy of being circulated at home. "The Naval Surgeon: the whole illustrated by Plates; by W. Turnbull, A.M. &c." One of the neatest and most complete compilations we have ever met with: clear in its division, accurate in its information, important and correct in its instructions, and elegant in its materia medica. We can conscientiously recommend it to every medical practitioner in the service. This, however, is a praise which we cannot bestow on "The Naval, Military and Private Practitioner's Amanuensis, Medicus et Chirurgicus," of "Ralph Cuming, M. D. R. N. Medical Superintendant of his Majesty's Naval Hospital, Antigua." A more flatulent, conceited publication, filled with pompous nothings, and interlarded with scraps of the most barbarous Latin, we have never met with, and trust we never shall. Dr. Cuming is also a Brunonian—and more deeply intoxicated with its diffusible stimuli than his co-student Dr. Reid: "Æther, says he, opium, brandy, oleum menthæ piperitidis, and the volatile alkali, should always be at hand, when the patient, whether he be young or old, is using *aqua frigida*." We would commend the author to the use of *aqua frigida* alone, for at least the ensuing twelve months.

Upon the subjects of practical surgery, and anatomy, whether human or comparative, we have received not a single publication in the smallest degree entitled to notice, in the course of the entire year, if we except Mr. Bell's Essays which more properly appertain to our fourth chapter on literature and polite arts.

Chemistry has been nearly as barren, if we except several very valuable papers inserted in the Transactions of scientific societies, and which, consequently, do not belong to the present chapter. Dr. Wilson, however, has given us a useful and accurate "Analysis of the Malvern Waters," issuing from the only mineral spring in our own country that affords carbonat of soda; which, according to the experiments before us, exists in the proportion of $5\frac{1}{2}$ grains in a gallon, very largely exceeding the carbonat of iron, which is also held in solution in the same waters. These waters are found chiefly serviceable in dyspepsia, urinary calculus, and all complaints in which powerful diuretics are indicated. We have also to notice a new, enlarged, and much improved edition of Mr. Henry's "Epitome of Chemistry;" and from the pen of Mr. "S. Parkes, Manufacturing Chemist," we have received a bulky octavo, entitled "A Chemical Catechism, for the Use of young People; with copious Notes for the Use of the Teacher: to which are added a Vocabulary of chemical Terms, useful Tables, and a Chapter of amusing Experiments" concerning which we shall only add, that if the reader be not induced by perusing the title to purchase it, he certainly will not by an examination of the contents.

In an octavo volume, entitled "The Climate of Great-Britain, &c. by John Williams, Esq." we have what *the author*, at least, thinks a *shrewd* guess at the supposed deterioration which this climate has undergone within the last half-century; together with a bold project, for altering our seasons, and giving us rain, dry weather and sun-shine at pleasure. Our author assumes it as a fact, that the climate has changed, and is become much moister

moister and colder than in former æras, chiefly upon a loose assertion of William of Malmsbury, who wrote in the twelfth century, that many parts of Gloucestershire and the Isle of Ely afforded as good vineyards as any of the provinces of France. The assertion, however, is so desultory and unsupported by other testimony, that it is scarcely worth attention, much less entitled to become the foundation of so sublime and daring a project as that now presented to us. Having, however, in this manner established his fact, our author next proceeds to account for it by a reference to the different modern improvements in agriculture, horticulture, and canal navigation—almost every one of which, he tells us, is a joint or separate cause of the mischief complained of. "I attribute," says he, "the humidity, and consequently coldness, of our modern summers, to the increased evaporating surface caused by the enclosing of the open fields and wastes: the multifarious intersections of them by fences, especially with hawthorn: to the increased luxuriance of our crops, by a general system of improvement in the agriculture of the country: to these I may with propriety add the late increase of pasturage, productive of a serious disproportion between that and tillage: to the numerous plantations, more especially of foreign trees, and such whose exhaling power is prodigiously great; and the immense bodies of nearly stagnated water in the numerous canals that have been cut within the assigned period." Now, admitting that the nature of the climate has actually changed, and changed too for the worse, a very slight glance at the state of the country at present and fifty years ago, will sufficiently prove, that, whatever may have been the causes of such a change, the circumstances here referred to have not been so. In consequence of the general introduction of land-draining, almost all our stagnant marshes and swampy moors have disappeared; and notwithstanding the increase of our canals, we certainly have not a tenth part of the surface of stagnant waters now that we had at the former period. Our antient and almost immeasurable forests have in like manner yielded to the plough and the axe: and the high price of corn has of late years metamorphosed a very great proportion of our pasture lands back again into arable; while we believe that the larger part of our inclosed wastes has been appropriated to tillage rather than to grass. But we cannot dwell upon the subject. We proceed therefore to state in few words the plan here proposed to call back the climate to the elysium of former times, so that every Englishman may be enabled, in the literal sense of the terms, to "sit under his vine and his fig-tree with delight:" and this consists in regarding as nuisances, and consequently in annulling without loss of time, almost every improvement which is the pride of modern phytology: in diminishing our harvests, our canals, and our enclosures; in giving an ampler range to the strides of free uncultivated nature, which may be regarded as the *negative* part of the proposal; and, with respect to that which may be called its *positive* part, in a regular series of electrifying mills, established at certain distances throughout the British empire, armed with adequate machinery for diffusing a sufficient portion of positive electron throughout "the vaporous regions of the atmosphere;"

atmosphere;" of which, one or two, our author conjectures, might be sufficient for every county; in a similar series of pluvial mills constructed upon "a process the reverse of this," which would act as an universal shower-bath, and enable us "to precipitate the aqueous particles at our pleasure;" and lastly in establishing "a board of meteorology," which "should be united with other agricultural establishments for conducting the process;" in which "the machinery should be made to act simultaneously and under telegraphic signals; otherwise one county would be counteracting another. And no attempt should be made to *effect a change in the weather*, except in those instances where there can be no doubt of the efficacy of such change, whether it should be *for fair or rain*." We have only to propose, by way of addition, that the committee-room for this board of meteorology be built in the aforesaid "vaporous regions" themselves; and that John Williams, esq. be appointed architect upon this occasion, and that the machinery be then set to work with all possible speed.

The very valuable pamphlet of sir Joseph Banks on the blight or mildew of wheat, noticed in our last number, has been commented upon and scrutinized by various agriculturists. The hypothesis, we believe, has generally been approved, though it has encountered some opposition; but, what is of far more consequence than any thing else, the important fact it was meant to develop, namely, that the most mildewed wheat is as useful for seed, and may be as determinately employed as the fattest and most glossy, has been denied by no one, so far as our remarks have extended. In comparison with this most important discovery, all the rest is "but leather and prunello." The stoutest opponent of the right honourable author is Mr. Egremont, who, in a pamphlet designed as an answer to sir Joseph's observations, has published other "Observations on the Mildew;" in which he conjectures, and so far we believe correctly, that the mildew is not a primary but a secondary disease: in other words, that the parasitic fungus which produces it, by being deposited and growing in the straw, or even the earlier grass, of the plant, would not be able to obtain a livelihood, or at least to thrive there, if the grass or straw were not weakened by some previous disease. This disease he supposes to arise from a morbid secretion in the plant, occasioned by a sudden variation in the temperature of the atmosphere, and especially from extreme cold to violent heat: and he arranges the soils most likely to allow of such morbid secretion from such sudden variation, and consequently most productive of mildew, into the following scale, the first enumerated being that chiefly predisposing to the disease: peat or moor; 2. calcareous; 3. sand; 4. gray earth (a soil, however, not very accurately explained); 5. clay. Further observations upon this important subject are still necessary. Reasoning from animal physiology, we are certainly inclined to think, and have so expressed ourselves already, that not only the *ustilago* (smut or black-mildew) but other diseases of a similar parasitic kind, as *albigo*, (white-mildew,) a species affecting other plants, and especially the *tussilago*, *farfara*, and *humulus* (or common hop,) as also *rubigo* (rust or red-mildew,) so frequent-

ly found on wheat, oats, and even the *berberis euphorbia*, and *rhamnus catharticus*, are secondary diseases alone, and only exist in consequence of a weakly constitution of the plant in its earliest stage. We know that intestinal worms will not live in the stomach of a healthy child whose gastric juice is of due quantity and potency, and we have no reason to believe that such parasitic plants as *mucor*, *erysiphe*, and *æcidium*, the common fungi we apprehend in the cases now before us, would be more difficult of destruction by the living principle of the plant on which they fix, if in a state of perfect health, than the *tænia* by the action of a healthy stomach.

Mr. W. Smith, who has been employed in the character of engineer and mineralogist by the duke of Bedford, Mr. Coke, and several other eminent agriculturists, has published a thin octavo volume of "Observations on the Utility, Form and Management of Waste Meadows, and the Draining and Irrigating Peat-bogs;" which does him no small degree of credit. It gives a plain account of various and very extensive improvements in this branch of agricultural engineering, conducted under his own superintendence, which are well worth attending to by all who possess landed estates under similar disadvantages. Mr. Smith evinces much skill in his profession, and his well-directed labours seem to ensure an enormous profit to his employers.

"An Account of some Experiments for drilling and protecting Turnips: by the Rev. T. C. Munnings." This is a very useful treatise, and especially to the Norfolk farmer, for whose benefit it is chiefly intended. No plant suffers more than the turnip from its peculiar delicacy, as well when it first makes its appearance, as when stacked for winter-stock; a variety of grubs and other predatory reptiles producing great mischief in the former case, and severe frosts still more extensive ruin in the latter. To give the turnip every advantage and every protection, Mr. Munnings recommends deep ploughing, drill-sowing instead of broadcast, and the continuance of such a number of rows at a considerable distance from each other, as may be sufficient for the winter-stock—which are to be completely moulded up, so as to bid defiance to the utmost severity of weather, by the introduction of a one-horse plough into the intermediate spaces, which will give the field the appearance of two-furrow-work, or tops and balks. He thinks it, however, still more advisable, and this may be done where the drill has not been employed, that the plants thus designed to outlast the winter should be transplanted into furrows already prepared for them, and the ridges afterwards shovelled over them up to the very top—a process which a single labourer will be able to effect in the proportion of two acres in three days; and the expense of the whole of which will be amply repaid by the preservation of the turnips against a period in which the grazier will be scarcely able to obtain any other provender, and by the amelioration of the soil itself, by being exposed on a larger surface, in consequence of its additional ploughing, and high ridges, to the action of the frost.

Dr. Alderson has published a useful little tract "On the Improvement of poor Soils;" which was lately read in the Holderness Agricultural Society, in reply to the following

lowing question; "What is the best method of cultivating and improving poor soils where lime and manure cannot be had?" The foundation on which our author proceeds is rational; his directions are easy and practicable; and the instances he adduces of success such as cannot fail of stimulating to similar exertions.

From the pen of an anonymous "Lincolnshire Grazier" we have received the second edition of a useful compilation under the title of "The Complete Grazier, or Farmer and Cattle-dealer's Assistant." It undertakes to give the best advice upon all subjects connected with husbandry, in a plain and concise manner; and upon the whole it is not often that it fails in its undertaking. We have also received from the pen of Mr. John Lawrence, of whose "General Treatise on Cattle" we have formerly spoken with respect, an octavo volume entitled "The Modern Land Steward;" in the course of which the chief duties and functions of stewardship are fairly considered and explained, and regarded in their several relations to the interests of the landlord, the tenant, and the community at large. We can recommend this work as an able compilation from prior writers, and as abounding with many valuable and original hints upon practical georgics.

Of provincial statements of agriculture we have not had more than three or four published in the course of the year; and these are almost exclusively confined to North Britain. From Dr. Smith's "General View of the Agriculture of the County of Argyle," we learn that very little of modern improvement of any kind has yet shed its benignant influence upon this district: very little arable land, and a prodigious proportion of waste, and that upon every farm—few inclosures—barley grown chiefly—wheat neglected, and turnips scarcely known. Though abounding with bays, creeks and harbours, and chiefly thriving by its fisheries; no plantations of wood, valuable as timber must necessarily be on this account, and the timber actually employed principally brought from Wales and Norway. The ploughs are home-made—so heavy and clumsy that the weight alone is draught enough for a single horse; and hence four horses and a leader are generally employed even upon the lightest soils. The harrows are usually constructed in the rudest manner imaginable; the teeth being of timber, scarcely ever of iron, and the instrument being still in some places barbarously tied on the horse's tail. The cottages wretched almost beyond description, low, narrow, dark, damp and cold; scarcely a good farm-house throughout the entire county, and not an edifice entitled to notice except the duke of Argyle's palace at Inverary. Flax is one of the articles commonly cultivated; and the soil is so well adapted to it, that, were this article attended to as it ought to be, it might alone prove more valuable than the mines of Potosi. "When the crop is tolerably good, the produce of a single acre may be estimated at 15*l.* on the field; at 20*l.* when it comes from the mill; at 60*l.* when spun into yarn; and at more than 100*l.* when wrought into cloth and bleached. Thus a thousand acres (*alone*)—which would be but forty to every parish on the continent (county,) would yield materials for a yearly produce of 100,000*l.*:" and, it should have been added, the whole

of

of these materials might be completed within the range of the county itself. The value of the fisheries might with a little attention and improvement be quadrupled; yet of their actual worth we may form a very favourable estimate, from our author's calculation that the herrings alone caught merely at Lochfine in 1794 and 1795, yielded more than 40,000*l.* each year. At this period, however, they produced above their common average. Of the other provincial fishes the chief are trout and salmon. The entire rental of the county amounts to nearly 10,000*l.*; the proprietors half a century back were about two hundred; the estates are now larger and in fewer hands, and the proprietors do not exceed a hundred and fifty-six. To transfer a patrimonial possession was formerly esteemed a reproach; by the frequency of the practice in late years the reproach no longer exists. This agricultural view affords the most evident proofs of correctness and of personal observation: yet we trust, if compared with the state of Argyleshire at the *present moment*, it will be found to fall far below the improvement it has actually attained: for though drawn up for the consideration of the Board of Agriculture, it consists of a survey of at least ten or perhaps twelve years ago. The spirit of agricultural improvement, which has recently pervaded Britain at large, has been more conspicuous in the North than in the South, and we can scarcely bring ourselves to conceive that Argyleshire alone has continued uninfluenced by the beneficial contagion.

A "General View of the Agriculture of the County of Clydesdale" is given us by Mr. John Naismith. Like the former *view*, it is drawn up for the consideration of the Board of Agriculture; and, like that too, it affords us upon the whole but a gloomy and depressing prospect, notwithstanding many improvements which have avowedly been introduced of late years. Clydesdale, better known perhaps by the name of Lanarkshire, is about a third as large as Argyleshire, the latter containing inland and water nearly a million and half of acres, the former not quite half a million. Its subsoil, inclosing every direction, and throughout great part of each of its three wards or grand divisions, is an almost intractable and permanently growing peat. Through this no water can filter, land-draining is rendered extremely difficult, and the tardy process of exhalation in wet seasons is alone trusted to, or nearly so, for a removal of the superfluous and destructive moisture. Upon the whole, these peat mosses seem at present to occupy nearly a third part of the entire extent of the county; they are incessantly accumulating; have already, by the cold and humidity they ever introduce into the atmosphere, destroyed a great proportion of those extensive forests, principally of oak, for which Clydesdale seems formerly to have been famous; and by their insidious encroachment on the arable soil, have curtailed the whole, and rendered much of what even now remains scarcely worth cultivating. The grand attention, therefore, of the Clydesdale ruralist should be to resist so inveterate an enemy; and the success which has accompanied an admirable project of Mr. John Smith of Ayrshire, whose name we record with heartfelt satisfaction, amidst the *patres patriæ* of North Britain, should stimulate every

every man to a similar system of conduct. He has very largely introduced the use of lime; and has proved by incontrovertible and extensive experiments, that the application of this substance to moss has been able to convert the mossy and inert soil into a soil of the most luxuriant fertility; and is at this moment growing large and thrifty crops of different grasses in situations that were formerly looked at with disgust, and regarded as altogether intractable. By these and other methods we have occasionally pointed out or alluded to, we trust the Clydesdale agriculturist may yet be able to obtain one of the noblest triumphs that can fall to the lot of man—that of subduing the thriftless and inveterate soil that surrounds him, of converting the land of famine into a garden of luxuriance, and of making the wilderness sing aloud for joy. The mines of Lanarkshire are a source of much opulence; in coals, iron, lead and lime, they are calculated to produce a yearly income of 494,500*l.*: of this the coals alone yield 312,000*l.*, and of course afford by far the highest source of wealth; while lime, which is considerably the lowest, brings to the common mineral stock not more than 14,000*l.* But the chief revenue of the county is derived from its cotton-manufactories, and its central trade at Glasgow: the cotton-manufactories occupy nearly half the hands of the entire county, and the city of Glasgow is the great mart of this and of every other commodity it produces.

We may here notice, as referring to an important though a distant part of the British empire, Mr. Colebrook's "Remarks on the Husbandry and internal Commerce of Bengal," which have lately reached us, and were republished at Calcutta in 1803, from a treatise on the same subject in 1794, but which in their present form are enriched with a variety of new and highly interesting observations. From the best and most accurate means of calculation, derived from the actual number of husbandmen holding leases, and of artificers paying ground-rent, in conjunction with the average consumption of food—for we have here no regular census, no registers of births, marriages or deaths—our author concludes that Bengal, including the province of Benares, comprises twenty-seven millions of inhabitants; and vast as this population may appear when compared with that of the paramount or mother-country, we by no means think it excessive; having lately perused other tables drawn up with considerable judgement, which raise it to not less than thirty millions. This immense multitude is, for the most part, supported by harvests that are almost spontaneous, for nothing can be conceived more unattended to than agricultural concerns in Bengal; and were Nature not so bountiful in her productions, either the inhabitants must labour under an almost perpetual famine, or exercise a degree of skill and industry of which they give no example at present. In truth, the Bengal husbandman has but little stimulus to industry: for a system of greater wretchedness, oppression and uncertainty, was never acted upon nor devised even in Ireland; to whose system of progressive tyranny it approximates more closely than to any other agricultural code or practices we are acquainted with. The revenues of the state are chiefly farmed by Zemindars at certain annual

sums for certain extents of territory; these, first of all, collect the whole they are able to lay their hands on, and deposit the surplus in their own coffers; for though, as is sometimes the case, they agree with the government to collect certain sums, and receive out of such sums a stipulated salary as the reward of their labour, seldom indeed is it that they limit themselves to such stipulation; next, there is a perpetual display exhibited of extortion on the part of the landlord, and fraud on that of the tenant, connected with each other by the most indefinite and insecure tenures: as the former, however, exerts the utmost rapacity over the latter, so the latter plays the subtyrant over an inferior tenantry, among whom he fritters out and re-lets the land he has hired in the gross. These last are the real cultivators, and the rent exacted of them is usually half the produce in kind, or a sum of money equal to it. It often happens, moreover, that the cultivator, when he has obtained his fragment of a farm, has no property with which to stock it and procure implements. These, too, are to be had however; but the accommodator expects twenty-five per cent for all he advances even if the loan be repaid at the ensuing harvest, and fifty per cent if postponed to any period beyond it. The same pillage is pursued through every class; for the cultivator, thus preyed upon by those above him, preys in an equal degree upon the labourer below him. To every ploughman he allots, as a part of his wages, a small plot of his own land to be cultivated at the ploughman's leisure; and from the profits of such a cultivation he extorts, by way of rent, the same proportion that is exorted of himself; in other words, half its produce. Under such a miserable system of robbery upon robbery it is impossible that agriculture or any other art or science could thrive: here are few inclosures, no knowledge of a rotation of crops, manure never resorted to except for the growth of the sugar-cane, poppy, and other costlier plants; implements the most wretched and clumsy; roads almost impassable, and heavy awkward wains that could not be dragged without difficulty on the best highways in this country, whilst the numerous navigable streams that fall into the Ganges in every direction are never made use of. The chief articles of commerce are the sugar-cane, tobacco, opium and cotton. Silk and the silk-worm have for the most part travelled into other countries, and especially the warmer and more southerly of Europe. Indigo has lately been revived, and is now become a considerable article of trade throughout the whole of Bengal. Labour is from six to ten times cheaper here than in the West Indies, the wants of the natives being so few, and their desires so easily satisfied. The whole history tends to prove, and that in the clearest and most convincing manner, that were the trade to India thrown open, instead of being confined to a single company, it would afford, by rebound, a fund of industry and wealth to Great Britain at once incalculable and inexhaustible.

Nearly connected with the subject before us, we shall notice an excellent translation of a very excellent little work of M. Camus, "On the Teeth of Wheels, Pinions, &c." The object is to show that in mill-work, clock-work, and similar machinery, much of the ease

base with which one wheel works upon another depends upon the form of their respective teeth or cogs; which, when long-used and constructed of wood, are generally found to assume a particular curve in consequence of repeated action and reciprocal adjustment. This then should seem to be the direct form pointed out by nature, as the best we can ever employ, and which it should be our constant endeavour to copy. M. Camus, in the treatise before us, undertakes to trace out the principle, and gives rules for the accomplishment of this object, as well as for ascertaining what ought to be the number and size of the cogs in proportion to the diameter of the wheel. He takes it for granted, as the ground-work of his calculations, that the epicycloidal curve is that assumed by nature, and upon this basis calculates all his propositions. It is probable that his conjecture is nearly correct; it is, at least, sufficiently true for every mechanical operation; and the principle, whenever carried into practice, cannot fail of imparting an ease and glabrity of action to every kind of machinery which it can never acquire otherwise.

"A Treatise of Mechanics, theoretical, practical and descriptive: by Olinthus Gregory, of the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. 8vo. 2 vols." This is a work highly useful to the civil engineer—as containing both principles and practice—the former well supported, and the latter exemplified by a description of a great variety of machinery actually employed (and with success) in many important and extensive concerns, or which well deserves a trial, and has every chance of success. The first volume is devoted to a theoretical view of the different branches of mechanical science—statics, dynamics, hydrostatics, hydrodynamics, pneumatics:—the second contains the practical application of the science; and cannot be perused without improvement.

In the course of the year before us, Baron Maseres has added another volume, making the sixth, to his "Scriptores Logarithmici;" or collection of curious tracts on the nature and construction of logarithms. These tracts are twenty-two in number, some written in Latin, others in English; some the production of deceased, others of living authors. Why those originally composed in Latin have not been translated into English, which they ought to have been, if the work be designed for our own meridian chiefly or altogether, or those composed in English have not been translated into Latin, provided it be chiefly intended for the continent, we are not informed. At present it will comparatively be but of little use in either view: for few foreign mathematicians are sufficiently acquainted with our own tongue to study fluxions in it, and not every English mathematician is sufficiently versed in Latin to pursue the object of his attention in a Latin dress. In themselves, however, the tracts are truly valuable; and so far as we have perused them, there is scarcely any one that we could wish to have omitted. The chief contributors are, the baron himself, Dr. Mackay, Mr. Frend, Mr. Manning, the late Dr. Robert Denison, Fermat, and Huygens. An arranged prospectus of the contents of the volume is prefixed in the form of a preface, which occupies eighty-four pages of this bulky quarto; the body of the work extends to nine hundred

and fifty-eight pages, making not less than a thousand and forty-two in the whole.

Mr. Bonnycastle has furnished us with a "Treatise on Plane and Spherical Trigonometry;" in an octavo volume, which may be profitably consulted by those who have made considerable proficiency in the science of logarithms, but has too little of the professional *gradus* for a beginner. There is, in truth, a great want of order and precision in the entire arrangement of the work, which is an almost inexpiable sin in a writer upon mathematical subjects; the language is often incorrect, and the authors of the present day are treated with a contempt to which many of them are by no means entitled, notwithstanding their heterodoxy upon the score of infinite positives and negatives.

Mr. Frend continues to supply the rising generation with useful and entertaining information upon the general science of astronomy by his "Evening Amusements"—a small octavo volume, published annually, in which a variety of striking appearances in the heavens, discoverable at distant evenings, for the current year, are accurately pointed out and accounted for. Upon the volume now before us it is useless to add any thing further than that it possesses all the merit of that of last year, which was noticed by us with respect.

"Tables of Simple Interest, and of Commission, Brokerage, or Exchange, at all the usual Rates per Cent. Constructed on a Plan entirely new, easy and mathematically accurate; to which is prefixed a complete Ready-reckoner, and several new Tables, useful in commercial Operations. By William Stenhouse, accountant, F.A.S. E." We have nothing to object to as to the accuracy of this title; the labour it announces is fairly accomplished in the body of the book, which is an octavo of upwards of five hundred pages. In commercial concerns a work of this kind is of essential value; it spares an immensity of time and labour that may beneficially be appropriated to other concerns. We have here the fractions of farthings, which, notwithstanding the superior exactitude such a system of calculation displays, will often be found, if we mistake not, as burdensome in application as it must have been in original adjustment.

"Tables for computing the Weight of Hay, Cattle, Sheep and Hogs, &c. by Measurement, with a comparative Table of the Weight used at Edinburgh to those in Use at Smithfield and elsewhere. By John Ainslie. 13 Plates, square." The comparative table is, indeed, given, and to a certain extent must have its use; but the calculations in the body of the book computed upon the Edinburgh value, in which city weights and measures are equally different from those made use of in London, and this in a ratio that renders it difficult in many instances to designate the exact proportion, the Edinburgh pound, for example, without adducing other instances, consisting of 17½ ounces. In other respects these Tables will be found highly useful, and we can cordially recommend a new edition of them, adapted in every respect to the British metropolis. The plates should certainly be added, which give a more perfect idea than can be obtained otherwise, of the usual method of taking the girt of hay-stacks, pigs, cows and sheep.

Mr. Derrick's "Memoirs of the Rise

Rise and Progress of the Royal Navy" seem to rank in the present chapter rather than in any other. The numerous tables which accompany the work appear to be calculated with accuracy, and to give a fair estimate of the number of ships and tonnage, &c. of their several classes at different periods. Our author commences the history of the British navy with the reign of Henry VII. It is generally, we believe, dated from that of Henry VIII.; but as the former prince is well known to have been possest of *one* large ship, it certainly may be transferred to the period here proposed. As a book of frequent reference we can cordially recommend the publication before us.

All danger of invasion from the French coasts having been of late supposed to have ceased, the greater part of the attention which was antecedently bestowed on this subject has ceased with it; and we are no longer overpowered with those miscellaneous tracts on military and internal tactics, that at one time swarmed forth from the press, and which perhaps, from the change of the political horizon, may soon swarm forth again. On the present occasion we shall only notice a single anonymous octavo, entitled "Observations on the Use of Light Armour." This volume is intended to revive the old practice of wearing a body-fence, called jakes, and which were no other than quilted waistcoats, covered with narrow plates of thin iron, so intersected as to allow of every muscular motion. The rapidity of modern tactics, which has made side-arms of more consequence than almost at any time, and which has so often plunged hostile division into close contact with hostile division, seems to have made a revival of this defence an object of expediency. And though we cannot give much commendation to the bombast and glittering style in which this book is written, we have at least thought the observations it contains worthy of propagation, and have noticed it accordingly.

CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND POLITICAL.

Containing History, Voyages, Travels, Politics, Ethics, Education.

THE late disturbances and the present fermentation in Ireland have fixed the general eye of mankind upon this part of the united empire for many years, and still prevent it from wandering. Its history and its politics, the moral disposition and religion of the multitude, have been examined in every possible attitude, and in publications of every shape and tendency. Still the subject is by no means exhausted, and we are yet called to the consideration of new histories, and new political tracts. We shall commence this chapter with noticing Mr. Gordon's "History of Ireland, from the earliest Accounts

to the Accomplishment of the Union with Great Britain in 1801, in two volumes, 8vo." This is a judicious and convenient compendium of Irish history: the language is in general correct and pure, though occasionally characterized by the creation of new terms, and attempts at new modes of phrasing. The political principles of our author lead him to a love of popular freedom and catholic emancipation: yet these principles are restrained within due bounds, and his loyalty is unimpeachable and satisfactory. The first volume opens with a geographical sketch of the country; examines with much brevity the traditionary periods of Druidism, and the earliest Christian missions, and treats with due contempt the wonderful legends which are generally crowded into this primæval epoch, and constitute its most prominent features. It proceeds in a steady and temperate track through the different centuries of real history, from the arrival of Robert Fitzstephen in Ireland, in 1170, and closes with the civil wars that devastated the country anterior to the commonwealth. The whole of these transactions are divided into twenty-six chapters. The second volume begins with twenty-seven, and extends to chapter forty-seven. It traces the affairs of Ireland under the discreet administration of Henry Cromwell, a man, perhaps, of as much disinterestedness and public spirit, as his father was of selfishness and personal ambition; the restoration of the Stuart dynasty, accompanied with enormous confiscations and popular commotions; the confiscations of the revolution, by which many families were re-instated in possessions that the restoration wrenched away from them; the political animosities that divided the country through the period of American dissentions and hostilities; the influence of the French revolution on the feelings and inclinations of the people; the entire scope of the measures which have been pursued to obtain catholic emancipation; the provincial and secret committees formed at different times to carry these measures into effect; and the influence produced upon the hopes of the catholics by the accomplishment of the Union, with which great and glorious event it closes. The two prime benefits which our author tells us were expected by the Irish nation as the immediate consequence of the unity of empire, were "a commutation of tithes, and the abolition of all political disabilities in catholics. By the former," he continues, "would agriculture be encouraged, violent discontents against the maintenance of the protestant clergy be banished, and the clerical character rendered more respectable. The last consequence of commutation must be evident to all persons acquainted with the degrading circumstance of wrangling for tithes, and enforcing their payment on miserable peasants, to which the clergy are compelled by the present systems. By catholic enfranchisement would the union of the British people throughout the united kingdom be completed, and protestant ascendancy secured of the empire. That measures of such prime advantage should be so long prevented by a spirit of narrow policy, must be a matter of deep regret; for when powers on the continent of Europe are, by the natural course of events, growing into enormous magnitude by the absorption of the weaker states, what have the British *Islands* for the

preservation of their independence but their aqueous barriers, firm union at home, and a wholesome system of government, promotive particularly of agriculture, the great source and only solid foundation of national wealth for the maintenance of fleets and armies. To the Roman catholic religion I am far from being a friend: it *endangers* human reason, the only light with which we are furnished by our Creator for discriminating between real and fictitious revelation. Its intolerant spirit has far surpassed that of all others, even the Mahommedan. For under what other system of worship can we find in history such courts of inquisition, such national massacres, and such numbers with solemn formality burned alive for a mere difference of opinion? By a mental thraldom it has degraded the human species, and paralysed their industry! But the spirit of papal intolerance is broken: the revolution of France has inflicted a mortal wound. Commixed with protestants, and *vested with no predominant power*, the catholics are as good members of society as any other description of men whatever: a more kind-hearted and obliging people than the catholics of Ireland I am persuaded can no where be found, and I must confess that I feel for them a strong affection; nor can I entertain a doubt of their inviolable attachment to British government, if they were once fully admitted to an unqualified participation of its benefits." We shall soon have occasion to advert to this subject more at large; and shall at present only observe, that however attached to the Irish catholics our author appears to be, as well from principle as affection, he feels more than half afraid of trusting them notwithstanding: for if his proposition be true, that it is only while they are "*vested with no predominant power*, that the catholics are as good members of society as any other description of men," it must follow of necessity, that the moment they are enabled by any means to obtain a *predominancy of power*, they will cease to be as good members of society as other descriptions of men. Without entering into the question on either side at present, we shall merely remark, that we have not heard a stronger argument advanced by their enemies than is here advanced by one of their advocates, for continuing the restraints to which they have been so long subject. We believe it is not this opinion, but one far less hostile towards them, that has thus far prevented, and is, *for some years*, likely to prevent their shackles from being loosed, and their emancipation rendered complete.

"Journal of the Transactions in Scotland during the Contest between the Adherents of Queen Mary and those of her Son, 1570–1573, by Richard Bannatyne, Secretary to John Knox, 8vo. p. 50." This is a curious and important document. The peculiar situation of Bannatyne, while it rendered him inimical to the cause of this accomplished princess, afforded him abundant opportunities of acquiring minute information upon subjects that must have been inaccessible to every one without the pale of the *corps diplomatique*: and there is much reason to suppose that the work before us was drawn up with the express purpose, as we knew it was offered with the express wish, of being printed among the memorials selected for publication by the general assembly of the kirk, soon after the death of Knox. Our author

thor, however, for some cause we are unacquainted with, did not succeed in his application; and it has hence remained as a manuscript authority, to be consulted by all who are desirous, and have opportunity of plunging into the most genuine archives of Scottish history. Into whose care it was at first committed we know not. Towards the beginning of the last century it was in the possession of Robert Miln, and the handwriting was generally supposed to be Bannatyne's own: it bears credible evidence of being a manuscript of his own æra, if not his actual autograph. In 1748 it was transferred to the advocate's library, at Edinburgh, where it has continued ever since, and has been examined and quoted by Crawford, Goodall, and other historiographers. In its present state, however, it is imperfect, the first eighteen pages being wanting: these are supposed to have opened with an account of the death of regent Murray, and perhaps with the circumstances of the murder of Darnley; the imprudent marriage of Mary with Bothwell; the rebellion that ensued; the defeat of the Scottish queen; her imprisonment at Lochleven, and escape into England, that immediately preceded this atrocity; and our editor, Mr. John Graham Dalyell, has filled up the introductory vacuity with a sketch of these events in a manner that does credit to his chronological talents. The journal of Bannatyne immediately succeeds this introduction, accompanied with notes from the editor, which has so much pleased us, that we regret they have been so sparingly interspersed. At the close of the journal are subjoined, 1. Letters from Secretary Maitland, and the Earl of Mortown, written in 1572. 2. An Account of the Death of the Earl of Huntly, in 1576. 3. Confession of the Earl of Mortown, 1581. 4. Mutual Aggressions by the contending Factions: a document, in point of time, anterior to the three preceding, and exhibiting an anachronism that might easily had been avoided.

"Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson, Governor of Nottingham Castle, Town, &c. with original Anecdotes of many of the most distinguished of his Cotemporaries, and a summary Review of Public Affairs: written by his Widow, Lucy, Daughter of Sir Allen Apsley, Lieutenant of the Tower, &c. now first published from the original Manuscript, by the Rev. Julius Hutchinson, 4to." This is by far the most valuable piece of national history that has reached us in the course of the year to which our labours are directed. It is true that it blends private history with public; but we cannot consent that it should on this account sink into a book of mere family biography: the excellent editor of the work, and descendant of its exemplary author, has well characterized it when he tells us that it chronologizes "a period most remarkable in the British annals, written one hundred and fifty years ago, by a lady of elevated birth, of a most comprehensive and highly cultivated mind, herself a witness of many of the scenes she describes, and active in several of them." There is a moral and literary elegance and excellence in the midst of comparative barbarity and rudeness; a liberality of sentiment in the midst of bigotry; an intrepid honesty of heart in the midst of political defection and religious hypocrisy; a delicacy and tenderness of domestic feeling in the midst of camps and chaos—which stamp a value upon these memoirs that few

others

others can boast, and no others exceed. We have given the most convincing proof we could offer of our thorough persuasion of their merit, by the ample extracts we have made from them in a preceding department of this volume: we beg the editor to accept our sincere thanks for the treat he has afforded us, and we sincerely lament that they have thus long been secluded from the public eye. They are a gem of inappreciable value, whether regarded as national documents, or as specimens of polite literature. It would be unjust in us not to add, that the original autograph is at this moment in the editor's hands.

But literary merit, domestic virtue, and moral goodness, are not confined to any single political party, dependent upon any individual set of diplomatic characters, or religious opinions: and we now allude to an anonymous, but, we believe, authentic publication of "Original Memoirs, written during the Great Civil War," of which by far the larger part consists of memoirs of sir Henry Slingsby, written by himself, and containing a tolerably fair, and very interesting account of the facts and manners of the times in which he lived and suffered. Sir Henry Slingsby was a man of a warm and honest heart, and an unquenchable perseverance in the cause of the Stuart dynasty: yet by intermarriages he was closely connected with the chief families of the opposite party; and hence, notwithstanding his frequent attempts to gain over the officers of the different castles in which he was successively confined, and to which in consequence of a communication of these various tamperings to the protector, he was successively transferred he was not brought to his trial till nearly three years after his arrest, which was at Hull, in 1655. Cromwell was afraid of juries, as well he might be; and hence he had the audacity to invent another sort of tribunal, which he called, *the high court of justice*, in which the commissioners, chosen from his own creatures, united the characters of judges and jurors. It was before this court sir Henry Slingsby was arraigned: he denied its jurisdiction, and demanded a trial by jury. His demand was not complied with; he was tried before the high court, May 25, 1658, found guilty of high treason, and, on June 8th, beheaded on Tower Hill:—a sentence to which he submitted with much fortitude. His remains were deposited in a chapel belonging to his family, in the church at Knaresborough. The other articles in the collection before us are of less interest. They consist of "Memoirs of Capt. John Hodgson, of Coalley-Hall, near Halifax," containing a narrative of his persecutions, in consequence of the Restoration, as well as of the movements of the parliamentary army, anterior to this event, in which he commanded a company: but the style is coarse, and the manner uninviting. The additional papers are official documents respecting Cromwell's campaign in Scotland. These, as records of authority, may be of service to the historian, but few besides the historian will ever peruse them.

"History of the Campaign of 1805, in Germany, Italy, the Tyrol, &c. by William Burke, 8vo." The short but important series of transactions that first put Germany into the hands of Bonaparte; that enabled him, by a single manœuvre, to swallow up the grand army of Austria; to seize possession of its capital within three weeks from the commencement of the campaign; within

within three weeks more to spread his victorious career from the Rhine to the Bug; and within two months to overthrow the remainder of the Austrian forces, concentrated and united with the grand army of the Russian empire;—offers us a train of events that we shall in vain look for in any other part of universal history: the present war, indeed, gives us something of a parallel; but, excepting on its outset, the career of Bonaparte was by no means so rapid, though on its close his moderation to Prussia has been less distinguished than that to Austria. To investigate the springs and causes of so wonderful a success on the part of the French, is to engage in an important, but an arduous undertaking. Mr. Burke, in the history before us, has pointed out some of them; but there are yet several which seem totally to have escaped his attention, and others to which he has attached too little moment. His book is, indeed, written more for general information than for professional study; it is statistic rather than military, and picturesque and illustrative rather than statistic. It is probable that the rapid conquest of Austria depended, in a great degree, on the supineness of the inhabitants, and their total indifference to the existing dynasty: but Prussian Poland did not fall so easily, although the same cause not only existed, but to an infinitely greater effect; and it was expected that the inhabitants would have flocked to the French standard with universal acclamation. If the people were cold, and cold they undoubtedly were even to the freezing point, the army was corrupt, and the prince misguided. Under such circumstances, half the ordinary courage and half the ordinary skill of Bonaparte would have been sufficient to have commanded success: every thing combined in his favour; and brilliant as was his triumph, it was achieved rather by the enemies he had to oppose than the army he had to lead forward.

Mr. Bigland has adapted, by a second and enlarged edition, his "Letters on the Modern History and Political Aspect of Europe," to the meridian of the present hour. We have now sixteen letters, of which the first is introductory: the second divides Europe into three primary powers, France, Russia, and Britain; various secondary powers, into which class he has transferred Spain, Austria, Prussia, and Sweden, and multitudes that are altogether dependent. We are next carried, in letter iii, to St. Domingo, and then back again, in letters vi, vii, viii, ix, and x, to Prussia, Italy, Spain, and Portugal. In letter xi, we re-cross the Atlantic, and are called to a soporific discourse upon the predisposing causes of an ultimate and necessary separation between all large and powerful colonies and their parent country. In letter xii, we are hurried back again, though not by the North-west passage, to Russia. In letter xiii, we visit Denmark; and in letters xiv, xv, and xvi, make an agreeable excursion up the Mediterranean to Egypt, on whose shores we cast anchor for the last time, and are allowed to idle our hours away as long as we please. The work is pleasantly written, and the author shews himself sufficiently acquainted with modern politics for the purpose he has undertaken: yet a little more method would have given it additional

nal value, notwithstanding the desultory character under which it shelters itself; for order is as consistent with a series of letters as a series of mathematical problems.

The surrender of Buenos Ayres to general Beresford, and the attention which was hence called towards the South American continent, in the way of general trade and politics, have not produced such a variety of publications as we expected. In fact, in neither of these lines have we met with any thing worthy of notice; and, from the late events that have occurred, the subject is now likely to be resigned to a deeper oblivion than ever. In the way of chorography, or travels, we have met with but one attempt, and that a most barren and meagre account indeed, but still welcome for want of a better. This account consists of "Travels from Buenos Ayres, by Potosi to Lima," hastily drawn up by M. Anthony Zachariah Helms, after his return from this settlement, in which he had for three years (from 1788 to 1792) resided as superintendent of the mines, and inserted in Zach's German Ephemeris. To this compendious notice the anonymous translator has added a sufficient body of annotations and topographical descriptions to expand it to the size of a moderate *duodecimo*, numbering a hundred and eighty pages. From this statement we learn that Buenos Ayres contains a population of twenty-five thousand inhabitants; Salta, situate on the river Arias, of nearly ten thousand; and Potosi, of a hundred thousand, including slaves. That from Buenos Ayres to Potosi is sixteen hundred and seventeen geographical miles, communicating by passable roads, and tolerably furnished post-houses; that the royal mines of the kingdom of La Plata are most miserably and ignorantly worked; that they produce at present a revenue of four millions and a half of piastres; and that if they were worked as they ought to be, "if all the veins of ore were sought for, and wrought with but moderate skill and diligence, this kingdom alone might yield every year twenty, and even thirty millions of piastres." Lima, the capital of Peru, is agreeably described, and represented as a most delightful and desirable situation, were it not for the tremendous earthquakes to which it is so subject, and on account of which the inhabitants do not venture to build their houses more than a single story high. For the rest the reader must consult the volume itself. The appendix is a useful compilation.

"Notes on the West Indies, by George Pinckard, M.D. &c." 3 vol, 8vo. These notes, as we learn from the continuation of the title-page, which might have answered all the purposes of an introductory chapter, "were written during the expedition under the command of the late gen. sir Ralph Abercrombie; including observations on the Island of Barbadoes, and the Settlements captured by the British troops upon the coast of Guinea: likewise remarks relating to the Creoles, and Slaves of the western Colonies, and the Indians of South America, with occasional Hints regarding the Seasoning, or Yellow Fever, of hot Climates." The patient reader may here glean entertainment and instruction, but the ground over which he must toil is, too frequently, bare and unthrifty, with scarcely the appearance of a single husk. Our author writes best when he writes

writes directly from the scenery around him: there is a candour in his narration to which we can implicitly trust, and a benevolence in his feelings which interests us warmly in his fate. But Dr. Pinckard is unfortunately not content with being a mere narrator of facts:—he is perpetually endeavouring to combine with this character those of a sentimentalist and of a classic; almost every description is terminated with a string of reflections that are as pathetic as the glitter of fine language and false imagery can make them, and almost every reflection is interwoven with scraps of what would have been latinity, had not the author totally forgotten, not only his syntax, but even his declensions and conjugations. We have scarcely space for references, but will just hint to him, against another edition of this work, which we should like to see in an abridged form, that it was some time before we understood what he means, when he tells us, that they at length appeared before the summoning officer *in propriis personibus*. We will also venture to hint to him, against the same period, that it would add to the value of his performance if he were to spell his vernacular terms more correctly on particular occasions; and for this purpose take leave to acquaint him that the inverted action of the stomach, during sickness, is not expressed, as he has expressed it in many places,—or we should have blamed the printer instead of the writer,—by the word *reaching*, but retching. As proceeding from a medical practitioner, we were the more surprised at this gross vulgarism: the fashionable world, indeed, is never less at home than when at home; yet we should not be justified in applying this apophthegm to Dr. Pinckard, who has given evident marks of professional observation and judgment.

"A Voyage to Cochinchina in the Years 1792 and 1793, by John Barrow, Esq." Mr. Barrow is well and deservedly known as the author of two of the best books of travels we have received of late years; the one containing travels in Southern Africa, the other in China: accounts of both which, and extracts from both which, will be found in our antecedent volumes. The present publication may be regarded as a kind of appendix to the two: for although it be chiefly directed to a description of the situation, population, history, and manners of Cochinchina, it gives us also fresh information concerning the interior of the Cape of Good Hope. That tongue or projection of land of about thirteen degrees in length, which joins the Chinese empire in the twenty-second degree of south latitude, and may be regarded as a geographical appendage to it, and which, by a vast ridge of mountains running down its middle from north to south, terminates the Birman empire, both eastward and westward, is the object of our author's first and principal attention. Of this neck of land Tungquin, Cochinchina, and Tsiompa, according to our common maps, occupy successively the western route, and Cambodia the eastern. "These names," our author tells us, "thus usually marked on our charts, are, however, utterly unknown to the natives, except Tungquin. The other three, collectively, are called An-nan, and are distinguished by three grand divisions: the first, contained between the southernmost point which forms the extremity of the gulf of Siam, and which lies in about the ninth degree of latitude, as far as to the twelfth degree,

gree, is called *Don-nai*: the second, extending from hence to the fifteenth degree, *Chang*; and the third, between this and the seventeenth degree, where the kingdom of Tungquin commences, is called *Hué*." Mr. Barrow, in the modern political history of the country, gives a very interesting account of a rebellion excited in the year 1774, by three brothers, who were natives, and who succeeded in dethroning the king, who appears to have been an amiable man, and afterwards in murdering him, as well as all the royal family who could be discovered, and in passing an edict of banishment against the rest. By the friendship and vigilance, however, of a very honest and excellent French missionary, the rightful heir to the throne was concealed, conducted in safety out of the kingdom, received a suitable education, and after contending with romantic difficulties, succeeded in dispossessing the usurping dynasty of the whole of the Cochinchinese empire, except Tungquin, to which a son of one of the usurpers had fled, and against whom he was marching in 1800, at which period the narrative closes. Our author examines, in his concluding chapter, the advantages which might accrue to Great Britain from opening a commercial intercourse with this country; and they appear so considerable as to be worth attempting. The Cochinchinese government is devoid of the rigid jealousy of that of China; our trade to Canton is, in the highest degree, precarious, and should it be totally prohibited, it might still be carried on by Chinese junks through the medium of a settlement in the former kingdom; independently of which, Cocinchina offers in itself an inexhaustible supply of the most valuable timbers, as well as of other important materials for the different markets of Asia and Europe. The latter part of the volume before us, consists as we have already observed, of a translation of a Dutch journal, written by Mr. Truter, who, in company with Mr. Somerville, was dispatched by the Cape government, in 1801, to procure horned cattle of the natives to the north-east of the colony, in order to replace the numbers which had lately perished in the settlement from a most sickly season. The journal is well worth translating: it gives an interesting, and apparently a faithful, picture of the simple and benevolent savages that, under the name of Kaffers, Hottentots, Koras (probably a mixed breed), Borjesmans, Booshuanas, and Barroloos, progressively inhabit this untravelled country. Let the proud philosopher of Europe, who disclaims a common origin with these simple people, and flatters himself that he is descended from a nobler stem; let the advocate for the slave-trade, who perceives no inhumanity or breach of moral duty in sending the poor conquered or kidnapped African to worse than a Smithfield market, read and deliberate on these pages; and if they do not drop their high-toned pretensions, and abandon the system they have espoused, it is not argument that can convince their heads, nor feeling that can penetrate their bosoms.

We congratulate the world of maritime science and adventure, upon the appearance of captain Burney's second part or volume of his "Chronological History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean." The merit which we have awarded to the first part is equally to be found throughout the whole of the present. The same circumspection in

in the choice of authority, the same taste in arrangement, the same liberality of sentiment and purity of diction. Its chronological range extends from 1620 to 1759, and comprehends successively the voyages of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, Cavendish, Juan de Fuca, sir Richard Hawkins, Alvaro de Mendana, Purchas, Van Noost, Sebastian Vizcaino, Quiros, and Torres, Spilbergen, Maire and Schouten, Garcia and De Nodal, and Theodorci Hertoge. Another part or volume will, perhaps, bring the present undertaking to its conclusion. But we trust that captain Burney will not, with this undertaking, terminate *his own* maritime labours. Much, very much, still remains to be explored; nor do we know of a pilot who can conduct us around the rest of the globe with such security and precision as himself. We recommend to him a complete circumnavigation of the world, and are confident of his success in undertaking it: the task is arduous, but the skill of the master is equal to it.

Mr. Stanier Clarke has also published a second volume in continuation of his "Naufragia, or Historical Memoirs of Shipwrecks, and of the providential Deliverance of Vessels." He here acknowledges, that in his former volume he admitted some accounts that were altogether fabulous, and allows that among these ought to rank the adventures of "Richard Falconer," and of "Robert a Machin." In the present volume our author is certainly more select, but not sufficiently so. We see no entire romance recorded for actual history, but many romantic adventures asserted as real facts. If the work should be persevered in, we trust it will still improve—there is sufficient need of improvement.

But it is time to return nearer home. France, that inexhaustible mine for the writers of our own country, of whatever character or description, critics, historians, politicians, novellists, and tourists, has furnished us during the past year with as many "states," "travels," "tours," and "recollections," as if the two countries had been on terms of the profoundest tranquillity and most intimate intercourse. Some of these are not confined to France, but merely relate to it in conjunction with various adjoining countries; one or two, on the contrary, are limited to Paris alone; some of them are the result of observations made anterior to the present war; and others the actual and immediate consequence of it, from detention at Verdun. The catalogue to which we shall limit the few remarks we can afford upon a field that has been so incessantly gleaned over of late, shall comprise the five following publications: Mr. Pinkerton's "Recollections of Paris," Mr. Worsley's "Account of the State of France, and its Government during the three last Years;" Mr. Forbes's "Letters from France, written in the Years 1803 and 1804, including a particular Account of Verdun, and the Situation of the British Captives in that City;" and Col. Thornton's "Sporting Tour through various Parts of France in the Year 1802." We can only give the general character of these publications as they struck us upon a cursory perusal. Those who would become petits maitres, and be instructed in the gallantry of the French ladies, must consult the pages of Mr. Pinkerton, who seems in his work before us equally to have forgotten his age and infirmities, his velvet cap and morning-gown;

And

And redolent of joy and youth;
To breathe a second spring

in the new dress of a *chez ami*, and surrounded by a *coterie* of Parisian fair. For a plain, unvarnished, but not uninteresting narration, of the more striking manners and appearances of the country through which he passed, we refer the reader to Mr. Lemaitre. Mr. Forbes and Mr. Worsley were both prisoners at Verdun, from which captivity they have, fortunately for themselves, been since liberated: they agree in their general statement of this situation; and in their travels homeward the former gives us the best account of the accommodations, and the latter of the trade and manufactures of the towns they passed through. Colonel Thornton's Tour is written with much of his usual spirit, and altogether in his usual style. In regard to the various kinds of sport he was in pursuit of, he appears to have been disappointed; or at least we may assert that he does not seem to have been by any means so successful as in Scotland. This last work is written in the form of letters, addressed to the author's friend lord Darlington. In the title-page to his work he professes to give "General Observations on the Arts, Sciences, Agriculture, Husbandry, and Commerce of France; and Strictures on the Customs and Manners of the French People." We cannot say that all this is false, for a few hints upon these different subjects are sometimes thrown forwards: but we have met with nothing prominent, certainly with nothing that ought to lay the foundation for a title-page. From the concurring accounts of Mr. Forbes and Mr. Worsley, it appears to us that the English captives are as comfortable at Verdun as English captives may ever expect to be anywhere. On the arrival of the first division in this city provisions of all kinds were very cheap; a considerable advance, however, has taken place since—yet even at present they are not exorbitant. In the summer of 1808 there were about seven hundred prisoners at Verdun (Mr. Forbes gives us their names), about the same number at Valenciennes, a thousand at Givette, and about another thousand scattered over other places. The government allowance to each is a pound and half of ammunition bread daily, the common bread of the country, manufactured of wheat and rye; and, when well made, pleasant and nourishing, together with three pounds of beef by the week, fat and good when fairly served according to the contract, but often, through the peculation of the contractor, of a deteriorated quality. The governor, Gen. Mirion, is an excellent and liberal-minded man, and contributes all in his power to mitigate the burdens of captivity. The vintage season in France, and the hilarity that accompanies it, are well described by Mr. Forbes; from another part of whose letters we also perceive that the ease and freedom, the amenity and polish of the old French character, is still preserved in several of the ancient chateaux which have fortunately never changed their masters. Upon the concurrent testimony of all, Bonaparte appears to have a rooted dislike to Englishmen, and whatever is English. No Englishmen are allowed to behold him through whatever town he may pass in which they are stationed, and are, on this account, ordered to keep themselves retired: to English talents he can pay no compliment, and the sight of English manufactures

tures is sure to irritate his feelings. The French themselves are not heavily taxed, but the imposts on the conquered countries are very severe. What the last seems chiefly to complain of, however, according to Mr. Worsley, is "the cruel and heart-rending law of the conscription, which requires the inhabitants to part with their sons when arrived at the age of manhood, to fight the battles of a power they hate, and to die for a man whose government they abominate." And upon this subject we apprehend that the citizens of France had of late as much to complain of as the allied or subjected powers. The register of births, and deaths, and exchange of situations, is so rigidly attended to, that it is almost impossible for any man to escape taking his chance for enrolment as soon as he becomes of age. The term of service is limited to six years: substitutes are allowed, but it is extremely difficult to obtain them, and their demand is of course enormously high.

While the French were overrunning Italy, we learn from Mr. Lemaitre they seldom encroached on private museums, notwithstanding their lust for carrying away every thing of public value; and among many unjustifiable regulations they introduced one at Rome which we should be sorry to find repealed at any time. The frequency of assassination in this city is well known to every one, as it is also that the assassin has hitherto been left almost entirely to the vengeance of the relations of the deceased, the police seldom or never interfering to punish the atrocity. Immediately on the arrival of the French, the commander in chief issued a proclamation that no protection should screen murder; that the man who put another to death, under whatever pretext, or in whatever manner, should be instantly shot: assassinations were still committed for a day or two, but the certain and uniform execution of the sentence soon put an end to the practice, and no more instances were heard of it while the French continued in possession of the Papal states.

From the different accounts before us, it should seem difficult to allot the pre-eminence of female beauty and attractions to any individual nation. Nothing can equal the life and gaiety and captivating graces of the French women in the opinion of Mr. Pinkerton: it is true that an unlucky but very general report asserts them to be somewhat too free of their favours, and at times even "without previous selection, difficulty, and devotion; but innumerable" continues our siver-haired gallant "are the young and beautiful females who preserve the *sanctity* of the marriage-bed; and, amidst *a charming freedom of manners, and even a great friendship for another man*, are *models of maternal tenderness and conjugal fidelity.*" Such is Mr. Pinkerton's opinion of French ladies, and his model of the best and most virtuous French matrons! Not so Mr. Lemaitre: in his estimation the Austrian ladies are the handsomest on the continent—their complexions the fairest, their countenances the most expressive, their manners the most elegant, and their conversation the most lively. And we like the picture the better, because we here meet with no hint of cicisbeos, and no details of such conversation as immediately follows the above passage in Mr. Pinkerton, and which he ventures to give as a specimen of fine taste and conjugal honesty;

honesty; but in which, if we know any thing of the world, no woman could ever indulge for a moment provided she had any conjugal honesty to lose. Yet Mr. Lemaitre is not so little of a true patriot as to prefer even the Austrian ladies to the English: the Austrian fair, it seems, are unrivalled on the continent, but they are surpassed by the fair of our own island. It is something farther in their favour that the queen of Sicily, no indifferent judge of the English character, whether male or female, appears to think the same. The incident related upon this subject by Mr. Lemaitre is pleasant, and we will not suppress it. When the English ladies, and the lady of our traveller among the rest, were introduced to her Sicilian majesty at Naples, the only English gentleman who was allowed to be present, was Mr. Drummond, the English minister. The queen was extremely gracious, and expressed much happiness at seeing so many English ladies at her court, "for I esteem, said she, the venerable character of your queen, and think very highly of British females in general: they are good daughters, good wives, and good mothers." The compliment was general, and Mr. Drummond thought himself the most proper person, in consequence of his official capacity, to return some token of gratitude, which he did by making his bow. "Point de révérence, Monsieur," exclaimed the queen, "I speak of English ladies, and by no means of English men: ils sont libertins, mauvais sujets, buveurs, inconstans—Si j'etois homme, je prendrois une de vos compatriotes pour ma femme; mais Dieu me défend d'un mari Anglais!"

But we loiter abroad too long. In Mr. Carr's "Stranger in Ireland; or a Tour in the Southern and Western Parts of that Country in the Year 1805," we have met with a very pleasant and humorous compilation. The writer has sufficient powers of his own: and, from the specimens he has exhibited, we wish he had more frequently consulted them; but he has in too many instances chosen the secondary praise of being a judicious bookmaker, to the original merit of being a good author.

In our topographical productions of the year we are too rich to allow us to enter into any thing like a detailed account, inviting as is the subject to us. Of Litchfield we have two histories to notice: the one a short and much improved re-print in octavo of Mr. Jackson's "Memoirs of the City and Cathedral of Litchfield:" the other a huge quarto publication, by Mr. Harwood, entitled "The History and Antiquities of the Church and City of Litchfield." We do not find that they essentially differ, except as to size, and consequently as to price. The former, in a compressed style, and close print, giving us the entire spirit of the latter, which is unnecessarily diffuse and dilated. In Mr. Yates's "Illustration of the Monastic History and Antiquities of the Town and Abbey of St Edmund's Bury," we have the first part of a studious and diligent work, and the first effort of an author desirous of distinction in antiquarian literature. The quarto volume before us is upon the whole a well arranged selection of matter, not difficult to be acquired: and had it been compressed to half its size might have been possessed of double its value. But it is a far more difficult thing for a young man to drive his pen in a perpendicular than in a horizontal direction. We shall revert to this "Illustration," however, when it is completed.

The pleasure, and, we trust, the success which have accompanied Dr. Whitaker in his history of Whalley, have induced him to extend his survey; and he has now presented us, in a quarto volume, closely decorated with views, but unsupplied with a map, with "The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven, in the County of York." It possesses the merits of, and is designed as a companion to, the author's former work. It would be superfluous to add more.

Mr. Wheeler has been very assiduous in collecting materials for presenting us with "The History and Antiquities of Stratford-upon-Avon," upon a small duodecimo scale; and we do not like his labours the worse on this account. The volume contains, in a close compass, a great deal of authentic, well-arranged, and interesting matter: gives a good description of the collegiate church, enters largely into the life of Shakespeare, details copies of several original documents relating both to him and his family; and offers a biographical sketch of other eminent characters, connected with Stratford by birth or long residence.

As smaller or less valuable publications we have to notice Mr. Moffat's "History of the Town of Malmesbury," in a thin octavo, embellished with engravings: Mr. Turner's "Collections for the History of the Town and Soke of Grantham," containing various authentic and original memoirs of sir Isaac Newton, from manuscripts in the possession of the earl of Portsmouth: Mr. Jenkins's "History and Description of the City of Exeter and its Environs, ancient and modern, civil and ecclesiastical:" and the following useful but, for the most part, temporary sketches published anonymously; "Walk through Leeds, with an Account of the Woollen Manufacture of the West-Riding of Yorkshire;" "Lambeth Palace; illustrated by a Series of Views;" "Picture of Liverpool, with a Plan of the Town;" "Manchester Guide," containing a brief history of the towns of Manchester and Salford, the public buildings, &c. the whole illustrated by a map; "Hereford Guide," containing a concise history of the city and the public buildings that decorate it.

We close this branch of the present department by announcing the publication of the first volume of the very splendid and comprehensive "Magna Britannia," the joint production of the Rev. Sam. Lysons, rector of Rodmarton, Gloucestershire, &c. and of Sam. Lysons, esq. keeper of his majesty's records in the Tower. This voluminous work is projected upon the plan of Camden's, of the same name, and the well known abilities of the authors, and still more the specimen now before us, induce us to indulge a very high expectation of its general merit. Of the entire extent of the work we know not: and we suppose the authors themselves could not very readily inform us. It must however be upon a very large and expensive scale, as the present volume, a thick quarto of 742 pages, contains only the three counties of Bedfordshire, Berkshire, and Buckinghamshire.—A series of views of the most interesting and picturesque objects in Great Britain, accompanied with brief descriptions, has been published, as far as the first part only, under the title of "Britannia Depicta," by the late Mr. W. Byrne, and is professedly a companion to the voluminous text of Messrs. Lysons. From the excellence of the engravings before us, we trust this supplementary

supplementary work will be continued notwithstanding its present suspension from the death of the original projector.

On general politics the work that has best pleased us, and which appears of most consequence in the class is sir Robt. Clayton's translation of Filangieri's "Science of Legislation," which he has reduced from eight volumes, which they fill in the original, to two moderate sized octavos in English. Gaetano Filangieri is esteemed among the Neapolitans, and we believe among the Italians in general, their first political writer: his *Scienzia della Legislazione* has unquestionably very great merit, and the more so as it was the work of a young man—the author dying at the age of thirty-six, in the year 1788, universally esteemed and lamented. A work that comprises such subjects as the origin of society, general principles of legislation, the formation of new laws and the obliteration of obsolete—hereditary nobility and other distinctions of rank—population, and the best means of promoting it—property real and personal—entailed estates, monasteries, and ecclesiastical property in general—standing armies—public morals—agriculture and the corn-trade—arts, manufactures, and commerce—taxation—public records and punishments—national and established religions;—a work, we say, that comprises such subjects, that examines them in their most difficult bearings—that is always respectable in its reasonings, generally correct in its doctrines, often peculiarly acute in its observations, and comprehensive in its views—that has anticipated much of the knowledge of the present day, and affords hints for future improvement,—cannot but confer a very high character on the writer, and be well worth vernaculizing among ourselves. In this last respect sir Robt. Clayton is amply entitled to the thanks of the public—for his version is at once accurate and elegant—and, independently of the toil of translation, he has often very judiciously printed at the foot of the page such entire passages from other writers as are merely referred to without being quoted by Filangieri himself.

"An Enquiry into the Principles of Civil and Military Subordination, by John Macdiarmid, esq." 8vo. Mr. Macdiarmid we have met before, in consequence of his "Enquiry into the System of National Defence," and what we then thought of him we think of him still, that he is—a man of reflexion and of method, of profound cogitation rather than accurate judgement, of minute system rather than of flexible manners, a man of the closet rather than of the world. He has good talents, and he offers many important hints—but he never suffers any of them to slip from him accidentally;—he is a drill-serjeant in metaphysics, and every thing is regularly marshalled in rank and file. His present Enquiry is divided into four parts; of which the first two treat of natural subordination, the third of artificial subordination, and the fourth of military. The first three parts seem to be little more than introductory to the last, in which our author certainly appears to his greatest advantage. After a pretty close examination into the nature of subordination in our own country, through a variety of heads numerically arranged, he arrives at this conclusion, which, to speak the truth, flows fairly enough from his premises: "from these observations it appears that the laws and usages by which the election of

military officers is at present regulated in Great Britain, not only afford no provision for securing the competency of those officers at the period of their appointment, but have a direct tendency to preclude every chance of their being competent at that period. But we have seen that military subordination must necessarily be ineffectual, or, according to a common expression, must be at an end, while those who command, and on whom most depends, are incapable of executing the duties of their station."

The general subject of the army leads us to that class of pamphlets which endeavours to point out the best means of recruiting it. In this tribe several have appeared that are entitled to a short notice, the whole of which have a direct bearing on the system lately proposed by Mr. Windham, and, during the administration of which he formed a part, actually carried into execution—the grand object of which was, as our readers may in general recollect, to put the army on such a footing of respectability and profit, that it should be a line of life and a source of provision eagerly sought after by all the lower ranks of society; while the means by which he proposed to obtain this object were, first, to increase the pay of soldiers and subalterns, and the allowance to invalids, the accomplishment of which point he conceived he would be enabled to effect out of the enormous bounties hitherto offered for enlisting, bounties which in such case would be rendered totally unnecessary, and consequently by a suppression of which his own system might be substantiated, without producing any additional expense to the nation;—and secondly, by suppressing that almost insufferable relic of slavery in a free country—and which is totally inconsistent with all respectability whatever—enlistment for life:—in the room of which Mr. Windham proposed an enlistment for a certain term of time. The first pamphlet we shall notice is entitled a "Vindication of Mr. Windham's Military Plan." This is published anonymously, but the author needed not to have been afraid of subscribing his name to the title. It examines with clearness and precision the state of the different military forces in this country under the system anterior to that of Mr. Windham, the regulars, the militia, the volunteers—points out the chief directions in which they not merely clashed, but completely frustrated the operation of each other, and successfully vindicates the new theory. This enquiry is pursued through six sections, which progressively discuss the following subjects—the necessity of a reform—repeal of the additional force act—abolition of the militia ballot—enlistment for a limited term of time—augmentation of military rewards and salaries. In the "Letters of Commentarius" we have a second "Plan for recruiting and improving the Situation of the British Army." The plan is not essentially different from that proposed in the preceding publication, but it enters more widely into the consideration of the general subject, and evinces much accuracy of judgement but very great inaccuracy of style. The points chiefly discussed in the course of these letters are, the volunteer system, the militia, the cavalry, artillery, foot-guards, veteran battalions, rank of officers, national army, military councils, military rewards, punishments, dress, and discipline. The writer is altogether of the new school, and in some points would carry his reformation much

much too far. Thus in his seventh letter he strenuously objects to the whole system of purchasing into the service; observing that the richer classes of every country are necessarily the least hardy and most effeminate of the entire population, and commenting on what he imagines the absurdity of selling to such persons the defence of the country. We do not see the necessity that is here asserted; but admitting the truth of the axiom, we would ask this writer whether he thinks the respectability of the army, or the general security of the country, would be best promoted by a total seclusion of men of birth and property? if not, how does he expect that such can ever enter into the army? would he advise that they commence their military career in the ranks? are our generals and our admirals to rise from common soldiers and sailors alone? We should accede to his proposition in some degree, if mere corporeal bulk or muscular strength were the only powers necessary for an officer to possess: but he can know little of military affairs as a *science*, who does not know at the same time that these are the very lowest of all the powers that are requisite to constitute even an army at large, much less the official department of an army—and as little can he know of military affairs as a *history*, who is not informed that there never yet was a victory of any importance gained by the size or corporeal hardihood of the commander in chief. Alexander the Great was a little man—so was David when opposed to Goliah—so was Pepin—so were most of the heroes of ancient times: and had this been the rule of modern promotion, we certainly should never have heard of a Bonaparte—but neither should we have heard of a Nelson. That there are evils which have crept into the subject here complained of, and which call loudly for redress, we are ready to admit; but we certainly should not obtain this redress by exchanging the power resulting from a cultivated education and a high sense of honour for that produced by the length, breadth, and toughness of human sinews. In another anonymous pamphlet, however, and which we now proceed to notice, we are called to the *audi alteram partem*. This is entitled directly a "Defence of the Volunteer System; in Opposition to Mr. Windham's Idea of that Force; with Hints for its Improvement." We have always thought the volunteer system capable of improvement, but have uniformly disapproved Mr. Windham's open contempt of it. Upon another foundation it might have possessed more adroit officers, and a more mechanical rank and file: but while the natural courage of neither officers nor men is called in question, we have no doubt that even in its present state it would be found a very effective force in the case of emergency, and believe that it has been, and will yet prove itself to be, one grand means of preventing an invasion. The hints here given, however, for its amelioration, acknowledge its imperfection, and form the best and most useful part of the book. The mode prescribed for obtaining from the volunteers themselves a most skilful body of officers is especially worth attending to.

The resumption of the war with France has given all maritime neutral nations an opportunity of pressing their commerce to very great advantage, even in the barter of allowed and legitimate materials. But

But it is not every neutral nation, or rather not all the individuals of every neutral nation, that have restrained themselves to legitimate materials, or conveyed them in a legitimate way. Fraud and perjury the most open and undisguised have too frequently been had recourse to, if we may trust Mr. Brown's "Mysteries of Neutralization;" in which he informs us, that at Embden Leer, Livorno, and other places, there are regular marts for the sale of fictitious bills of lading and exchange, together with the regular routine of affidavits, city seals, notarial attestations, and even letters of correspondence in order to prove that the vessel thus *honourably* freighted is bound from one neutral port to another, or at least that her lading is not contraband, or that her course does not incline her to any belligerent port.

It is the rigid and extensive search which has formed a part of the existing doctrine of the British government, in consequence of the war with France, that has thus tempted various merchants of neutral countries to a conduct so flagrant and dishonourable. Whether this law be just or unjust, whether it be a law that neutral nations ought to submit to or combine to resist, is a different question: a question that has been long agitated, but never to this moment settled upon any solid principle, that reared into being some years ago the armed neutrality of the North against us, and perhaps has already reared it again, and that, within the preceding twelvemonth, has nearly produced a declaration of war on the part of the American States. It is this last circumstance that has revived the enquiry, and once more called forth a host of juridical writers, who have respectively taken the side to which their own judgements or their own interests have inclined them. In favour of the right of search we have to notice a third and fourth edition of the pamphlet called "War in Disguise," an account of which will be found in our last retrospect; "The Speech of the hon. J. Randolph, Representative for the State of Virginia, in the general congress of America;" "Belligerent Rights asserted and vindicated against Neutral Encroachments;" which last is designed as a direct answer to "An Examination of the British Doctrine which subjects to Capture a Neutral Trade not open in Time of Peace:" the second edition of which contains a "Letter from the Minister-plenipotentiary of the United States, to lord Mulgrave, late Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs." On which side also we have received "An Answer to War in Disguise; or Remarks upon the new Doctrine of England concerning Neutral Trade;" and "The present Claims and Complaints of America briefly and fairly considered." In the dispute as conducted in these pamphlets the neutralists have certainly the advantage; the general line of their argument is as follows, and it is only replied to by abstract speculations, and the law of *might*. In the old treaties, and especially that with Spain in 1667, it was mutually acceded to, as a point of international law, that the subjects of each should trade freely to all countries at war with the other, excepting to such places as were actually besieged or blockaded, and in such articles as were contraband merchandise. In the same year this point of international law was established by a treaty between France

France and Holland, containing a provision to the same effect. In the war, however, between England and France, that continued from 1756 to 1763, the former country in point of fact retracted the doctrine admitted in 1667, for her prize courts were ordered by the existing administration, to condemn all vessels captured with a freight bound either for France or the colonies of France, although *both ship and cargo should be proved to be neutral property*. This variation from a principle that seems to have been previously admitted, is denominated by all the neutralists and continental writers "the rule of the war of 1756:" and we must here observe that at this very time France was still acting upon the pre-established law, for she admitted neutral vessels into her own colonial ports, which were bound to a hostile coast. Upon the peace of 1763 it must be observed, however, that France shut up her colonial ports against other countries, from a desire to take her own carrying trade exclusively into her own hands, but re-opened them, a short time before the commencement of the American war. While "the rule of the war of 1756" was rigidly adhered to by the English, the French formally protested against it at St. Petersburg, and the basis of the armed neutrality was the result of such protest. The jealousy hereby inspired throughout the northern nations, induced the English government to act with caution on the commencement of the American war, and through the whole course of this war, the British principle, though never openly recanted, was never recognised or acted upon; for Holland and Denmark were unmolestedly allowed to become the carriers of French and Spanish produce from the colonies to the mother-countries. In the treaty between Great Britain and Russia, however, dated June 1801, the British principle was formally renounced. In the treaty between Great Britain and America it has not been expressly introduced in any way, but it appears to have been virtually relinquished, by a concession on the part of the former that the Americans should be put on the footing of *the most favoured* nations.

During Mr. Pitt's administration there was an alternate revival of "the rule of the war of 1756," and an alternate abandonment. In 1793 it was re-established at large in his majesty's instructions to the prize courts; in 1794 it was restricted to the direct trade between the French West India islands and Europe. In 1798 it was still further restricted, and neutrals were allowed the privilege of trading, in articles not contraband, between Great Britain and the colonies of the enemy, as well as between such colonies and the mother country. During the peace of Amiens, France never re-attempted to take back upon herself exclusively the carrying trade from her own colonies—which of course became *an accustomed trade* to all such countries as chose to engage in it. As such it was admitted by Great Britain even as late as 1803—and no neutral vessel engaged in *the accustomed* trade, which was open to it in time of peace, was allowed to be a subject of capture, unless loaded with contraband articles, or bound to a port blockaded or besieged. But in 1806 was issued by the British ministry one of the most extraordinary regulations ever drawn up by any cabinet in the world. Neutrals were not now allowed

lowed to trade directly to any of the colonies of the enemy: the trade from which, if carried on at all, should only, it was decreed, be conducted through the medium of British ports alone; and certain ports were declared free for this purpose in the West Indies: thus transferring all the advantages of the carrying trade from the colonies of one of the hostile powers to the other, to the utter exclusion of every other nation, however close the terms of political amity that might subsist between the respective powers, and however unjust, in an international view, the suppression of such trade.

The American States could not but receive a severe injury from so unexpected a measure; and we cannot be much surprised at the indignation they should have discovered, and the vengeance they should have threatened, however idle in itself. The point of dispute became extreme; for while the British government resuscitated in its fullest force, and pressed to a greater extremity than ever the rigid rule of the war of 1756, the American merchants too generally insisted upon the absolute inviolability of every neutral vessel with whatever cargo she might be freighted, legitimate or contraband, and to whatever port she might be bound, whether blockaded or open. It is clear from this brief survey that there never has been any rule of right in regard to neutral nations during periods of war, so distinctly and universally admitted, as to prevent all doubt upon the subject: both France and England at different periods have acted in different manners; and though the most numerous instances of vascillation and severity are chargeable against the latter, it is only because the former has less frequently had the power of variation, and of adapting the law or regulation of the day to her own relative state and interest. Yet it is certain that such rule of right does exist, and it is high time that it should be universally avowed and acted upon. It is also clear that in such case the high admiralty courts of every country should take such rule of right alone for their guidance, and dispense the law of nations to nations at large, uncontrolled by the views or wishes, the internal laws or regulations, of whatever state the decision may be awarded in. That this is the noble basis on which the high admiralty tribunal of our own country is established we well know: sir Wm. Scott has repeatedly declared it to be so; and his authority upon this subject is excellently adverted to in the pamphlet entitled "An Examination of the British Doctrine:" but we know also that the administration for the time being has too often interfered to obtrude its own orders instead of the unanimous *dicta* of the best jurists, if not in this court, at least in all the inferior tribunals. We rejoice, however, in the prospect that the plan on which the discussion is now conducting between this country and America, has a chance of bringing this important subject to something like a decision that shall not only dissipate every present bickering, but become the basis of the conduct of our own and of other governments in future.

"An Inquiry into the State of the Nation at the Commencement of the *present* Administration." Such has of late been the ephemeral nature of our cabinets, that for *present* we must here read *past*. The work is certainly written in a nervous,

rous, sententious style, and with palpable proofs of confidential information. We believe the writer is Mr. Brome, and that it was composed not only under the auspices, but under the superintendence of Mr. Fox. The writer's object is to point out the errors of the preceding administrations of Mr. Pitt in regard to foreign connections, and to hint at the plan intended to correct them. After the blame attempted to be thrown on sir Home Popham, in the course of his late trial, we are surprised to find in this pamphlet an avowed intention, as a part of the plan, to liberate the Spanish colonies from the yoke of the mother-country. It seems to have been another intention of the late ministry, had they continued in office, to have opened the colonial ports to neutral vessels at large, and thus to have removed one grand source of the dispute between the American states and ourselves. This anonymous *inquiry* on the part of Mr. Fox's administration has received an anonymous *reply* under the title of "An Answer to the Inquiry into the State of the Nation; with Strictures on the Conduct of the *present* Ministry:" in which, also, for *present* we must read *past*. The work bears sufficient tokens of authenticity, and attacks the party against which it is aimed with sufficient dexterity in many of their more vulnerable points. But the events which have since crowded on our attention, have already antiquated both the inquiry and the answer, and sent them to "the years beyond the flood."

For the same reason we can only catalogue a variety of other temporary strictures, which had merit enough to render them popular when first published, but whose merit is no longer applicable. Such are "Considerations on the late Treaties between Great Britain and Russia, Austria, and Sweden," published anonymously. "The present Relation of War and Politics between France and Great Britain; by John Andrews, L. L. D." "Letter to the right hon. Charles James Fox, upon the Subject of his Conduct upon the Charges made by Mr. Paull against Marquis Wellesley." "The Policy of reducing the Property-tax, and of carrying on the War for the next five Years without any additional Taxes, recommended in a Letter to a noble Earl, by a Friend to the present (*late*) Administration." "Mr. Francis's Speech in the House of Commons on the 28th of May 1806, against the Exemption of foreign Property in the Funds from the Duty of Income." We wish Mr. Francis had obtained his object; but the time is now gone by, and whether the question will ever be re-agitated is beyond our powers of prediction to determine.

"The Speeches of the right hon. Wm. Pitt in the House of Commons," have found a very careful collector, who has now presented them to the public, from the best reports he has been able, in four octavo volumes. And the administration and the memory of Mr. Pitt have found a warm and active testimony of friendship in "Mr. Rose's brief Examination into the Increase of the Revenue, Commerce, and Navigation, during such Administration." To which Mr. Rose has added allusions to some of the principal events that occurred within the period in question, and a sketch of Mr. Pitt's character. This last does credit to Mr. Rose's feelings, and no discredit to his pen.

pen. Mr. Pitt, however, still requires a biographer: and we are glad to see that the writer of the volume before us has thoughts of undertaking this task also. With the whole of the private life, and much of the private motives of the public life of this truly illustrious statesman, there is no person living perhaps so intimately acquainted as Mr. Rose: and we trust that his return to office will not obliterate his late intention from his memory, nor the ministerial toils and perplexities in which he is hereby involved preclude him from finding time sufficient for such an undertaking.

"The Twelve Reports of the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry, 2 vol. 8vo." On various accounts these documents have excited a deep interest in the nation; and Mr. Maxwell, the present editor, is entitled to the thanks of the public for thus putting them into a purchaseable and perusable shape. The reports, the compressed style of which sets all abridgement at defiance, are given at length; but the vouchers have been considerably curtailed; and those of inferior consequence entirely omitted. The reports themselves occupy the first volume: the evidence on which they are founded fills up the second in the form of an appendix.

Lord Selkirk's Scottish establishment at Prince Edward's Island, which we noticed with approbation in our last retrospect, has given no small dissatisfaction and apprehension in the bosoms of a great body of our northern compatriots, who seem fearful of being hereby left alone in Caledonia, and of roving from highland to highland without hearing the echo of any human voice but their own. Three transports of emigrants, comprising about two hundred and fifty, constituted the whole that were transplanted in 1803, and we have not heard that any other cargo has been dispatched since. Among the publications addressed to the noble and patriotic earl in consequence of his adventure, we shall only notice "Eight Letters to the earl of Selkirk," and "Remarks on the earl of Selkirk's Observations on the present State of the Highlands of Scotland, with a View of the Causes and probable Consequences of Emigration." The writers of these and more than these concur in advising an act of parliament to prevent emigration: as though Britons were to be tied to any particular spot like little urchins to a table, or as though the internal evils of the country were so numerous and severe that it would become depopulated without some transmigratory interdict. To all these absurd apprehensions and recommendations we reply *laissez-nous faire*. The country, in all parts of it, will always retain as numerous a population as its conveniences for agriculture, manufactures and mineralogy will support; and if the objectors before us would retain more, let them first cultivate new grounds, introduce new manufactures into new places, and open new mines.

"The West Indian Common-Place Book: compiled from parliamentary and official Documents; by sir Wm. Young, bart." There is still much interest in this thin quarto; though a very great part of it is done away by that most glorious of all the measures of the late parliament, the abolition of the slave trade, of the accomplishment of which, it is one object of the present writer to warn the West Indian planters, so that they might

be prepared to meet it by a previous encouragement of marriages and population. By the calculations introduced into this work, it appears that Jamaica alone produces half the entire growth of sugar, two-thirds of the rum, and three-fourths of the general quantity of articles yielded by the West India islands: that Trinidad and Tobago are by far the two next valuable islands, as freest from occasional disasters—and that, independently of these three islands, all the rest of the Atlantic archipelago is scarcely worth preserving, being perpetually the prey of drought, hurricane or earthquake.

"A Vindication of the Justice and Policy of the late Wars carried on in Hindostan and the Deckan, by the marquis Wellesley, Governor-general, &c. &c." The oriental politics of marquis Wellesley are here better justified, and his campaigns more ably delineated than in any other publication that has yet met us from the press. The reasoning is correct and for the most part convincing, the language elegant, and the authorities unimpeachable. It is a work which every one should read who is disposed to condemn; and we may add that few who have read it will be disposed to condemn afterwards. We lament that the limits to which we are confined will not allow us to examine its merits more in detail.

The class of ethics for the year before us, has afforded us rather a barren harvest. Mr. Gambier, however, has given to the young a useful "Introduction to the Study of Moral Evidence; or of that species of Reasoning which relates to matters of Fact and Practice;" divided into five chapters, comprising the nature of moral evidence and the points in which it differs from demonstration—the various kinds of moral evidence and the relative weight of each—speculative inferences in detection of unknown facts—general directions in reference to the various kinds of moral evidence—the different kinds of evidence which different subjects admit. We have also received an anonymous volume of "Physical and Metaphysical Enquiries," which show the author to be a less skilful reasoner than extensive reader. His book consists of three chapters, devoted to proofs of the reality of matter, the existence of the Deity, and the freedom of the will. It boasts of little that is new, and that little not always legitimately argued.

"The Independent Man; by George Ensor, esq., 2 vols. 8vo." This work, under a queer title, contains much that is worth remembering, and accompanies man from his cradle to his maturity. It is rather a system of education than of pure ethics: although there is so much of the latter in it as to entitle it, in a general division, to be arranged under the class of ethical or moral philosophy. The first volume is partitioned into five chapters. Of these the first commences with infancy, and extends to the eighteenth year, or term of boyhood; it contains nothing peculiar: mother's milk during infancy, an exchange of corporal punishments for other remunerations of demerit shortly afterwards, public schools in preference to private, a comparatively late commencement with the learned languages, form the chief subjects it undertakes to recommend. The second chapter embraces the requisite tuition from eighteen to manhood, in the course of which the author advises travel immediately

immediately on quitting school, and before the university is resorted to. Chapter the third is peculiarly dedicated to morals. Chapter the fourth discusses the necessity of study towards the attainment of pre-eminence, and demonstrates that even genius itself will never be able to acquire the latter without the use of the former. The fifth chapter offers some valuable remarks on reading in general. Volume the second is devoted almost exclusively to the different orders of poetry: its origin, its lyric, didactic, satyric, and dramatic casts. The taste discovered is generally correct, but the volume contains much needless repetition.

The vehement opposition which has been discovered in certain quarters to Mr. Lancaster's plan for educating the poorest children in the country, in reading, writing, and accounts, at the trivial expense of a shilling a quarter for each, we have already had occasion to notice. The sound of the war-whoop, which commenced with Mrs. Trimmer, has since been caught and propagated by many persons, and especially by many clergymen, from whom we should have expected more liberality, and a better knowledge of their own duty. In the institution and superintendance of his multitudinous school, Mr. Lancaster, who is by religious profession a quaker, is solely actuated by the ennobling principle of genuine philanthropy, and a desire to serve the best interests of the poor: the elements of the christian religion are taught from the Bible, and to this sacred book, which our author supposes, with St. Paul, is able to make men wise unto salvation, the religious part of the education is confined. It is in no small degree to the credit of his majesty and the royal family, that they were among the earliest to patronise this institution, from a conviction of the real benevolence of its founder, and the incalculable benefits of its prospective effects: a patronage which is continued to the present hour, and which we hope will continue as long as the establishment itself. In the view of Mrs. Trimmer, however, Mr. Lancaster's plan did not sufficiently inculcate the doctrines of the established church—and admitted the use of Socinian hymns: to the first objection it was replied by the founder of the school, that he was personally a believer in the doctrines in question, but that the simplicity of his plan did not allow a deep or systematic inquiry concerning them; restraining itself to the mere elements of knowledge in general, and consequently of the christian religion in general. To the last objection, after it had been openly urged, iterated and re-iterated with no lack of zeal or vehemence, it was admitted by the propagator of the report herself that she was *under a mistake*. Yet Mr. Lancaster is not suffered to pass off thus freely. Mr. archdeacon Daubeny in his visitation charge, delivered in the Sarum cathedral, June 1806, chose to make this institution the grand topic of his observations—and among other counts to accuse it as follows: "I cannot help considering, therefore, the plan now proposed for public patronage *as deism*, under the imposing guise of philanthropy.—I feel fully disposed to give the conductor of the plan every credit for the best intention: the person acting as *a tool* for others is oftentimes in ignorance with respect to the work to be performed by him.

him.—Surely my brethren we are not to learn that *merely*, to admit the BIBLE as constituting the basis of religious opinions is, in fact, to admit *definitively nothing*."

These strange insinuations and assertions, and others like these, have not been allowed to circulate in silence. Mr. Lancaster has again come forwards in vindication of himself and his institution, and addressed to the public "An Appeal for Justice, in the Cause of ten thousand poor and orphan Children; and for the Honour of the Holy Scriptures: being a Reply exposing the Misrepresentations in the Charge delivered at the Visitation of Charles Daubeny, archdeacon of Sarum." In the course of this appeal the author has given his creed so fully, as to convince, we should suppose, even the archdeacon himself that he has as unjustly accused him of an inclination to deism, as Mrs. Trimmer had done before him of an inclination to Socinianism. He denies being the *tool* of any man, for that the plan is altogether his own; yet concedes, that if the term will apply to him in any sense, it can only so apply in reference to his majesty, who, more than any one else, has patronised and encouraged it, and consequently whose *instrument* he is in advancing so benevolent a concern. He is severe, and we think justly so, upon the archdeacon for his opinion of the *definitive nothingness* of the Bible upon the subject of religious opinions, and recommends to his perusal the sixth article of the church of England, concerning the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures, as also the opinion of St. Paul upon this subject, in his address to Timothy. Finally, he accuses the archdeacon of many other misrepresentations, and much wilful ignorance upon various matters, in regard to this institution, concerning which he ought to have obtained information, and might have done so with great ease, by having written to Mr. Lancaster upon the subject, but which he never once gave himself the trouble to do.

We are glad to find that the opponents of Mr. Lancaster's plan have at length resolved upon pursuing the only system of warfare which is truly legitimate and creditable to them: and that is, of opening similar schools upon their own principles, and following them up with arrangements more consistent with the dictates of their own conscience. To these and to every other establishment that has a tendency to promote useful knowledge among the poor, we most heartily wish God-speed. One of the institutions we now allude to is pretty fully delineated in a pamphlet published anonymously, and entitled "A System of Education for the labouring Poor." This system is in fact not essentially different from Mr. Lancaster's, excepting in the enforcement of the church catechism, and of religious exercises in unison with the church liturgy, upon the different scholars who are admitted; and consequently, in shutting the door against the children of all sectaries whatever. We have been chiefly disgusted in this and various other pamphlets, with a new attempt to lessen the merit of honest Joseph Lancaster, by asserting that he is not the original inventor of the plan upon which his boasted economy chiefly rests,—we mean of employing trays of sand, instead of sheets of paper, for the first attempts at writing and cyphering: and by ascribing to Dr. Bell, who is introduced as the chief agent in the

the new concern, a claim considerably prior, in consequence of his having been privy to the use of the same mode of tuition many years ago, when a director of the male asylum at Madras. Dr. Bell, we believe, to be a very excellent and benevolent man, and, from the habit of eleemosynary tuition, he acquired in India a very proper person to be consulted and appointed superintendant on the present occasion. But he must not be allowed to divest Jos. Lancaster of all the merit which is claimed by him and for him, upon the question before us. If Mr. Lancaster be not the original inventor of sand trays for writing and accounts, he is at least the first who introduced them into our own country; and he has so far improved upon whatever model he may have met with, and so far simplified the best systems of charity-schools in a vast variety of other respects, as to be fairly allowed the praise of instructing, by a plan that is, in its detail, altogether his own. As to the use of sand-boards or sand-areas of some kind or other, in the way of education, they are of immemorial standing, and Dr. Bell has just as little claim to the merit of having invented them as Mr. Lancaster. Two or three years ago, when adverting to Mr. Lancaster's method for the first time, we observed that this kind of trays or boards has been for ages common among the Hindus: and we have much reason to believe that both the Jews and the Egyptians taught the sciences of reading and writing to their children by letters or figures traced on the sandy shores of their rivers, or the sandy plains of the interior parts of their respective countries.

We shall dwell more cursorily upon this subject at present, because, in consequence of Mr. Whitbread's bill, or rather series of bills, for a regulation of the poor, we shall certainly have occasion to return to it in our next number. We cannot, however, dismiss the subject before us without noticing that Dr. Bell himself, in his "Analysis of the Experiment in Education made at Egmore, near Madras," has given an account of an attempt, which he has entirely superintended, to introduce the same system into our own country, and has suggested a scheme for the better administration of the poor-laws, by converting schools for the lower orders of youths into schools of industry; a scheme, however, which requires some pause before we can consent to adopt it: and that the truly benevolent Mr. Colquhoun, with the highest veneration for Dr. Bell's general method, has offered a "New and Appropriate System of Education for the labouring People," in which he details the effects of a school similar to that of Dr. Bell's, founded under his own patronage and eye. He chiefly differs in discarding the sand trays for coarse slates, and slate pencils. And so convinced is this excellent magistrate of its general importance, that he has added some observations on the expediency of extending the system over the nation at large, under the immediate aid and sanction of the legislature.

In the department now before us, we must necessarily classify Mrs. West's "Letters to a Young Lady, in which the Duties and Character of Women are considered, chiefly with a reference to prevailing Opinions." The popularity of this lady's "Letters to a Young Man," has been one inducement to her venturing

venturing upon the present work: a second, we are told, was the dying request of a highly valued friend, that she would devote her leisure hours to publications that should "tend not only to moral but religious edification." The three volumes before us, therefore, which are designed to guide the age of inexperienced girlhood, and direct it to the evolution of a perfect female character, are devoted to a consideration of our morals, our manners, and our religious distinctions and principles. In our opinion, there is less of nature, and less of a knowledge of the world in this work than in our author's "Letters to a Young Man." That young man was her son; and we perceive the mother in every page. To what *young lady* the letters before us are addressed we know not—but unquestionably the *mother* is not equally perceived here. Much of the description of our fashionable high life, and our fashionable low life, appears to us to be taken from reading rather than from actual observation; and hence, not a little of it is caricatured. At least we may be allowed to say that neither among the court ladies nor the city ladies, have we ever met with all the absurdities which are here introduced, as constituting essential ingredients in their respective constructions. Yet regarded as a whole, the work gives evident proofs of genius and deep reflection, is well worth perusal, and will amply repay by its entertainment.

The chief pupillary books we have met with besides, that are in any respect entitled to notice, are "A Tour through Asia Minor, and the Greek Islands, with an Account of the Inhabitants, Natural Productions and Curiosities, for the Instruction and Amusement of Youth: by C. Wilkinson:" an ideal tour well arranged, well selected, and replete with entertainment. "The History of England, from the earliest Records, to the Peace of Amiens. In a series of Letters to a Young Lady at School: by Charlotte Smith, 3 vols. 12mo:" possessing as much merit as most, and superior to many of the epistolary compendiums of our history, and having the exclusive advantage of a descent almost to the present day. "The History of Scotland, related in familiar Conversations; by Eliz. Helme, 2 vols. 12mo." "Historical Dialogues for Young Persons: by Miss Hays, vol. 1. 12mo:" both possessing all the tediousness of colloquy without its ease and appropriation—the former, though tedious, little more than a chronicle,—the latter, ill-selected, and to children often unintelligible. "Panorama for Youth, 2 vols. 12mo." The world is here painted something better than it deserves to be—and the work has too little arrangement in the distribution of the different branches of science it is its professed object to teach. In other respects Mrs. Sterndale has not been unsuccessfully employed. In the moral and religious departments she is unimpeachable. "Geographical Copy-books; or Outlines of Maps adapted to be filled in by Geographical Students; by the Rev. J. Goldsmith, Parts I and II." A very useful invention, and admirably adapted to facilitate a knowledge of the very important science in question. As such, we earnestly recommend it to our various schools and academies.

We shall close our catalogue with an octavo volume, entitled "Encyclopædia for Youth: or an Abridgement of all the Sciences, for

for the Youth of Schools of both Sexes. Translated from the French: arranged and compiled by John Joseph Stockdale. Illustrated with eleven Plates." The unwieldy bulk, which it has been of late the fashion to give to all our publications, pretending to the character of encyclopædias, has rendered a work of the present kind highly necessary. Mr. Stockdale appears to have shown much taste in the points in which he has differed from his original: the information he communicates is as extensive as his plan will admit, and his plates are not only neatly engraven, but peculiarly applicable and explanatory.

CHAPTER IV.

LITERATURE AND POLITE ARTS.

Containing the Transactions of Literary Societies, Biography, Antiquities, Philology, Classics, Poetry, Drama, Novels, Tales, and Romances.

WE readily commence this section of our labours with announcing and cursorily examining the fifteenth volume of the Archæologia lately published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. It consists of thirty-nine articles, most of them, had we time, entitled to distinct attention; independently of an appendix containing an abstract of other communications, of less importance, in the opinion of the council. It might be esteemed vanity in us, perhaps, from the limited testimony before us, to call in question the taste or the judgement of this *venerable* tribunal—but from the very high merit conspicuous even in the abridged form of five or six of the papers that are thus thrown into the back-ground, we cannot but regret that they are not given in their full and original dimensions, although it had been at the expense of several of those that have been more highly honoured, but which, on this account, we would have consented to have spared. We allude more particularly to Mr. Knight's *Sculptured Fragments*, and the *Remains at Anna Clough Mullen*, both of which appear amply entitled to a full-sized portraiture.

Of those given at length we shall begin with noticing No. V. "An Account of the Greek Inscription on Pompey's Pillar; by capt. W. M. Leeke and lieut. John Squire;" communicated in a letter to Dr. Raine. The inscription is here traced more correctly and more fully than in any former attempt, the authors of the paper before us having first made use of a ladder, and afterwards of a suspended plank, in order to decipher as much as possible of the obliterated characters. In the form now offered to us it occurs as follows in five lines.

ΤΟ . ωΤΑΤΟΝΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ
ΤΟΝ ΠΟΛΙΟΤΧΟΝΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑC
Δ'ΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΟΝΤΟΝ . . . . . ΤΟΝ
ΠΟ . . . . . ΕΠΑΡΧΟCΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΥ
. . . . . .

In

In the first chasm scarcely a vestige remains; they could not even determine the number of letters which had formerly existed there: in the second they could not accurately decide whether there had been five or six letters: in the third they could not advance beyond the first two letters, ΠΟ, though they were positive that the hiatus included six. We think Dr. Raine has correctly supplied them by ΜΠΗΙΟΣ, which of course makes the word Πομπηιος. Of the last line they could not decipher a single character. The inscription appears to have been rudely sculptured, and the tablet occupies the whole length of the base on the western side, at the height of eighteen feet from the ground. The different parts of the pillar are not in true architectural proportion to each other, and the workmanship is not well executed: facts which, if taken in conjunction with the peculiar style of the character, are amply sufficient to fix the date of the pillar at a period in which the arts and taste of the Romans were declining; and there is hence, to adopt the words of the communication itself, little doubt that it is "not the pillar of Pompey the Great, but the pillar dedicated by Pompey, præfect of Ægypt, to the emperor Diocleſian."

Dr. Fly's "Account of an Abbey of Nuns formerly situated in the Street now called the Minories," is an entertaining article, and the result of cautious and extensive inquiry. Mr. Bennett's admirable delineation of the process for unrolling the ancient *papyri* discovered in the ruins of Herculaneum is accompanied by a plan which we cannot conveniently copy, or certainly should give a fuller statement of it. Mr. Jackson's "Account of the Ruins of Carthage," is valuable from its curious description of the aqueduct by which the city was supplied with fresh water from mount Luan, at a distance of forty-five miles to the south-east. The remains of this aqueduct are still magnificent. Near Udena it formed a range of above a thousand arches, over an extensive valley, of which some of the middlemost were above a hundred feet in height. In magnitude our author asserts it far exceeds any remain he has ever beheld of ancient or modern architecture, either in Europe or Asia. Dr. Beeke has offered some valuable Observations on the ancient inhabitants, Roman stations and Roman roads in and near Berkshire, in which he attempts to prove that the Bibroci were chiefly situate on the eastern part of the county, in the vicinity of Bray, and that Moulsford was the Thamesis of the eighteenth *Iter* of Antonina, as preserved by Richard of Cirencester. Mr. Hamilton, chiefly from personal observation, has contributed an important paper of "Remarks on the Fortresses of ancient Greece;" by the aid and existence of which he endeavours to trace the site of many of the fortified cities of Hellas, of which not a vestige remains excepting in the pages of the Grecian poets and historians;—while from the massy, uncemented walls which inclosed them, he ventures to question the doctrine that derives the origin of the arts and sciences of Greece from Ægypt. The "Remains of Gothic Architecture in Italy and Sicily," is the subject of three papers of considerable interest. In the first, Mr. Smirke endeavours to assign the architecture in question to a period as early as the eleventh century.

He is opposed in the second of these papers by sir H. Englefield, who contends for their commonly conceived date, the fourteenth century. In the third, Mr. Smirke offers additional remarks, accompanied with several interesting drawings, in support of his previous opinion.

Of "The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London" we have only received the first part for the year before us. If the papers be not, on the whole, quite equal to those of the last volume, they are still highly valuable. No. 1, or "The Croonian Lecture on the Arrangement and mechanical Action of the Muscles of Fishes," is the production of Mr. Carlisle. It is an able article, but in its physiology it does not essentially differ from the observations of Dr. Munro. 2, "The Bakerian Lecture on the Force of Percussion: by W. Hyde Wollaston, M. D. Sec. R. S." The object of this paper is to reconcile the difference between the followers of Leibnitz and Newton, in their mode of estimating the forces of equal bodies moving with unequal velocities: the former maintaining that these forces are as the masses multiplied into the squares of the velocities, the latter regarding them in the simple ratio of the velocities. The author's ingenuity has crowned him with success. 3, "Memoire sur les Quantités imaginaires: par M. Buée." It is impossible to abridge this article: it is ingenious and deserves attention. 4, "Chemical Experiments on Guaiacum: by Mr. W. Brande." Guaiacum is proved by the experiments here related to be by no means entitled to its common character of a pure resin. Among other constituent principles, it contains oxalic acid, extract, and a very considerable portion of charcoal, together with some lime. 5, "On the direction of the radicle and germen during the vegetation of seeds: by Thomas Andrew Knight, esq. F. R. S." It has long been an inquiry By what principle does the seed of a plant, in whatever direction placed, with its eye or hilum upwards or downwards, throw forth its germen towards the surface and its radicles towards the centre of the earth? Mr. Knight, in the paper before us, from a variety of ingenious experiments by which the seeds he employed were kept in a state of perpetual motion, concludes that this principle is the common power of gravitation. Experiments of a similar kind, of which our author does not appear to be aware, were some years ago made by Mr. John Hunter to settle the same query. The result was the same—but Mr. Hunter by no means ascribed it to the same cause. For ourselves, we believe it to be instinctive alone; a cause something more complex perhaps than that of gravitation, but operating through animal, vegetable, and even mineral matter, nearly as extensively. We have not space for instances, nor is it necessary. 6, "A Third Series of Experiments on an Artificial tanning Substance which possesses the principal characteristic Properties of Tannin: with some Remarks on Coal: by Charles Hatchett, esq. F. R. S." The first two series relate chiefly to animal and mineral substances capable of evolving the tanning principle by digestion in a solution of nitric acid. From the paper before us it should seem that there are few animal, vegetable, or even mineral substances of the inflammable class, but what may be induced to yield a principle similar to that of tannin by the use either of sulfuric or nitric acid: and, what

what is of still higher consequence, that the residuum or exhausted bark of the tan-pits, being dried and roasted and then moistened with diluted nitric acid; which must be suffered to evaporate not much exceeding 300° till the bark becomes perfectly dry, on being digested in water will again yield a considerable portion of tannin in a yellowish brown liquor that will abundantly precipitate gelatin. A process which may be repeated time after time, and with equal success, till the whole of the bark has been converted into the tanning substance. Our author's very valuable remarks on coal tend to explain the vegetable origin of this bituminous substance by the medium of sulfuric acid. All resins contain a small quantity of charcoal evolved by distillation: but by the action of the sulfuric acid, after the formation of a portion of tannin, which is the first change hereby produced, they will give out from twelve to fifteen times as much charcoal; and saw-dust by solution in diluted sulfuric acid may be converted into a substance resembling Kilkenny coal. 7, "Application of a Method of Differences to the Species of Sines whose Sums are obtained by Mr. Lauder by the Help of impossible Quantities: by Mr. B. Gompertz." It is impossible to abridge this article. 8, "An Account of a small Lobe of the human prostrate Gland, which has not been before taken notice of: by E. Home, esq. F. R. S." It is useful to know of the existence of this lobe, as it may lead us to account for various symptoms in a diseased state of the gland which have hitherto been regarded as anomalous. It yet remains to be proved whether the lobe in question be an uniform or only an occasional appendage. 9, "On the Quantity and Velocity of the Solar Motion: by W. Herschell, L. L. D. F. R. S." The article is curious, but it cannot be curtailed. 10, "Observations upon the Marine Barometer made during the Examination of the Coasts of New Holland and New South Wales, in the Years 1801, 1802, 1803: by Matthew Flinders, Commander of his Majesty's Ship Investigator." The observations are minute and replete with meteorological information: but it is impossible to give them within the bounds to which we are limited. 11, "Account of a Discovery of native Minium: in a Letter from James Smithson, esq. F. R. S." The minium here adverted to was found in Germany, intermixed with compact carbonated zinc. 12, "Description of a rare Species of Worm-shells discovered at an Island lying off the North-west Coast of the Island of Sumatra, in the East Indies: by J. Griffiths, esq." 13, "Observations on the Shell of the Sea-worm found on the Coast of Sumatra, proving it to belong to a Species of Teredo: with an Account of the Anatomy of the Teredo navalis: by E. Home, esq. F. R. S." Mr. Home has succeeded in proving the worm described in the preceding paper to be a teredo: it differs however from the general character of the species, in inhabiting mud instead of timber: its length is enormous, and reaches from five feet to five feet and half—its bulk is by no means in proportion—yet from its whole make it has been named Gigantea. The anatomy of the other species T. navalis is described from specimens in the British Museum, and that of Dr. W. Hunter, compared with some living worms of the same tribe, procured from the dock-

yard at Sheerness. 14, "On the inverted Action of the alburnous Vessels of Trees: by Thomas Andrew Knight, esq. F. R. S." This inverted action is attempted in the paper before us to be proved from the accumulation of woody matter in the case of a large wound in the bark of the trunk, or a removal of a ring of the bark, as well on the lower as the upper lip of the wound. We are not sure whether this phænomenon, as well as the nutriment supplied to the intervening portion of the trunk, is not produced by anastomosings of the reducent or cortical vessels: yet that a total inversion of the action of alburnous and cortical vessels does occasionally take place, we know from the fact that many trees, and especially of the genus prunus, may be made, by bending their stem-branches downwards into the earth, and afterwards by digging up the original root, to grow in a completely inverted direction; the original root shooting forth stem-branches, and the original stem radicles or root-branches. 15, "A new Demonstration of the binomial Theorem, when the Exponent is a positive or negative Fraction: by the rev. Abraham Robertson, A. M. F. R. S." 16, "New Method of computing Logarithms: by Thomas Manning, esq." These two articles are equally incapable of abridgement. 17, "Description of the mineral Bason in the Counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecon, Carmarthen, and Pembroke: by Mr. E. Martin." The interior of the bason is a vast coal field, consisting of twenty-three strata or seams, from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 9 feet in thickness, besides several of inferior depth, the average extent of each is a thousand square miles, from which, in the usual mode of working, may be obtained about sixty-four thousand tons per mile. The intersections are beds of nodular iron ore: the boundaries of the bason are banks of limestone. 18, "Observations on the Permanency of the Variation of the Compass at Jamaica: in a Letter from Mr. James Robertson." The limits of estates have been almost immemorially determined in Jamaica by an appeal to the magnetic instead of to the true meridian. These limits correspond to the same indications in the magnet at the present moment; and hence prove precisely that no variation can have taken place during a period of at least a hundred and thirty or forty years. 19, "Observations on the Camel's Stomach, respecting the Water which it contains, and the Reservoirs in which that Fluid is inclosed: with an Account of some Peculiarities in the Urine: by E. Home, esq. F. R. S." This is a useful paper in the science of zootomy. Mr. Brande furnished the chemical observations on the urine. 20, "Observations on the Variation, and on the Dip of the Magnetic Needle, made at the Apartments of the Royal Society, between 1786 and 1805, inclusive: by Mr. George Gilpin." 21, "On the Declinations of some of the principal fixed Stars: with a Description of an stronomical Circle and some Remarks on the Construction of circular Instruments: by John Pond, esq." 22, "Observations and Remarks on the Figure, the Climate, and the Atmosphere of Saturn and its Ring: by W. Herschell, L. L. D. F. R. S." We can only copy the titles of these. From the last, Dr. Herschell establishes the probability of a Saturnian atmosphere.

"Asiatic Researches; or Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal

Bengal for inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences and Literature of Asia. Vol. VII." This elegant and useful result of confederate genius and talents should have been noticed by us in our last Retrospect had we received the volume in time. We hasten to atone for the omission. The first article is "On the Course of the Ganges through Bengal: by major Colebrooke." The occasional obstructions which the rivers of Bengal meet with on the return of their periodical flux, produces not unfrequently some very extraordinary alterations in the course and bending of their respective beds, and hence some equally extraordinary changes in the general face of the country. While some villages that are in common scarcely visited by a river even at its utmost rise, are overflowed and suddenly swept away—others, that were actually seated on the banks of an arm and that used to be regularly inundated, are totally deserted, and the inhabitants have to travel over many miles to obtain water. The Ganges has evinced changes of this nature in a greater degree than any other Indian stream. Even since the survey of major Rennel in 1764, it has deviated in its course, in one place, not less than two miles and a half: several of the villages which figure in his map are no longer to be found in the situations assigned them; while islands of considerable magnitude, now inhabited and cultivated, have started into being where the river then rolled its deepest waters. These changes are truly extraordinary, and are ably traced in the paper before us. 2, "On Singhálá or Ceylon, and the Doctrines of Buddha, from the Books of the Singhálá: by Captain Mahony." This very entertaining and instructive paper furnishes additional proofs, in the progress of its remarks, of the unity of what we may call Brahmism and Buddhism as to their origin; and almost the only point left uncertain upon the subject is, which of the two preceded the other. The mythological history of Buddha corresponds most exactly with that of Brahma: the sacred language of Ceylon seems to be very largely interspersed with Sanscrit terms, (or as it is now the fashion to write it, after Mr. Gilchrist's method, Sunscrit—a fashion, however, for which we shall not desert the previous system of sir William Jones:) and almost the only two instances of a difference in doctrine is, that while the Brahmans renounce animal food and addict themselves to matrimony, the priests of Buddha profess the most rigid celibacy, but by no means abstain from flesh in their ordinary meals.

Whilst we are upon this subject, we will step forwards to several other papers in the same volume that are closely connected with it, and then return to the intervening articles. 8, "On the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus, and of the Brahmans especially: by H. T. Colebrooke, esq. Essay II." 9, The same continued, Essay III. 12, "On the Religion and Manners of the People of Ceylon: by Mr. Joinville." In a former essay Mr. Colebrooke described the diurnal ablutions and other devotional acts of the Brahmans. In the first of the two essays before us, "I shall restrict myself," he observes, "to explain the oblations to fire; and then proceed to describe funeral rites and commemorative obsequies, together with the daily offerings of food and water to the manes

of ancestors." In Essay III. (the second now before us) he exhibits the manner in which the rites of hospitality, "one of the five sacraments," says he, "which constitute the daily duty of a Hindu," are exercised. The article closes with a detail of marriage ceremonies. The whole description, in both essays, is so little diffuse, and so severely limited to facts themselves, as to be totally incapable of abridgement. Mr. Joinville's article is an important one. It relates to the present customs of the Singhalese or Ceylonese; their established religion, and their cosmogony. In their religious ceremonies, general doctrines, and much of what may be called their sacred nomenclature, Mr. Joinville agrees with capt. Mahony, that they closely resemble the Brahmans. He strongly inclines, however, to believe that Buddhism preceded Brahmism. It may be so: but on this point we do not feel his reasoning altogether convincing.

We revert to the other articles in their order. 3, "Narrative of a Route from Chunarghur to Yertnagoodun, in the Ellar Sircar: by Capt. J. T. Hunt." The object of this tour was "to trace a route between Berar, Orissa, and the Northern Sircars." To fulfil it, the author proceeded southernly, and crossed the river Sond at Silpi. He passed throughout the whole of his course in the midst of a poor and generally of a mountainous country; often through savage and barbarian tribes, one or two of which he seems to have regarded not only as totally distinct from the Hindus, but as much better entitled to the character of aboriginal. The attempts of violence to which he at length became daily exposed, induced him to relinquish his journey sooner than he had intended. On the banks of the Judravati, in the country of the wild and inhospitable Gond tribes, he suddenly paused, and changed his course; and after tracing the Venwa to its confluence with the Gadáveri, entered the district of Palunsha, still followed the course of the stream, and at length reached the Company's territories in the Sircar of Rájmanderi. 4, "Account of a new Species of Delphinus, an Inhabitant of the Ganges: by Dr. Roxburgh." It is impossible to add this Gangetic delphinus at present to the other species of this genus. The specimen before us is inaccurately described, and from a subject not more than half grown. 5, "Translation of one of the Inscriptions on the Pillar at Delhi, called the Lat of Firaz Shah: by Henry Colebrooke, esq. With introductory remarks by Mr. Harrington." Firaz Shaw died A. D. 1489: the date of the pillar is uncertain: it is supposed to have been erected by this prince as an aviary or menagerie: its height above the terrace is thirty-seven feet, and its circumferance, where it joins it, ten feet four inches. It has five inscriptions in unknown characters, and a sixth in Devanagari and in the Sanscrit language. It is this last which is the subject of the present memoir: but it is not sufficiently interesting for us to transcribe. 6, "Account of the Cucis or Zunctas: by John Macrae, esq. communicated by J. H. Harrington, esq." These people are a barbarous and ill-shapen race of hunters and warriors, divided into a multiplicity of little tribes, and constantly engaged in hostilities against each other, or in predatory excursions against neighbouring nations. They are certainly not of Hindu

Hindu origin; neither their form nor language has any relation to a Sanscrit stock. They refer their own rise to the Magas and probably are correct in the tradition. 7, "On the Sanscrit and Prácrit Languages: by H. T. Colebrooke, esq." While Sanscrit is the sacred tongue, the *ἱερα γραμματα* of the Hindus, Prácrit is that language which was once perhaps colloquial over the greater part of India, and which has laid the chief basis for all the different dialects at present met with. There may have been, as is commonly suspected, two other elementary languages, the Apabhransa, or jargon, and the Misra or mixed—but of these we know too little to dwell upon. Our author gives a variety of references to Sanscrit philologists and grammarians of very high reputation, as well as of very great antiquity; and in his remarks on the Prácrit regards it, as we do ourselves, as the chief source of "the written dialects now used in the intercourse of civil life, and cultivated by learned men." These dialects he conceives may be about ten in number. The Caraswata—or that spoken on the banks of the river of this name. The Cányacubjas, or Hindu, which by an intermixture of Persic and Arabic nouns, is now become the Hindustanee or Moors: both of which dialects are written in the Nagari character while all that follow have a character peculiar to themselves. Gaurá or Bengalee: Maïthilá, that of Tirhut, differing slightly from Bengalee: Utcala, that of the province of Orissa: Dravira, or Tamla, that used in the peninsula of India, between the twelfth and thirteenth degree of north latitude: the Mahárâshtra, or Mahratta: the Carnáta or Carnára, on both the coasts of the peninsula: the Telinga, on the banks of the Crishna and Gadáveri: The Gurjara, province of Guzerah; nearly allied to the Hindu. 8, "An Account of a Method for extending a geographical Survey across the Peninsula of India: by Brigade-major Lambton." We cannot abridge this article. 9, "On the Origin and peculiar Tenets of certain Mohammedan Sects: by H. T. Colebrooke, esq." These sects are chiefly the Bohrahs, Sadicas and Ali-allahiyas: they are all regarded as heretics by the Indian Moslems, and have more or less intermixed the tenets of Ismaelism with those of Brahmism. 10, "A summary Account of the Life and Writings of Avyar, a Tamul female Philosopher: by the rev. Dr. John." Avyar was the Mrs. Trimmer or Mrs. Barbauld of her country, in the ninth century of the Christian æra. She wrote books of instruction for children which are still used in teaching them to read. The article might have been omitted without any loss of credit to the volume. 11, "Account of the St. Thomé Christians on the Coast of Malabar: by F. Wredé, esq." This description of Christians, with Malabar features and colour, was discovered by the Portuguese in their first voyage round the Cape: they were evidently Nestorians, but were at first supposed from their name to have been converted to Christianity by St. Thomas the apostle. It has since been conceived, with more probability, that they were so converted by a follower of Nestorius, who fled into India upon the banishment of Nestorius by the emperor in 435 of the Christian æra. The author before

us attempts, but we think unsuccessfully, to prove that the Thomé, or Thomas, who really founded the sect in question, was a wealthy Syrian merchant of the sixth century, of the name of Thomé Cannanelo, who is said by tradition to have landed at Cranganor, where he was well received and induced to settle. 12, "Account of an hereditary living Deity, to whom Devotion is paid by the Brahmans of Puna and its Neighbourhood: by Capt. Edward Moore." Auxiliary absurdities are as common, and there is no reason why they should not be so, among the Brahmists or Vedists as among the Roman catholics: and this living deity, as he is here called—the hereditary descendant of a Brahman of Puna, who, on account of his exercises of extreme "abstinence, mortification and prayer," was favoured above others with (or in the language of the author *merited above others*) the favourable regards of the Almighty—is one of them. 13, "An Account of the Bazigars, a Sect commonly denominated Nuts: by Captain David Richardson." The Bazigars are tribes of itinerant jugglers, totally destitute of every religion, and who gain a livelihood by exhibiting their tricks and sleight-of-hand among the Indian nations through whom they travel. 14, "On the Burmhan Game of Chess, compared with the Indian, Chinese, and Persian Game of the same Denomination." We cannot enlarge on this subject: the European game seems evidently, as has indeed been long allowed, to be derived from the East; but we can no more decide whether the Hindus or the Burmhans have a claim to the invention, than we can whether Buddha or Visnu were anterior in chronology; nor does the paper before us afford the requisite clue.

We proceed to the class of Biography—a class peculiarly rich and entertaining in regard to the productions of the year. Sir Richard Hoare, in his translation of "Giraldus de Barri's Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin through Wales," has prefixed a very spirited and entertaining life of the writer—the most accomplished scholar of his age—and whose journal is one of the most valuable that has descended to us. Giraldus flourished about the middle of the twelfth century—by his father's lineage he was of noble Norman blood, by his mother's he was descended from the ancient Welch princes. He was intended for the army; but his own inclinations were complied with, and they led him to the church—in which he appeared through the greater part of his life as archdeacon of St. David's. He was at one time so desirous of the mitre of this see, that he refused an installation into several other bishoprics that he might be disengaged on the first vacancy: one or two vacancies occurred, however, but the more powerful influence of rival church-men rendered him unsuccessful. In the latter part of his life it was voluntarily offered him, but he had then retired from the world, and did not choose to accept it. When Henry II. had taken the cross, and was preparing for Palestine, Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury, and archdeacon Girald, entered into the same view, and were sent in 1107 to raise recruits by preaching up the crusade through the country of Wales. Their success was very considerable;

considerable; and it was on this occasion that our Cambrian composed the valuable itinerary which sir Richard Hoare has now translated. It gives a very regular and detailed account of the progress and events of every day—a minute delineation of the country as the venerable ecclesiastic travelled through it, and a strong and striking picture of the customs and manners of the inhabitants. Girald, however, notwithstanding his success, did not choose to *lead* his converts to the Holy Land: both himself and the archbishop found means, in consequence, to evade the vow they had taken, and deputed their benediction alone, instead of vouchsafing their personal presence, to accompany the volunteers they had so sanctimoniously enlisted. He afterwards, prior to his seclusion from the world, attended Henry II. to France, in the expedition in which that monarch and most of his retinue fell a sacrifice to the dysentery; and was honoured by Richard Lion-heart, when the latter departed for Palestine, with the high post of coadjutor to William de Long Champ bishop of Ely, in the regency of the kingdom. He died at St. David's, aged 74, in the year 1320, and was buried in the cathedral church. His character is thus ably given by his biographer: "Noble in his birth, and comely in his person; mild in his manners, and affable in his conversation; zealous, active and undaunted in maintaining the rights and dignities of his church; moral in his character, and orthodox in his principles; charitable and disinterested, though ambitious; learned, though superstitious—*such was Giraldus.* And in whatever point of view we examine the character of this extraordinary man, whether as a scholar, a patriot, or a divine, we may justly consider him as one of the brightest luminaries that adorned the annals of the twelfth century." To this elegant and entertaining biography sir Richard has added another prolegomenal article, before he introduces his Translation, which he calls an Introduction to the History of Wales, from the Invasion of Britain by the Romans, down to 1118; at which period Girald prosecuted his journey. It is rather paleosophic than historic, but abounds with much instructive and interesting matter. The itinerary that follows is, as we have already observed, one of the most valuable records of the twelfth century that has descended to us, and the continuity and precision of the original are well preserved in the version. The whole work is beautifully printed, and highly ornamented with archæological engravings and scenes, selected from the course of the crusaders. We have already extracted various papers from it.

The Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson and of sir Henry Slingsby we have already arranged in another department, to which they more accurately belong, in consequence of their intimate union with the general history of the times to which they relate. The reader will find them duly noticed and appreciated in our third chapter.

"The Life and literary Works of Michael Angelo Buonarotti: by R. Duppa." 4to. This is a very elegant, entertaining, and instructive work. The life is drawn up from the Italian biographers Condivi and Vasari: but Mr. Duppa has added, from other authorities, a variety of incidents which had escaped the recollection or notice of both. He has also highly enriched his volume

volume by fac-similes of this exquisite artist's autograph and a multiplicity of outlines of his best compositions. This extraordinary man was descended by remote antiquity from the famous Countess Matilda, and had, consequently, imperial blood flowing in his veins. His father was *podesta* or governor of Chriesi and Caprera, the former of which was at that time the capital of Porsenna. It was in the latter city he was born, in March 1474—and by being entrusted to a nurse who was both the daughter and wife of a stone-mason, and having a chisel for his daily plaything, his future destiny was thus stamped, as it were, by accident; for he would be an artist, in spite of all the remonstrances of his friends, who wished him to turn his thoughts to some literary profession. His father at length yielded to his inclinations: Domenico was his master—Lorenzo de Medici was his first patron, in whose palace at Florence he had apartments appropriated to him, and all the popes from Julius II. to Pius IV. were his patrons in succession. Yet several of them were patrons rather than friends, and availed themselves of his genius, while they occasionally degraded the man. Hence, whenever he could steal away from Rome he was happy to do so—he was often brought back by force, and once had thoughts of leaving Italy entirely, and of entrusting himself to the protection of the Grand Sultan. In the last struggle of Florence for her freedom against the tyranny of the Medici, Michel Angelo was appointed military architect and master of the ordnance; and his tactics, like those of Archimedes in the defence of Syracuse, succeeded against every thing but internal treachery, to which at length the republic fell a prey. He died at Rome Feb. 17, 1563, at the advanced age of eighty-nine, and his interment was celebrated by a public procession.

"The military, historical, and political Memoirs of the Count de Hordt, a Swedish Nobleman, and Lieutenant in the Service of his Majesty the King of Prussia: revised by M. Borelly, late Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences a Berlin, &c. 2 vols. 12mo." This work in the original is highly interesting and attractive;—but the wretchedness of the English version before us has prevented us from all possibility of selecting those passages from it, and introducing them in another department of our miscellany, which we should otherwise have taken a pleasure in doing. It becomes us on this account to draw up a very brief sketch (for our limits will not allow us to proceed further,) to supply the deficiency. The father of Count de Hordt was a Swede of illustrious rank, who had abjured his native land in consequence of the tyranny of Charles XI. and had fled to France. He was recalled on the accession of Charles XII. entered under him into the military service of his country, and accompanied his sovereign in all his campaigns till his return from Turkey. The hero of the narrative before us was at this time a youth. To give him a practical lesson of subordination, his father compelled him to enter as a private in the Swedish foot guards: and his own merit entitled him in due time to a commission in a provincial regiment, which he seems to have taken possession of with a pride and pleasure seldom experienced in subsequent life. In this capacity he served against the Russians in the campaign of 1741, and

and shortly after the termination of the war by the disgraceful capitulation that closed it, he entered as a volunteer into the service of the allies against the French under the prince of Waldeck. Here he discovered as much prowess and acquired as much fame as would satisfy the ambition of most soldiers, and in conjunction with fame an almost equal proportion of rank. It was nevertheless, upon the whole, a degrading war for the confederates, and terminated by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748. In the dispute between Frederick I. the husband of Ulrica Eleonora, sister of Charles XII. and the Swedish states, De Hordt took an active part with his sovereign, and upon the failure of the conspiracy which was to have restored the Swedish crown to its accustomed influence, he was followed from court to court till he at length found a secure asylum in Switzerland under the protection of Voltaire. De Hordt, however, was not formed for inactivity, and rather than not fight at all he would fight against his best friends and his own country. Frederick of Prussia was at this time at war with both; for the seven years' war was just commenced against Sweden and Russia as well as Austria; and De Hordt accepted at his hands the command of a regiment of two battalions. The king admired his intrepidity, and reposed his utmost confidence in him: he fought in the arduous struggle with alternate success, till at length he was taken prisoner by the Russians, and, in consequence of a misunderstanding on the part of the empress, was condemned to close confinement in a narrow prison in the centre of the citadel at St. Petersburgh, and debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper. In this melancholy situation he continued for upwards of two years: but at length, in consequence of some strong measures of retaliation on the part of Frederick, he was released. Just at this period the empress Elizabeth died: and the accession of Peter III. who was in the warmest degree attached to the Prussian monarch, enabled De Hordt to return to Prussia with every facility. On the close of the war, which speedily followed, he statedly resided at Berlin, excepting that, in conjunction with prince Henry, he once or twice made a tour to Sweden, and afterwards to St. Petersburgh: during his residence at which last court he was privy to the first proposal between Catharine II. and prince Henry, for the infamous partition of Poland. On his return to Berlin the king conferred on the count the rank of a lieutenant-general of his army, and appointed him governor of Spendau. On a second marriage he retired with his bride to a rich manor in Saxony, which she inherited from a relation: here he devoted himself to agricultural pursuits, and passed the remainder of his life in quietude and domestic comfort. He died a few years ago, and his wife survived him but a short time; an information however we are obliged to supply—for his translator makes no mention of the decease of either of them.

"Some Account of the Life and Writings of Lope Felix de Vega Carpio: by Henry Richard lord Holland." This is an admirably arranged and well written book, and does credit to the noble author's study of true Castilian. It is unnecessary for us to enlarge on its merit, as we have copied from it in two anterior departments of the present volume. We will only therefore add, that the matter is interesting, the style chaste and easy,

easy, the metrical versions that are occasionally given correct and spirited, and the whole so agreeably executed, as to induce us to hope that his lordship will not here close his public researches into the literature of Spain.

Mr. Wool's "Biographical Memoirs of the late Joseph Warton, D. D." have *at length* rendered that justice to an excellent man, and an elegant scholar, to which he has been long entitled. There is a modesty and simplicity of style in these memoirs which is in perfect accordance with the "cool sequestered life" of the celebrated scholiast to whom they relate. It appears to have been in Mr. Wool's power to have given us more, and more we should have wished for, if it would not have interfered with the sanctity of the domestic escritoir; which, in other instances, has of late been posthumously plundered in a most outrageous and sacrilegious manner.

The "Account of the Life and Writings of James Beattie, L. L. D. &c. by sir William Forbes, bart." is the work of a biographer now, alas! no more: the memoirist having, within a few months, followed the subject of his memoirs to the grave. The life of Dr. Beattie, like that of Dr. Warton, was but little variegated by strong and characteristic incidents. Beattie had great talents, and, from a happy combination of circumstances, still greater reputation. His chief works, and in truth the only ones that have a chance of perpetuity, are his Essay on Truth, and his Minstrel—both exquisite in their kind, but the latter unfinished. His professorship at Aberdeen scarcely afforded him the comforts of life that he required—certainly not those to which his abilities entitled him. Various schemes were devised to meliorate his fortune—a pension was proposed—a West Indian sinecure, and lastly an exchange from the meagre support of the kirk to some ample provision in the English church. An admirable letter from the late archbishop of York (alas! while correcting the press we can no longer, with propriety, add *late*) seems, first of all, to have decided him in a rejection of this last proposal: and it was finally settled for him, and most wisely settled, that his best plan would be to accept of a pension. His majesty acceded to the request with a promptitude and grace that give dignity even to monarchs, and Dr. Beattie was condescendingly allowed a pension of 200*l.* per annum. He was born Oct. 25, 1735, and died in August 1803, aged sixty-eight. The work before us is chiefly epistolary, the interstices being filled up with narrative. The letters are, for the most part, of a critical character, and display Dr. Beattie's accustomed reading, taste, and liberality: the narrative is plain and unornamented, bearing in every line the stamp of rigid truth, and ambitious of nothing further.

Dr. Fenwick's "Sketch of the professional Life and Character of Dr. Clark" has enabled us to extract from it a page or two of his general history, characterising his usual habits and benevolent turn of mind; his unremitting activity and steady pursuit of the best interests of society. Beyond this we have nothing to add, for we cannot praise the style in which this sketch is written. Mr. Raymond's "Life of Thomas Dermody" is a much better performance in point of authorship, and, (notwithstanding the incorrigible attachment to low and criminal pursuits which is herein evinced,) the extraordinary incidents

incidents and sudden transitions with which the work is interspersed, the bright blaze of talents with which almost every page corruscates, even the frequent sigh which it is impossible to suppress over elevated genius thus enslaved to vice and misery, render it peculiarly interesting and impressive. Of lord Nelson we have already given as large an account of his life as we could well devote to him, and also from a biographer who has since, like himself, entered the mansions of the tomb, although by no means an account adequate to his transcendant abilities, and the almost unrivalled services he has performed for his country. We have only, therefore, now to add, that a biography of his lordship, more authentic than any one that has hitherto appeared, because more immediately published under the sanction of his noble relatives, has since been offered to the public from the pen of Mr. Harrison, in two volumes 8vo., from which we certainly should have extracted a few pages were it not that we should hereby only repeat much of what we have presented to our readers already. The work before us is written in a glowing style, perhaps too glowing for common occasions. This, however, on such a subject we can abundantly pardon: but we cannot so completely or so readily pardon the ungenerous attempt, with which it is too replete, to stigmatize a female character most nearly connected with his lordship in point of legal ties, who still triumphs over the breath of calumny, and is deserving of a better fate, for the mere purpose of raising on her ruins, could it be accomplished, the public favour in behalf of a rival whose name had been far better buried, in eternal oblivion. Mr. Blagdon's "Memoirs of the late George Morland," are entitled to little notice on the score of literary merit: on account of the public character of the subject of them, we have assigned a few pages to them in our Biographical Anecdotes.

Mr. Moore's "Lives of Cardinal Alberoni and the Duke of Riperda" give us a successive history of two of the most pliant ministers of state and greatest hypocrites, in regard to religious professions, that ever existed. The first, by a system of the grossest and most egregious adulation, raised himself from the humble station of a gardener's son to that of a cardinal and prime minister of Spain. He was the pander to every vice of those who employed him, during the reign of Philip V. of Spain, but never disowned the religion of his forefathers. Riperda, on the contrary, who was born a catholic in 1680, in the Dutch province of Groningen, and continued in that persuasion till he had the chance of marrying a protestant heiress, exchanged churches about the year 1710: but having received offers of high dignity and emolument from the court of Madrid a few years afterwards he repaired thither, and once more, in compliance with the established religion of his new country, embraced the catholic faith. He rose in reputation, and on Alberoni's disgrace succeeded him as prime minister. He too was disgraced in his turn, and ordered, in 1726, into confinement in the castle of Segovia. From this castle he escaped---fled to Great-Britain, and endeavoured to sell to the English minister his confidential knowledge of the politics of the Spanish court. In 1731 he went

went to Holland, engaged with an agent of the emperor of Barbary, went with him to Mequinez, turned Mahommedan, and rose to the office of Effendi. He at length retired, on his private fortune, to Tetuan, where he died, in some degree insane, in 1737. The biography is extracted from documents of sufficient authority, and written with plainness and perspicuity.

Mr. Hayley has at length, we believe, finished his Life of Mr. Cowper, by a thin quarto volume of "Supplementary Pages." The letters they contain have been gathered together since the publication of the three prior volumes, and are chiefly addressed to lady Hesketh, Mr. Bagot, and Mr. Rose —Mr. Rose! the youthful, the elegant, the beloved friend of Cowper! and who now stands as much in need of a biographer as Cowper himself. To the writer of this article he was known,—and to whom was he known, that did not, like Cowper, esteem and love him?

Mr. Young's "Memoirs of Mrs. Crouch" make us lament that a woman capable of filling so affectionately the offices of daughter, sister, and patroness to her sister's children, should have been so easily, or rather should have been at all seduced, from the duties of a wife, however unfortunate in her matrimonial connexion. Yet her temptations were strong, as her attractions were many! Her life is ill written, but its perusal may do good.

Mrs. Grant's "Letters from the Mountains" are of a mixed character; they are in some respects biographic, and in others descriptive, but in both they are highly entertaining. Those who are desirous of learning the happy art of struggling against misfortunes instead of yielding to them, and of struggling triumphantly—those who are enchanted with the wildest picturesqueness of nature, with fantastic groups of blue aërial rocks and mountains—rapid streams—precipitate and thundering waterfalls—woods so intricate that the deer can scarcely find its way through them —and glens so deep and overhung that the sun can never pierce them —may here have an abundant treat in facts and scenery painted from the life.

From the wild landscapes of nature we are led to the polished landscapes of art: and in Mr. Repton's "Enquiry into the Changes of Taste in Landscape-gardening" observe a very able defence of the system which was first successfully cultivated in this country by the celebrated Brown, but which of late has been opposed by several professional writers of considerable eminence, and especially by M. M. Price and Knight. Mr. Repton, in the work before us, admits in a considerable degree the errors which are pointed out in this system, as it has been *of late* pursued, but contends that such errors are not chargeable to the inventor or first promoter of the system, but merely to his successors, who, in such instances, have deviated from the taste and principle of their master. Mr. Loudon has furnished us with two quarto volumes upon the same subject, but pursued to a greater extent; comprising "A Treatise on forming, improving and managing Country Residences, so as to combine Architectural Fitness with Picturesque Effect, according to the Extent, Character, or Style of Situations, and the Rank, Fortune and Expenditure of the Proprietors from the

the Cottage to the Palace; illustrated by Descriptions." Under the same head, but with a very limited approbation, we have to rank Mr. Giffard's "Designs for elegant Cottages and small Villas calculated for the Comfort and Convenience of Persons of moderate and of ample Fortune;" in the course of which the different orders of architecture are often huddled together in the most unclassical and heterogeneous manner: and Mr. Randle's "Collection of Architectural Designs for Mansions, Casinos, Villas, Lodges, and Cottages," possessing the same distorted aim at producing picturesque effect by the same incongruous intermixture of styles that are essentially at variance with each other, and hence transferring to landscape scenery the *humano capiti cervicem equinam*.

Mr. Britton's "Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain" have been persevered in to part VI. inclusively, and continue to evince proofs of their earliest spirit and excellence. Mr. Charles Bell, in six successive "Essays on the Anatomy of Expression in Painting," has made a valuable present not to the painter only, but to all who are fond of painting, or are ambitious of distinguishing the opposite extremes of flatness and caricature from the real phænomena of movement, gesture, and passion. Mr. Prince Hoare has shewn some taste and much enthusiasm in his "Inquiry into the requisite Cultivation and present State of the Arts of Design in England:" his *inquiry*, indeed, is not confined either to *England* or to the "*present* state of the arts of design;" it might have been more for his credit, perhaps, if it had been: for in his numerous *discoastings* into remote times and foreign countries, he has *wandered* rather than *travelled*—has been too frequently the sport of false guides, and been conducted to stray paths and barren quarters. We cannot close this brief sketch of the productions of the year, in regard to the fine arts, without noticing Dr. Callcott's "Musical Grammar," which, in the small and convenient size of a duodecimo, contains an accurate arrangement of the principles of modern music, together with the simplest and easiest method that has yet been exhibited of acquiring a knowledge of them. It is classically divided into the four parts of rotation, melody, harmony and rhythm.

We advance to the class of philology. Mr. Salmon, author of Stemmata Latinitatis, has published, in a thin octavo, the first book of his "Archai; or the Evenings of Scathill." The plan is entirely taken from the Epea Pteroenta; even the dialogue form is preserved, and something of the same archness attempted. We cannot praise the undertaking: the parallelisms are for the most part hunted through French and Latin, instead of through the Gothic languages. Had our author imitated Mr. Tooke in this last respect, he might, indeed, have contributed some benefit to his native tongue.

From Dr. Dawson we have received both the "Prolepsis" of his Philologia Anglicana, and the first number of the "Philologia Anglicana" itself. We have also received from Mr. Leslie a "Dictionary of the Synonymous Words and Technical Terms in the English language." The first is designed both as an improvement and commentary upon Johnson's Dictionary. In the titular explanation

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of the author himself it is intended as "a philological and synonymical dictionary of the English language; in which the words are deduced from their originals, their sense defined, and the same illustrated and supported by proper examples and notes, critical and explanatory." The attempted improvement upon Johnson consists in an omission of Greek and Latin words of very rare occurrence, in new exemplifications of such as are defectively expounded, and in an introduction of terms that had escaped the lexicographer's attention." All this is well: but the "*Notes, critical and explanatory,*" are intolerably long and tedious, and occupy by far too large a proportion of the general work. The author has an odd conception that, strictly speaking, no language has any such thing as synonyms, though it may have terms that are synonymous, that is, approaching to the nature of synonyms, but retaining a shade of difference from each other. The shortest refutation we can advance is a reference to Mr. Leslie's "Dictionary of Synonymous Words;" at this moment before us. In effect, it is impossible that a language derived, as is the English, from a variety of different tongues, and different dialects—from a Greek, Latin and Celtic, as well as a Gothic stock—should not have many terms drawn from some or all of these radical sources to express the very same object, or the very same idea of such object; and consequently it is impossible that such a language should not have not only a few scattered synonyms, but a great multitude of them. We cannot, however, praise the intention of Mr. Leslie's Synonymous Dictionary altogether, which in its alphabetic list of words is confined almost exclusively to those of common colloquial use, and then explained by remote, recondite, obsolete, or technical terms alone; as though the author had just imported from across the Irish channel a new method of *illustration*, that arrogated to itself the power of darkening what is clear and visible, instead of making clear and visible what is dark. To both these attempts, however, Dr. Dawson's as well as Mr. Leslie's, we object that the authors seem far more expert in Greek and Latin etymologies than in Celtic or Gothic. This is the grand evil in Johnson's dictionary: and it yet remains to be remedied. The *whole of the construction* of the English language, and by far *the greater part of its vocabulary* is of the true Gothic order; and unless a lexicographer be well versed in the German, Danish, and Runic dialects, in the Cimbric and Gaelic, as well as in the Greek and Latin, he must necessarily prove but a very imperfect analyser and interpreter, and of consequence but very ill qualified for his undertaking.

Some such reasoning seems to have been felt by another philologist of the year before us, Mr. G. Dyer, of Exeter; and hence in an octavo volume, which he entitles "A Restoration of the Ancient Modes of bestowing Names," he has banished Greek and Latin from our patronymic vocabulary by one sweeping proscription. Now this is to run into the other extreme. Independently of which, he has banished the classical dialects, not in favour of those of the Goths, of Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Anglo-Saxon, but in favour of the Cimbric and the Gaelic alone. Much, we acknowledge, is

is referable to this latter source, but little in comparison with what is the true and legitimate progeny of the former. He who limits himself to a Celtic origin, will be almost as much in the dark as he who attempts to resolve every thing into Greek or Latin. The Cimbric and Gaelic, or Welsh and Erse, have added a few tributary streams, but the chief supply of our etymons must be sought for alone in the great Gothic fountain.

Dr. Steuart has offered us two elegant quarto volumes, which he entitles "The Works of Sallust; to which are prefixed two Essays on the Life, Literary Character and Writings of the Historian: with Notes historical, biographical and critical." The essays and notes constitute by far the larger portion of the work: they are the result of much attention to Roman literature; and, though considerably too diffuse, are instructive, entertaining, and accurate. In his version Mr. Murphy is our translator's model; but he has used considerably more freedom with his author than ever Mr. Murphy allowed himself, although the latter cast aside his trammels to the utmost extent of concession. In Dr. Steuart we have no deficiency of spirit or elegance, but it is not the spirit or elegance of Sallust: we have often traced him through whole paragraphs without a word of prototype, and have occasionally found him exchanging similes of his author for similes of his own. The opening page in the translation is by no means so licentious as many that we could point out; but the reader has no need to proceed further than this page to be convinced of the truth of these observations.

Upon the whole, we have little to boast of in the department of translations of the ancient Classics, within the period to which we are limited, independently of Dr. Steuart's version of Sallust: yet we must except an octavo volume of "Translations, chiefly from the Greek Anthology; with Tales and Miscellaneous Poems," published anonymously, but exhibiting great taste in the selection, and merit in the execution; and a verse translation of "The Satires of Persius, with the Latin Text and Notes," published also anonymously: the text corrected from Casaubon; the notes are truly explanatory and instructive, and the versification, if not peculiarly refined and musical, is at least on a par with the original; animated, indignant, and faithful in its interpretation. To these we may add that, Dr. Reid's "Analysis of Aristotle's Logic, with Remarks," which has hitherto been only known as an appendix to one of lord Kaimes's Sketches of the History of Man, is now published, as it well deserves to be, in a separate form.

"The Prose Works of John Milton, with a Life of the Author," have been carefully republished by a synod of elegant scholars, and grace the year in the form of four volumes octavo. Milton is the first epic poet of modern ages, and almost the first of every age: and if not the first prose writer of his country, there are but two or three, even to the present hour, who have any pretensions to precede him. The republication, in a collected and regular form, of the productions of such a man, is a national concern, and we have no doubt will be patronised accordingly. The biography, which is mi-

nute and expressive, is the production of Dr. Charles Symmons; who is also one of the most copious annotators upon the general work. The translators of his Latin pieces are Mr. Robert Fellows and Mr. Francis Wrangham, who have equally executed their task with fidelity and spirit. Mr. W. Gifford has translated a few of the poetical quotations.

"The Complete Works in Philosophy, Politics and Morals, of the late Dr. Benjamin Franklin," have also for the first time been collected and arranged. They occupy three volumes in octavo, including an account of his early life, drawn up from memoirs written by himself, and which we cannot avoid wishing had been published entire. The extensive celebrity of this moralist and statesman, the importance of many of his writings, and the deep influence they have exerted over the American republic, justify such an undertaking, and will ensure it success.

The region of domestic poetry has offered us but little within the precincts of the year; and that little by no means of an exalted character. Not a single epic or didactic poem of any kind, and but one dramatic piece that has any pretensions to a poetic character, we mean Mr. Maurice's "Fall of the Mogul," a tragedy founded on an interesting portion of Indian history, and attempted to be cast on the Grecian model. The whole, independently of this, are mere fugitive and evanescent pieces, in the shape of ballads, odes, epistles, occasional translations, tales and epitaphs. We shall cite only the titles of a few, and from these the reader may form his judgement of the general nature of the rest.

"The Birds of Scotland, with other Poems: by James Grahame," published, we suppose, because of the deserved popularity of the author's poem called "The Sabbath," but in every respect far inferior to the latter, and which would not, perhaps, have been published otherwise. "Poems by Edward Rushton," concerning which we only add, that they are the effusions of a poor blind bard, labouring to support himself and family by this only mean that appears to remain to him, and that they are tender, pathetic, and elegant. "Wild Flowers; or Pastoral and Roral Poetry: by Robert Bloomfield,"—flowers plucked hastily and indiscriminately, and with so little selection that there are almost as many weeds as ornamental blossoms. "The Falls of the Clyde; or the Fairies: a Scottish dramatic Pastoral, in five Acts: with three preliminary Dissertations;" more prose than poetry, and as much nonsense as either. "Poetical Recreations: by Anthony Harrison. 2 vols. 8vo." "The Wild Harp's Murmurs; or Rustic Strains: by D. Service." The former, the work of an attorney's clerk, who, for ought we know, may be dextrous at *engrossing* parchment, but will never *engross* the Muses: the latter, the production of a cobler, who has mistaken his own stall for Parnassus, and an Iambic foot for the foot of one of his customers. "Tales in Verse, critical, satyrical and humorous: by Thomas Holcroft"—tales in verse, but not *in poetry*: stuff more wretched and despicable never defiled waste paper.

Of republications in some new form,

form, or with additional matter, we have to notice Mr. G. Chalmers's corrected and enlarged edition of "The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay, of the Mount, Lyon King at Arms, under James V.," in three vols. octavo, accompanied with a life of the author, introductory dissertations, and an appropriate glossary. This work was wanted, and bating the quaintness and causticity of his style, Mr. Chalmers has ably fulfilled the office he has undertaken.

Mr. Herbert, we are glad to see, has published a second part of his "Translations" and "Miscellaneous Poetry." The translations, in the present volume, are from some admirable little pieces in the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and other bards of the southern, rather than of the northern regions of Europe, as in the anterior volume. The merit we have formerly pointed out is continued with an equal tide through the present effusions. Mrs. Robinson's "Poetical Works," are now for the first time collected; and, by the addition of several pieces never before published, extend to three volumes octavo. In the new matter we meet with nothing that is peculiarly prominent, and the old is too well known to render it necessary that we should enlarge upon it. Mr. W. Smythe has published an augmented edition of his "English Lyrics," enriched by some few additional pieces of equal merit; and Mr. Sotheby has republished, in two elegant volumes octavo, his very admirable translation of Wieland's "Oberon." His epic poem, entitled "Saul," does not fall within the range of the existing year. We shall suitably notice it in our ensuing Retrospect.

Whether it be owing to a want of taste in the frequenters of the theatre, or a want of talents in the writers for it, we cannot stay to determine, but most certain it is, that nothing can be more worthless than the dramatic representations of the present day. Even the following, which we select as some of the best specimens of the season, may probably be cast into the gulf of oblivion before the barren catalogue reaches the hands of our readers.—"The School for Friends; a Comedy written by Mr. Chambers;" unimpeachable in its morality, but drowsy in its dialogue, and in its characters indistinct. "The Hunter of the Alps, a Drama; interspersed with Music: by Mr. Dimond, jun." well adapted for modern effect, and temporary applause, but designed neither for futurity nor for the closet. "Five Miles Off; or the Finger-Post." "Thirty Thousand; or Who's the Richest?" both the production of Mr. T. Dibdin, and both of merely diurnal merit, nor pretending, as we suppose, to any thing beyond. The former is a comedy in three acts: the latter a comic opera. "Spanish Dollars; or the Priest of the Parish." This, by its author, Mr. Cherry, is denominated an *operatic sketch*. We scarcely understand the expression: and it is not to be wondered at, therefore, that we should not understand the *thing* it is meant to express. "The Three and the Deuce; a Comic Opera in three Acts: by Prince Hoare." This, we are told, has been performed at both houses with success.—Mr. Hoare should not be too greedy of good fortune: had he been prudent, he would have contented himself with such success.

By bringing *Three and the Deuce* before the public, we think he has made an unlucky *throw*, and that he runs a strong chance of being *gammoned*.

The two best novels that have occurred to us in the course of the year, are, "Human Beings," by Mr. Francis Latham; and "Leonora," by Miss Edgeworth, both of whom have been long initiated into the science of novel-writing, and seem to have obtained high and patent posts in that department. The plot of the former is devoted to the recompence of honest and virtuous love in low life, through the instrumentality of a most excellent and persevering philanthropist. The moral, indeed, is not new; but the fable itself has sufficient claims to originality, the characters to discrimination of features, the narrative to spirit and interest. The fable of the latter is also sufficiently original, and its characters sufficiently distinguished, but its morality is more exceptionable; or, to express ourselves in correcter language, the *impure* characters are, in general, painted so much more piquantly and with so much more relief than the *pure*, that we are afraid the greater number of its fair readers may be rather induced to follow the former, while they approve the latter. Leonora is a faithful wife and an excellent woman: lady Olivia, an artful sentimentalist of the French and German schools of cosmopolitanism, who, with the cant of purity and sensibility for ever on her lips, is perpetually endeavouring to undermine the foundation of private happiness and domestic virtue.—She succeeds in obtaining the friendship and confidence of Leonora, and afterwards in intriguing with the heart of Leonora's husband, and obtaining the full possession of his affections. A dangerous fit of illness, just as he was on the point of quitting his wife for his mistress, and his native land for a foreign country, is made the mean of recalling him to a sense of conjugal duty—and the whole ends as it should do. The character of an elegant and intriguing French profligate, under the name of Gabrielle de P——, the confidential friend of lady Olivia, is drawn to the life, but affords, we are afraid, no useful lesson.

"Donald" is the hero of a novel, published anonymously, who under this name represents a trick to which the novellist has often had recourse before as the basis of his plot, and which consists in the foster-mother's substituting her own son for the nursling placed under her care, and retaining the nursling in his stead. Time most marvellously sets all things to rights; the young impostor, in spite of every advantage of fashion and education, is addicted to all the vices of low life; while the injured boy, in the midst of poverty and wretchedness, feels the instinctive influence of higher birth, and presses forward in the pursuit of every thing that is exalted and noble: the substitution is at length discovered, and we have no reason to complain of the writer's retributive justice. The work is well written; busy, interesting, progressive, complete.

"Zefloya; or The Moor: a Romance of the fifteenth Century: by Charlotte Dacre." This lady, who used to write stimulating love verses in the newspapers under the name of Rosa Matilda, has here composed a stimulating novel after the manner of The Monk—the same lust—the same infernal agents—the same voluptuous language,

language. What need we say more?

"Epicharis; a Translation by C. T." "Madame de Maintenon; translated from the French of Madame de Genlis." These translations may be called historical romances, in which real histories are resorted to as the basis of the respective fables, but inflected to the will or caprice of the respective writers. The first pretends to give us the secret history of the conspiracy of Piso against Nero—a development of the real character of Agrippina, and the emperor's infamous conduct towards Octavia: the second offers us a fanciful narrative of the events that elevated Madame de Maintenon to the throne of France. We cannot approve of such perversion of actual facts.

FOREIGN LITERATURE

Of the Year 1806.

CHAPTER I.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL:

Containing a Sketch of the Productions of Germany, Italy, France, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and the American States.

WE cannot suffer the high degree of satisfaction that has been expressed from various quarters in regard to the fulness and variety of the present department in our Retrospect of last year to pass, without acknowledging the pleasure which such information has communicated to us; nor without feeling an additional stimulus to an indefatigable exertion in future. To the difficulties we have still to contend with from the continuance of a war which has not only struck at the very basis of all continental literature, but almost shut us out from obtaining copies of what has actually been produced, we need not advert. They are of themselves sufficiently prominent; and we trust our readers will esteem us not altogether undeserving of thanks for what we have once more been able to collect, rather than entitled to censure for what we may have omitted.

We shall begin, as usual, with the GERMAN biblicists. M. Seiler, whose name is well known to the critical world, has published a new German version of the New Testament, in which one or two texts, supposed to be spurious, are omitted, and the difficult or contested passages are attempted to be explained from the best labours of modern commentators. It is accompanied with a rich and copious annotation, partly derived and partly original. M. Dereiser, who is engaged in a new translation of the entire Bible, has completed and published the second part of his third volume, which extends to the book of Job inclusively. He has largely availed himself of the previous excerptions of his fellow-labourers in the same field, the younger Schultens and Eichhorn. M. Jong, in his "Erster Nachtrag zur Siegesgeschichte der Christlichen Religion," has attempted a new interpretation of the Apocalypse: but we cannot perceive that he has thrown much fresh light upon this recondite prophecy. We may be allowed, indeed, to pause at the present moment, before we adopt any fresh system, since its denunciations have now been directed by christians of different persuasions against almost every church, and every religion, and

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every political government in the world, of any degree of eminence, from the period of its promulgation, without appearing to exhibit any specific proofs of its having been immediately intended for any of them:—against heretics, infidels, and papists: against heathens and Mahometans: against ancient Rome and modern Rome: against Lutherans and Calvinists: against the kirk and the church of England: against the Bourbons and the Bonapartes.

The Philosophisch-kritiah Commentar über das Neue Testaments.—"Philosophical, Critical, and Historical Commentary on the New Testament, by Professor Paulus," to which we have heretofore adverted, has proceeded to the third part of his last and correct edition. It displays the same boldness of interpretation, the same latitude of fancy and pruriency of conjectural criticism, which so peculiarly characterise the preceding parts, and have so strong a tendency to pull down this citadel by a repair of the outworks. We are not surprised that this book should have excited alarm; nor are we sorry that the alarm has been given: it has been sounded from various quarters, but chiefly from a very able work of M. Sandbichler, entitled Eine Stimme des rufenden in der Wüste—"A Voice of one crying in the Wilderness." We trust professor Paulus will not be inattentive to this voice.

Among the multiplicity of books upon christian theology in general, we may mention that M. H. D. Hermes has re-published, with many additions and improvements, his Allgemeines Religions und Erbauungs-buch für Christen jeder Religion—"Universal Theology and Book of Education for Christians of every Religion;" while M. T. A. Hermes has offered to the world a dissertation Ueber das Selbst oder Eigenwirken im Christenthum—"On Free-will and Spontaneity in Christianity;" both works are written in opposition to the doctrines of philosophical necessity, and of the argument *à priori* concerning the existence of the Deity. M. Heinrich is proceeding with his valuable Beyträge zur Beförderung der Theologischen Wissenschaften, &c.—"Contributions towards promoting the study of Theological Science, more especially by a critical Illustration of the New Testament." And Dr. Henke has had sufficient encouragement to have enabled him to complete the fourth fascicle of his Museum für Religions-wissenschaft—"Museum for Religious Knowledge." Both these works are highly deserving of extensive circulation, and we trust they will obtain it.

There has been much speculation and some idle fancy lately evinced among German religionists respecting the appearance of disembodied spirits after death, chiefly in consequence of the positive assertion of a writer of some repute, in a work published upon this very subject, that he had seen the apparition of his own wife after her decease. M. Connabich has published, in reference to this point, an octavo volume of Gedanken über die menschliche Seele, deren Fortdauer und Erscheinung nach dem Tode—"Thoughts on the Human Soul, and on its Post-existence, and Apparition after Death;" and M. Sentinis, a work that has now extended to two octavo volumes: the first of which is entitled Was Stehe Vom zustande nach dem Tode in der Bibel?—"What is the State of Man after Death according to the Bible?" and the second, or continuation of the

the enquiry, Elpizon; oder über meine Fortdauer im Tode—"Elpizon; or Thoughts on my own Post-existence upon Death." Upon the whole, the German writers seem much disposed to encourage the belief of occasional re-appearances. We cannot enter into the dispute, but ought not to quit it without observing, that the greater part of their reasoning is *visionary*, whatever the subject of it may be.

There is something far more substantial in M. Bauer's Handbuch der Geschichte der Hebræischen Nation—"Manual of the History of the Jewish Nation:" of which the second volume, in the octavo form, has lately reached us, and completes the work. The whole contains nearly nine hundred pages, and the price is six florins. It is an excellently arranged compilation, and extends from the origin of the Hebrews as a people, to the destruction of their political existence.

Whilst adverting to this extraordinary and distinctive race, we will remark, lest we should not have a more convenient place for it, that such is the concourse of Jews at this moment at Basle in Switzerland, that a Hebrew newspaper for their use is on the point of being established in this city, containing, like other journals of a similar kind, a regular series of the political and commercial events of the day.

Before we quit the German empire, if we may yet call it an empire, it becomes us to observe, that Dindorf has by this time, nearly if not altogether, completed his very admirable "Hebrew and Chaldaic Dictionary," enriched by the addition of a truly valuable commentary on the books of the Old Testament, from a careful perusal of the different dialects, and the suggestions of the best scholiasts. The latin title runs as follows: Dindorphi novum Lexicon Linguæ Hebraico-Chaldaicæ, cum Commentario in Libros Vet. Test. Dialectorum cognatarum imprimis Opem Animadversionibusque præstantibus. Interpret. locupletet.

We are led insensibly to the biblical literature of ITALY; amongst the most valuable productions of which is a select Hebrew dictionary, from the labours of the indefatigable De Rossi, printed at Parma, in a thin octavo, and bearing the title of Lexicon Hebraicum Selectum, quo ex antiquo et inedito R. Parchonis Lexico novas ac diversas rariorum et difficilium Vocum Significationes sistit, Joh. Bern. De Rossi, Linguarum orientalium Professor:—"A Select Hebrew Lexicon, in which various new and different Significations, of unusual and difficult Terms are propounded from an old and inedited Lexicon of Rabbi Parchon, by J. B. De Rossi, Professor of Oriental Languages." Rabbi Parchon flourished in the 12th century, and was highly esteemed for his learning: his lexicon, which he entitled כתובים, was finished in 1161. It was well known to contain a rich treasure of Hebrew philosophy; and professor De Rossi, in thus developing it to the public, has rendered a very acceptable service, and put us into possession of a useful supplement to his own *Variæ Lectiones Veteris Testamenti*, which we have already noticed with high approbation in a former Retrospect. The publication of this lexicon, however, is not the whole for which we are now indebted to this admirable Hebraist. He has imprinted, in their original Hebrew, some very curious manuscript elucubrations of Rabbi Emanuel on particular passages in the Psalms, a judicious commentator on the books

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the Old Testament, who flourished towards the beginning of the fourteenth century; and has accompanied the Hebrew with a Latin version: and has also published a Latin Dissertation on the unsettled question, "What became of the Edition of the Alcoran, supposed to have been printed at Venice, in Arabic Characters, from Paganini's Types, about the Beginning of the sixteenth Century?—Both these, as well as the Lexicon, are printed at the imperial press at Parma. The title to the former is, "R. Immanuelis Filii Salomonis Scholia in Selecta Loca Psalmorum, ex inedito ejus Commentario decerpsit ac Latine vertit J. B. De Rossi:" and that to the latter, "De Corano Arabico Venetiis Paganini Typis impresso sub Initio Sec. xvi. Dissertatio J. B. De Rossi."

In France, the late legalized license of the Jewish worship, and the admission of the Jewish people to the full rights of citizenship, have excited much inquiry into the consistency of such a regulation with the dispensations of Providence, and the curse which, on account of the disobedience of the ancestors of this people, has been inflicted upon them for so many ages. The chief opponent of the Jews is a M. de Bonald, who, among other attacks upon them, introduced a long and violent article into the French Mercury of Feb. 8, last: the best supporter of their cause is a Jewish lady, who, in a direct answer, entitled "Observations sur un Article de M. de Bonald sur les Juifs," has evinced an equal degree of historic and political knowledge, and a very expert, and we believe, an unanswerable train of arguments in favour of the emancipation of her own race. She abounds, as may well be expected, with compliments to Bonaparte, some of which are rather too highly seasoned for a popular relish on this side of the water. There is, however, a work which has lately appeared at Paris, with which we have been still better pleased. It is entitled "The Involuntary Apologists: or the Christian Religion proved and defended, from the very Writings of the Philosophers themselves: intended, by clear and demonstrative Arguments, to refute the more usual Objections of Infidelity, and to enable Persons in general to convince themselves of its Veracity." We have had several successful attempts of the same kind in our own country; and we trust that an equal success will attend this new effort in France, where infidelity is roving about with still wider strides, and upon a larger sphere. There is one pamphlet which, though published at Geneva, has had, as we understand, a rapid and extensive circulation through France, and which we should like to see translated into English. It is a sermon preached by M. Cellerier, entitled, Le Danger des mauvais Livres—"The Danger of bad Books." The text is Rev. x. 10. Je pris le livre—et je le devorai. The sermon contains a great deal of popular eloquence as well as judicious observation, upon a subject of the utmost consequence to the moral and political well-being of all civilised states.

From Holland we have received nothing that is particularly worthy of notice. A very useful journal has been established at Amsterdam, under the title of Bibliothek van theologische Letterkund —"Library of theological Literature," which has every chance of succeeding. It has already reached the publication of its fourth number.

hereby completing its first volume, containing 700 pages. We also perceive that not less than nine answers have been returned to the following prize question, proposed by the Amsterdam society for the promotion of religious knowledge—"How comes it to pass that in our own dark and distressful Times, Insensibility should be so extensive, and a due Attention to the Dispensations and Judgements of God so little observable?" The answer to which the prize has been awarded is the composition of M. C. A. Van den Broeck, preacher at Oud-Beizerland; and it seems to deserve so honorary a distinction.

Among the biblical expositions of most celebrity in DENMARK, we may mention M. Larsen's "Critical and Exegetic Commentary on certain Predictions of the Prophets," which, from the specimen we have seen of it, is likely to be a work of sound reasoning and plausible conjecture. The specimen we refer to is an inaugural dissertation on the prophecies of Zephaniah, constituting the first number in the series, entitled, "Commentarii critico-exegetici in quorundam Prophetarum Vaticinia Specimen primum, Vaticinia Zephaniæ complectens, quod pro summis in Philosophiâ Honoribus Examini Facult. Philosoph. Havniensis submisit Larsen." The author divides this book of prophecy into three distinct parts, besides an epilogue or general conclusion, in which he conjectures it to have been the prophet's intention to recapitulate, in a summary manner, the subject of his preceding labours. There is also an inaugural dissertation by M. Prost, on the much disputed topic of the Canticles, that has excited some attention. The title he has given to it is, "De Carmine Hebræorum *erotico* quod vulgo inscribitur Canticum Canticorum." We cannot agree with him in his opinion, which is, that these *erotic* songs or amorets were written by some poet of a later age than the monarch whose name they bear, and who only published them under the name of Solomon to give them additional celebrity and authority. With the writings of the German critics upon this singular book—the remarks of Lessing, Herder, Döderlein, Rösenmuller—M. Prost seems well acquainted. Had he been as deeply versed in the translations and critical remarks of Melesigenio and Bossuet, and particularly in those of our ingenious countryman Mr. Good, who, with an ample knowledge of the Oriental languages and Oriental literature, has compared it with a variety of Persian and Indian poems of a similar cast, and nearly similar antiquity, we have no doubt that M. Prost would have formed a different, and less derogatory conjecture. Professor Tode's religious works have been republished, with a supplement of matter collected since his decease: and Dr. Munter has made an acceptable present to the world in a volume of "Thoughts on Natural Theology," which he has drawn up from his popular lectures on this science.

In SWEDEN, the very valuable miscellany of the Rev. Dr. J. Möller, bishop of Gottland, has, we are afraid, received a total cessation by the death of its excellent author. We allude to his journal of "Lectures on different Religious Subjects," commenced about five years since, and now extending to seven octavo volumes. The talents and erudition, the judgement and liberality, displayed throughout the whole

whole of this interesting register, make us greatly regret that it should meet with so abrupt a close; and especially by so irreparable a loss. There is an essay, in vol. iii, on the subject of parochial schools, and the best means of instructing the children of the peasantry, that we should extremely like to see translated into English at the present moment; as containing the practical result of a wise and excellent system of regulations that have been long carried into effect, under the superintendence of the Swedish government, through every part of the country, and have been accompanied with the most beneficial consequences. Whilst upon this subject, we will just mention that count Schwerin, rector of Sala, has also just published, at Stockholm, a very excellent volume of "Lectures on Education and general Cultivation;" in which an attention to elemental learning among the poor, and especially such as is calculated to impress on the heart a deep reverence for religion, is duly inculcated. An anonymous writer has also given, at Stockholm, an interesting "Account of the Conversion of the Lappians or Laplanders:" and M. Ludeke, of Nodkoping, one of the chaplains to his majesty, has received orders to translate the national Catechism of Serebelius, into German, for the use of the Swedish schools in Pomerania; while Dr. Hackenburg, of Stockholm, has received similar orders respecting the Swedish Liturgy: it being the laudable intention of his majesty to assimilate, as nearly as possible, the national religion, national laws, and national instruction, throughout the whole of his territories. Few public characters have been more entitled to the honour of a funeral oration than the late M. Rosenalder; and M. Adlerbath has been deservedly appointed to commemorate his virtues. He was the founder and perpetual president of the Stockholm academy of sciences; to the establishment of which he subscribed 8,338 crowns in the year 1777. To the university of Upsal he also made a present of his rich collection of medals, as well as of 600 crowns for the purchase of additional medals:—the university has since received the sumptuous gift of his select and curious library.

The AMERICAN States, still chiefly indebted for their theological readings to books exported from Great Britain, have offered us little of prominent value. The Rev. W. Price, and Rev. Jos. Jones, of Wilmington, Delaware, are about to republish, in four quarto volumes, Dr. Gill's Exposition of the New Testament: a committee of the North Consociation of Hartford county has already published an abridgement of Henry on Prayer; and a great variety of religious journals have been lately started, the profits of which are to be appropriated to missionary purposes. Among these we may mention "The Connecticut Evangelical Magazine," published at Hartford; "The Massachuset's Missionary Magazine," at Boston; "The Piscataqua Evangelical Magazine," at Portsmouth; "The Panoplist, or Christian Armoury," Charlestown.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

Comprising the chief Productions of Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, and the American States.

THE medical and chirurgical contributions of Germany within the range of our present lucubrations are numerous, and several of them important. M. Soemmering, under the title of "Abbildungen des mens-chlichen Hoer-Organs," has published a very accurate and valuable description of the human organs of hearing. The form is folio;—there is an accompaniment of five well executed plates, and the price is eleven florins. At Stutgard, M. Storr has offered some useful "Researches into the Nature and Treatment of Hypocondriasis"—Untersuchengen über den Begrif; and M. Elsaesser a neat "Treatise on the Operation for the Cataract";—Uber die Operation des grauen Stuars; in which, if there be little that is new, there is much that is well arranged, plain, simple, and perspicuous. We have met with a variety of anatomical works that are possessed of considerable merit: the chief are M. Hesselbach's, printed at Amstad, and entitled Vollständige Daleitung zur Zergliederungkunde, "A complete Treatise on the Anatomy of the Human Body." The size is quarto, and the whole will probably extend to three volumes: at present we have only been able to obtain the first part of the first volume. In the octavo form, M. Oechy has published, at Prague, the first volume of a work of the same nature, entitled "Bandes Menschenkoerpers:" this volume contains the branches of osteology and myology: they are correctly given, but not always with a sufficiency of synonyms, so that foreigners will occasionally be at a loss to follow the writer. Hufeland has advanced to the fourth volume of his System der Praktischen Heilkunde—"System of Practical Medicine;" and has continued his "Theapeutics" to the close of the second section, which is an able treatise on cutaneous diseases and the effects of poisons. Wollkop has also completed the second volume of his Untersuchen über den Blutausfluss—"Observations on the Bloody Flux;" in which he discovers just as violent and indiscriminate an attachment to the Brunonian system as at first.

Upon the whole, however, the Brunonian system in Germany appears to have past its zenith; and, if we mistake not, Dr. Gall's Cranioscopy, which is of still later date, is also upon the decline. The Germans embrace the crudest fancies and speculations of literature, with a heat that renders it impossible for them to support long—it is a fever of the ephemeral type, and soon spends itself. Dr. Gall's friends still flatter him that he is possessed of all the popularity of Lavater; but we find him exposed to both solid and satiric attacks in such works as Bartell's "Bemerkungen,"

kungen," and the anonymous publications of "Antigall;" Darstellung und Beleuchtung des Gallschen Systems—"Exposition and Illustration of the Gallian System;" and Reisen einer Schädellehrers—"Travels of a Craniologist." The philosopher opened his lectures at Marburg in August last, but had few pupils; from Marburg he travelled to Heidelburg, to engage in public debate with his opponent Scherman, yet he was here less successful than at Marburg.

M. Link of Leipsic has made a valuable present to the public in his Versuch einer Geschichte und Physiologie—"Dissertation on Animal History and Physiology." It extends to two volumes 8vo, of which the first is appropriated to the *general physiology* of animals, their external anatomy, powers, and conformation;—the second, to their *particular physiology*, interior conformation, and the structure and functions of the viscera. M. Doerner, under the title of "Neue Galvanische Versuche," has published at Tubingen a German version of Nysten's Galvanic Experiments on the Muscles of Man, and other warm-blooded Animals. M. Heidemann has presented the first volume of his Völlstandige Theorie, &c.—"Complete Theory of Galvanic Electricity." M. Hersch of Barenth, and Dr. Fischer of Heldbourghausen, have both translated, in separate works, Leroy's valuable Treatise on Maternal Medicine, or the means of bringing up and preserving the health of children. The title of the first version is *Hygea als Mütter*; of the second, *Heilkunde für Mütter*.

We have still a variety of works upon *forensic* medicine, a branch of science too little studied in our own country, but which seems to be pushed to an unnecessary extent in many parts of the continent—of these the chief are, Medicinische Merwürdigkeiten für Criminal-Richter, Aerzte, und Prediger—"Medical Memorabilia, for the Use of Judges, Physicians, and Clergymen," and the Allgemeines Archiv für die Gesundheit's Polizei—"General Repository for Medical Police."

In FRANCE, we notice one work of something of the same nature, but carried to a still greater extreme: it is by M. Eusebius Salverte, and is entitled Des Rapports de la Médicine avec la Politique—"On the Connection of Medicine with Political Science:" in which the ingenious author endeavours to prove that every class and order of society ought to be in some measure acquainted with the general theory of medicine, as the best mean of precluding them from myriads of evils, in body, mind, and imagination, to which they are perpetually exposed. There is a degree of sophistry pervading this work which we believe to have been undesigned on the part of the writer, but which is not a whit less sophistry on this account. We have not the shadow of a doubt that the popular study of medicine would produce, and has actually produced, more general mischief than a total ignorance of the science would have done among the people at large. Here, as in every other case, "a little learning is a dangerous thing;" and for one poor sufferer who is amended by the kind officiousness of lady-doctors at their country-seats, it would not be difficult to prove that a dozen are marred.

In an octavo volume, entitled De l'Influence de la Nuit, &c.—"On the Influence of Night over

Diseased

Diseased Persons," we have met with a collection of memoirs of some importance, which have obtained prizes from the medical society at Brussels, in answer to the following questions proposed by the society for examination: "Does the Night possess any Influence over Persons who are Ill? Are there Diseases in which this Influence is more or less apparent? What is the Physical Cause of such Influence?" The memoirs here published are six in number: the prize proposed was a gold Napoleon medal, of the value of 200 franks. Fourteen candidates returned essays; but though the prize was unanimously adjudged to M. de la Prade, physician to the civil and military hospital at Montbrison, there were five others conceived to be so essentially meritorious, that the adjudicators resolved upon rewarding the authors with two secondary and three accessory prizes, and of publishing the essays conjointly. The whole of these memoirists answer the first question affirmatively; and of course the next subject of enquiry is into the cause of the influence in question; M. Prade, and M. Rymone, and in truth most of the writers, agree in ascribing a directly stimulating effect to light, and a directly sedative effect to darkness; but, with respect to the first observation, it should be remarked that strong light always exhausts, and probably from the phosoxygen hereby produced, or the abstraction of oxygen from the body by its peculiar affinity for light: and next, if mere darkness produce a directly opposite or sedative effect, darkness must itself be a distinct agent, a substance *sui generis*, a position which, though it have been sometimes advanced with respect to cold, we should scarcely conceive any modern chemist would maintain, with respect to darkness. M. Murat, physician at Montpelier, another and one of the best informed and most ingenious of the candidates, ascribes the common effects perceived during the darkness of night to a different cause, and conceives that, according to the laws of the animal economy, a series or rotation of changes takes place in the human body in the course of every day: these he regards as consisting of four: and he hence attempts to account for the feverish state which is always induced towards evening; as he does also, from combining this circumstance with the common causes and phænomena of fever in general, for the species of fever which is more peculiarly the subject of sensation. Upon the whole, however, the inquiry is still left very considerably in the dark:—for while it is yet doubtful whether any such diurnal rotation of temperament take place in the constitution, even admitting with M. Murat that it does, we have not the smallest glimpse to instruct us as to the cause of such rotation: whether it be owing to solar influence, to the influence of light generally, or to any other agency.

Melanges de Physiologie, de Physique, et de Chemie, &c.—"Miscellanies of Physiology, Physics, Chemistry, &c., by Claude Roucher de Ratle," 2 vols. 8vo. These miscellanies are a disgrace to the Paris press: the author out-Mesmer's Mesmer himself, and supposes that by pressing his lower ribs with his fingers, and intensely thinking of a person who may be either present or absent, provided the absence do not exceed the limit of three hundred feet, he will instantly

stantly become acquainted with the whole train of thoughts, and the profoundest secrets that occupy the mind of such person; unless indeed such person himself should be so deeply initiated into the arcana of this newly discovered science of sympathy, as to apply his hand, at the same time, to the back part of his head, for the express purpose of breaking the chain of intelligencial agency—a charm which is sure to succeed, and the only charm that can prevent the unquestionable communication of his ideas. Such is the trash which in the present instance is suffered to fill two octavo volumes, and is dignified by the appellation of *physiology, physics, and chemistry!!* Nouveaux Elemens de la Science de l'Homme—"New Elements of the Science of Man:" by P. J. Barthez, physician to the emperor and king. The author commences well, and presents the reader with some preliminary observations on the principles of life and motion. But he seems, soon, to grow weary of his task, and leaves it incomplete. He is a materialist; but does not give us any specific reason why vital motion may not continue for ever, resolving the whole, which is by far the easiest way of settling the enquiry, into a grand, universal, and primordial law, which man is as much compelled to obey as he is every other law of nature. Yet death is only a sleep—and as sleep is often *pleasant*, so death itself may be often *pleasant* also. To which we would add, that as sleep is also sometimes *unpleasant*, so death perhaps may sometimes prove *a little unpleasant* as well.

Considerations sur les Etres Organisés—"Observations on Organised Beings:" by J. C. Delametherie, 2 vols, 8vo. This work is designed, first, to prove the resemblance which subsists in the general physiology of animals and vegetables; next, to offer a new methodical classification; and lastly, to establish the galvanic fluid as the true source and medium of nervous action, and as being secreted for this very purpose by the brain. We do not approve of the new classification here presented to us—we cannot suffer vegetables to enter into the chain of sentient beings—though we are ready to admit of a great and wonderful similarity of phænomena in their respective structures. In regard to the identity of the galvanic and nervous fluids, the experiments here referred to are by no means sufficient to convince us. The idea has of late years been started by many physiologists, both of our own country and of the continent, but we have hitherto acquired nothing like certainty. This work nevertheless will by no means detract from M. Delametherie's established reputation: it is not always that he has intermixed his fanciful conjectures with so much legitimate reasoning, and so many fair appeals to physical and established facts.

On the subject of natural history in a more detailed form, we have to notice M. Thomas's Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire Naturelle des Sangsues,—"Dissertations on the Natural History of Leeches;" in which the author shews himself to have been an attentive observer of the economy of this curious worm, and has given a variety of useful regulations for its preservation in a state of confinement. In a series of instructive letters M. Angeleny has given his own method, from long experience, well worth attending to, of rearing the silk-

worm,

worm, and cultivating the mulberry tree for its nutriment. He has proved the practicability of naturalising this plant in situations considerably below the mean temperature of Great Britain.

Denmark, in the class of physiology, has to boast of the first part, comprising two volumes, of a very valuable work by M. C. G. Rafn, of the royal college of economy and commerce of Copenhagen, entitled Naturhistorie for hver Mand, &c.—"Natural History for every Class of Men, describing the Internal Construction and External Make of Mammalian Animals, their Abodes and Manner of Living, their Utility and Noxiousness to Man." The species chiefly described are the monkey, badger, sloth, ant-eater, armadillo, elephant, rhinoceros, camel, stag, camelopard, bison, goat, sheep, antilope, ox, horse, swine. Mr. Rafn's talents as a naturalist are not now to be estimated for the first time—his dissertation on the torpid state of hybernating animals has long secured for him a high degree of reputation in this pleasing branch of physics. The work, so far as it goes, is a considerable improvement upon Fleicher's *Naturhistorie*, in consequence of its embracing all the later discoveries of physiologists, and especially of Parmentier, Marshall, and Thaer, among agriculturists; and of Forster, Pennant, Pallas, Vaillant and Hearne, among zoosophists. Upon the whole, it is a work that Denmark was much in want of. In conjunction with Rafn's "Natural History," we may mention M. Olufsen's "Rural Economy of Denmark." It is a code of practical and truly valuable directions, drawn up from the best authorities, and exhibits the agriculture of the Danes in a very respectable light.

In Sweden, a sumptuous and extensive botanical work has commenced, under the superintendence of M. M. Palmstruck and Venus, entitled *Svensk Botanick*—"Swedish Botany." The delineations and descriptions are intended to include four hundred distinct plants: the entire work will comprise sixty-six numbers, of which twelve will constitute a volume; twenty-seven numbers are already published, each of which contains six coloured plates and an equal proportion of text. We are glad to find that M. Quensel's "Natural History of Sweden," commenced last year under the title of "*Svensk Zoologi, eller Svenska Djurens Historia, med illuminerade figurer*," is still continued. Few writers have been better qualified for such a task than M. Quensel, who was professor, in chemistry and natural philosophy, of the royal academy of cadets at Stockholm; nor have many plans been better digested, or bade fairer for success. It offers progressively the synonyms of each animal in different languages, its general characteristic, and a specific and particular description. Unfortunately, the original projector died soon after its commencement; yet it seems to be continued with spirit. A number is published quarterly, and six constitute a volume. Many of the coloured prints are excellent.

Whilst upon the subject of zoology, we must not omit to notice, as an honour to the Russian press and pencil, as well as to Russian literature in general, that M. Drumpelmann, a learned physician of Riga, is publishing by subscription a very extensive entomology, which is to describe fifteen thousand

thousand distinct insects in the author's collection, several hundred birds, many amphibiæ, and various rare animals of the Russian provinces of Livonia, Erthonia, and Courland. M. Drunpelmann has all the talents requisite for a naturalist; for to great industry and acuteness of observation, he adds the desideratum of being an excellent designer and painter. The whole of the drawings are his own production, and he assiduously superintends the engraving and colouring of the plates. The text will be Latin, German, and Russian. Independently of this splendid work, we have to announce, from the same country, M. Pallas's Illustrationes Plantarum imperfecte vel nondum cognitarum, cum Centuria Iconum, — "Description of Plants unknown, or known but imperfectly, with a hundred Plates." It is sufficient to observe that this work evinces the common accuracy of this excellent scholar and philosopher.

Before we quit this branch of science we must return to Germany, to notice M. Londes's *Verzeichniss der wildwachsenden Pflanzen*—"Systematic Catalogue of Plants growing spontaneously in the Environs of Göttingen;" apparently selected with much care, and unquestionably described with much accuracy:—the *Sammlung der Wurzeln* —"Herbal," published at Salsburg by M. Piers, of which the first number only has hitherto made its appearance, correctly designed from the plants themselves properly prepared and fixed on pasteboard; and the "*Grosbrithanien's Conferven*" of M. M. Weber and Mohr, published at Göttingen, and which, as in truth it professes to be, is a literal version of Dillwyn's "Synopsis of British Conferva."

In the department of zoology, M. M. Wolf and Meyn have published at Nuremburg the first nine numbers of their very excellent Naturgeschichte der Voegel Deutschlands—"Natural History of German Birds," described and designed from nature. The work when completed will be full and characteristic. To every species is added the German, French, Latin and English synonyms; the genuine and specific criteria follow, including their original country, habits, food, mode of propagation and nidification; their useful or noxious qualities: with occasional anatomical remarks. M. M. Beckstien and Scharfenberg have, in like manner, commenced conjointly a work entitled *Vollständige Naturgeschichte der schadlichen Forstinsekten*—"The Natural History of Insects which are detrimental to Forests." The first volume only is yet printed, at the Leipsic press, and is a quarto of 290 pages, with three plates of engravings. In the continuation of the work is to be given, the history of useful insects which favour the growth of trees by destroying those that are pernicious. We do not much admire the classification, but the descriptions are well drawn up, chiefly from Linnæus and Fabricius. A very splendid history of European Phalænæ is now publishing at Breslaw, under the superintendence of M. Louis de Müller. It is entitled Abbildungen Europæischen Nacht-Schmetterlinge. It is published in two editions, a folio and quarto: of the former, not more than forty copies are to be printed; of the latter, not more than sixty. This limitation seems absurd: the work will be terminated in six or seven numbers—the folio copy six rix dollars, the quarto three. A more

useful, though less magnificent publication is presented by M. G. S. Manski, in his *Naturgeschichte der Haustbiere*—"Natural History of domestic Animals." It is an octavo volume, printed at Posen, and is chiefly designed for agriculturists and other rural economists, who will find in it a treasure of valuable information.

We must not omit to mention that in FRANCE, M. M. Humboldt and Bonpland have undertaken an expensive work on "Equinoxial Plants," being chiefly the result of their own actual observations. A fascicle is to be published every fortnight; and the few numbers that have yet reached us are executed with great care. M. P. J. Redoute, painter to the museum of natural history, in his Liliacés—"The Liliaceous Tribes," has engaged in a very expensive and magnificent undertaking. This is also highly embellished with coloured prints, and published in separate fascicles, or livraisons. M. J. Saint-Hilaire has presented his countrymen with an agreeable work, but upon a much smaller scale, in his Plantes de France décrites et peintes d'après Nature—"The Plants of France described and painted from Nature." His merit is well known from his antecedent labours, and the present will certainly produce no loss of credit to him.

To the agriculturist we cannot but recommend a thin octavo volume lately published at Paris by M. Fanon, "On the Causes of the Decay of Forests, and the easiest and most economical Means of restoring them." The observations here offered are the result of thirty years close attention to the subject discussed.

Upon general agriculture France has this year offered us two distinct works entitled to notice: the one is M. Poinsot's Ami des Cultivateurs, &c.—"The Farmer's Friend," in 2 vols. 8vo. containing plain and easy rules for obtaining good crops of every kind; with the requisite information for the management of live-stock, poultry, corn, wine, hay, timber; directions for the treatment of the diseases of cattle, and for superintending bees and silk-worms. The other is entitled Cours complet d'Agriculture théorique, pratique, economique, &c. —"A complete Course of Agriculture, theoretical and practical, including Rural Economy and the Veterinary Art." This *course* is given in an alphabetical form: it is, moreover, upon a larger scale than the former work, and occupies two volumes in quarto: it is nevertheless inferior in value: it is too diffuse upon trifling subjects, and displays too general an ignorance of late improvements.

Haüy is still, we perceive, taking the lead among the mineralogists of France, and triumphing over Werner. His system, nomenclature, and terminology, have been offered to the public in two new forms in the course of the year before us, and both are worthy of attention. The one is the *Tableau Methodique* of M. J. A. H. Lucas, joint keeper of the galleries of the museum of natural history; which affords, from Haüy's own treatise, a complete series of the characters of minerals, and contains the more recent discoveries. Subjoined is an indication of the geologic position of each species; and an abridged description of the collection of minerals belonging to the museum of natural history. The other work we refer to is M. Deveaux's Tableau Synoptique—"Synoptic View of Minerals, arranged according to the Method of Haüy." To the synopsis

nopsis is added a terminology, which is sufficiently clear and comprehensive. The whole is designed to supply the place of the methodic table of the late venerable Daubenton, which, from the numerous discoveries that have been recently made in this science, has for many years become obsolete. We will here add, that M. Graffenauer has published at Strasburg a "Treatise on the practical or economic Mineralogy of Alsace"—Essaie d'une Minéralogie Alsacienne économique des Departmens du Haut et du Bas Rhin; which the surveyor of mines may peruse with much benefit: the work is to be continued. M. Doulcet has also performed an acceptable service to the science by the publication of his *Dictionnaire Oryctographique*; it is a portable octavo, and gives the general analyses and specific gravities with sufficient accuracy for common information.

In chemistry and experimental philosophy we can only find time to mention, that M. J. Baader, chief hydraulic engineer to his Bavarian majesty, has published his "Projet d'une nouvelle Machine hydraulique," with explanatory plates, in conformity with the wish expressed by the National Institute, whose committee appointed to investigate it were highly pleased with the invention. Its object is to simplify the present means of supplying the town and gardens of Versailles with water. Lest we should elsewhere forget it, we will here add, that the very excellent work of Wiebeking on hydraulic architecture (*Wasserbaukunst*,) is still continued with its accustomed spirit, and that the fourth volume is now completed.

SPAIN is much indebted to the liberality of his Catholic majesty, who has had printed, at his own expense, a very useful *Curso di Quimica general aplicada a las Artes*—"General Course of Chemistry as applicable to the Arts," drawn up for this purpose by Don Joseph Maria de S. Cristobal, and Don Jos. Gariga y Buaca. It occupies two volumes octavo; and is accompanied with a variety of well-executed and explanatory plates. M. Michelotti, late mathematical professor in the university of Turin, has also published his *Saggio Idrografico del Piemonte*—"Essay on the Hydrography of Piedmont;" a work of much value in hydrostatics. It is dedicated to the prince-regent of Portugal: and his royal highness has been so much pleased with it as to command a translation of it into PORTUGUEZE, which has accordingly been effected by father Francesco Furtado de Mendonça, under the title of *Ensayo Hydrographico del Piedmonte*. We also perceive that the mathematical and philosophical works (*Obras*, &c.) of M. Francis de Borja Stockler, are now printing progressively at the Lisbon press. We have received only the first volume: it consists of six eulogies; a discourse addressed to the president of the royal society; a memoir on the originality of the maritime discoveries of the Portugueze in the fifteenth century, which we recommend to the perusal of our own excellent and enlightened countryman captain Burney; and a mathematical paper addressed to M. Falkel.

On the subject of geography we have to notice Muller's "Neueste Allgemeine Geographie der Gegenwärtigen Zeit," of which the first volume only has yet appeared; and which seems to fulfil the author's professed object, of containing the latest changes:—a great multitude

of chorographic and topographic publications from different German presses: Mascheroni's "*Geometria del Compasso*," ably translated from the Italian into French by M. Charette. M. Romme's "*Tableau des Vents, des Marées et des Courans*," accompanied with important reflections on these phænomena, many of which minutely coincide with M. Capper's antecedent observations: and M. Puissant's "Traité de Géodésie;" or Explanation of the trigonometrical and astronomical methods which have been applied to the measurement of the earth—with explanatory plates and tables.

The science of astronomy has presented us, among other valuable works, with Dr. Shroeter's "*Lilienthalische Beobachtungen der neu-entdeckten Planeten*—" Observations made at Lilienthal on the newly discovered Planets Ceres, Pallas, and Juno," with a view to the accurate determination of their real magnitudes, their atmospheres, and other remarkable physical relations in the solar system: various systems of astronomy by Maier, Gelpke, and Buria: Biot's "Traité élémentaire d'Astronomie physique," in 2 volumes 8vo.; and M. Legendre's "New Method of determining the Orbits of Comets," in one vol. 8vo.

M. A. M. Legendre has published a very excellent geometrical treatise on land-surveying; and M. M. Mechain and Delambre have just given to the public the first volume of their most useful labours and scientific operations to determine the best mode of carrying into effect an uniformity of weights and measures. It is a work which ought to be in the hands of every statist and legislator, and has obtained an advantage for France which we should like to see partaken of by our own countrymen. It is printed in a quarto form, and entitled "Base du Systéme Métrique Décimal; ou Mesure de l'Arc du Méridien entre les Paralleles de Dunkerque et Barcelone."

On the subject of military sciences and the art of war we shall notice, that a variety of magazines and repositories (*Archiv*), have of late appeared in Germany, containing an account of whatever is novel or worthy of record in these too popular pursuits, and inspiring the inhabitants with a love of them. A posthumous work of the celebrated Cormontaigne, marechal de camp, who ranks in the line of engineering immediately next to Vauban, has been published at Paris, entitled, "Memorial pour la Defense de Places:" it is intended as a companion to the same author's well-known "Memorial pour l'Attaque;" and is possessed of equal merit. At Stockholm, major Sturtzenbechen, who has lately commenced, under the title of *Ingenieur Lexicon*, a very useful dictionary of surveying, has also published a course of "Lectures on Fortification," in 3 vols. 8vo. with plates. Major Gripenburg has given a treatise "On the Manner of drawing Military Maps, and distinguishing the Objects with Precision:" and sir E. H. Chapman, vice-admiral of the Swedish navy, in a very splendid quarto volume, enriched with forty folio plates, and dedicated to his Swedish majesty, has published at Carlskrona, under the title of *Försök till en Theoretisk afhandlung*, &c.: a very important essay towards a new theory on the subject of giving to line-of-battle ships their proper form and dimensions; with observations on frigates and other armed vessels.

CHAP-

CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND POLITICAL:

Giving a Glance at the principal Productions of Germany, France, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Italy, Portugal, America.

THE limits to which we are confined will not suffer us to do full justice to the extensive department upon which we are now entering. We have already exceeded our bounds, and shall be able to do little more than offer a catalogue of the works of most value upon the various topics it embraces, as they have fallen into our hands, and add such occasional observations as they may seem imperatively to demand.

The chief historical productions that have reached us from Germany are, professor Eichhorn's *Geschichte der drey letzten Jahrhunderte* —"History of the last three Centuries," 6 vols. octavo: M. Planch's *Geschichte des Papstthums*—"History of the Papacy in the Western Churches from the Middle of the seventh Century:" M. Schröck's *Christliche Kirchengeschichte*—"History of the Christian Church since the Reformation," of which two volumes have been antecedently published: *Die Entdekungen des neunzehnter Jahrhunderts*—"The Discoveries of the nineteenth Century as far as relates to Geography and a Knowledge of different Nations," by M. T. Hoepfner, of Erfort; the third volume of Posselt's *Geschichte der Deutschen*—"History of the Germans;" and the third volume of Rüh's *Geschichte Schwedens*—"History of Sweden." With the voluminous history of M. Eichhorn, we have upon the whole been well satisfied: as an historian, however, he is a far more timid writer than as a theologian; he does not dare to question the conduct of Bonaparte, as he has dared to question the authenticity of the pentateuch, and even at times, as it should seem, the conduct of the Deity himself. Yet we are aware that the present state of the continent will not allow a man of independent spirit—and such we know is the professor—to express all the feelings he would wish to do. Upon every other point the historian writes with sufficient energy and fearlessness: he has spared no pains in his search after authorities, and whoever reads him may rely upon him. In M. Planck's Papal History we perceive nothing of prominent merit or defect. Hoepfner's work is altogether a compilation, but, upon the whole, from writers of credit; Bergman has furnished him with his account of the Calmucks, and Percival with his history of Ceylon.

In France the historic production of by far the most consequence, on a variety of accounts, is the posthumous works of Louis XIV. which already extend to six octavo volumes, and may perhaps, in a short time, reach double the number. It was not till of late known that this extraordinary prince was a writer of any kind; but admitting the genuineness of the works in question, it now appears that he was not only a writer, but one of the most brilliant and polished writers, as well as one of the most accurate and profound reasoners of his age. It seems that

there have been lately discovered in the National Library three bound volumes in folio, independently of three large portfolios, which were deposited there in Dec. 1749, by the marquis de Noailles, with a certificate in the marquis's own handwriting, that the whole were the property and production of Louis XIV., and were saved from the flames to which a great portion of other papers were committed, at the urgent request of this nobleman, who had been ordered by Louis to bring the whole to him for this express purpose. The bound volumes contain both the originals and copies taken of them by order of M. de Noailles himself. They are now, generally, admitted to be genuine, and are published by different editors in a variety of forms. M. de Gain-Montagnac, under the title of "Memoires de Louis XIV.," has presented to the public, in one volume octavo, the first part of an entire series which is designed to include all the papers discovered: this volume contains memoirs composed for, and addressed to, the dauphin, the royal author's son; succeeded by several fragments of military memoirs, instructions given to Philip V., and seventeen letters addressed to that monarch on the government of his states. M. M. Grouvelle and Gen. Grimoard have conjointly engaged in publishing another edition, which is more fully entitled "*Œuvres* de Louis XIV." and is divided into the classes of historical, political, and military memoirs, letters, and miscellaneous pieces. The political and military memoirs have been edited under the especial care and superintendence of general Grimoard; the rest have received their revisal from M. Grouvelle. The whole are elucidated by fac-similes of the royal author's hand-writing, prefatory compositions, comments, and notes. They add very considerably to the credit of this monarch's character, and are a very important accession to the political history of his age. We shall not at present offer another remark, under the full persuasion that we shall be again called to a survey of them, in the lucubrations of our next Retrospect, in the form of an English version.

The chief historical works which France has furnished us with, independently of this of Louis XIV. are, Histoire des Evenemens, &c.—"History of the Events which took place in France during the Months of June, July, August, and September, and which produced the Fall of the Royal Throne," by M. Maton-de-la-Varenne. The writer's name is well known—and he has here advanced various documents which have not hitherto been placed before the public, among which are two original letters of Louis XVI. of some interest and importance. Histoire de l'Occupation de la Baviere, &c.—"History of the Occupancy of Bavaria, and of the Negotiations which preceded the Peace of Teschen, by M. Francois de Neufchateau, Senator and Member of the National Institute." The work is full and explicit, and the literary reputation of the author stamps upon it a sufficiency of authority. Revolutions d'Allemagne—"Revolutions of Germany:" but not the *present* revolutions, for Germany has submitted to many, yet to none so destructive of the general happiness and independence of Europe, as those of our own time: the work before us is merely a translation of Denina's *Revoluzione della Germania:* it is ably executed, and extends to six volumes octavo. Histoire de France, &c.—"History of France from

from the Time of the Gauls to the Fall of the Monarchy: by M. Anquetil," the earlier volumes of which we have formerly noticed, and which is now brought down from vol. x. to vol. xv. inclusive, so as to complete the undertaking, and reflect additional lustre upon the very comprehensive talents of the author. And lastly, Histoire de Guerres des Gaulois, &c.—"History of the Wars of the Gauls and French in Italy; with a View of the Civil and Military Events which accompanied them, and of their Influence on the Civilization and Improvement of Mankind, from Bellovesus to the Death of Louis XII., by M. Auguste Jubé, Member of the Tribunate; and from the Death of Louis XII. to the Treaty of Amiens; by M. Joseph Servan, General of Division; with a Portrait of the Emperor Napoleon by Isabez and Tardieu; an Atlas of twelve Folio Maps, by M. Lapie, Geographical Engineer; and two Views, by M. Le Jeune; 7 vols. 8vo. Paris." With the exception of that preponderance of mind in favour of the new dynasty which it is natural to expect in the writings of one of Bonaparte's own officers, this is one of the best general histories of France which has ever yet been offered to the world. Gen. Servan is an able successor to the labours of M. Jubé; he is intimately acquainted with his subject, and has accurately disposed and arranged it.

M. Eyler Hagerup, of Vördalen in NORWAY, has published a "History of St. Olave, King of Norway," a work replete with paleographic information, and peculiarly interesting to the early history of our own country, from the close connection that subsisted between itself and the north of Europe towards the close of the first chyliad of the christian æra; and M. Holbech, of Copenhagen, is engaged in a long detailed history of the Stuart dynasty. His chief object is to give a comprehensive biography of the late cardinal York, with whom this dynasty has become completely extinct: introductory to which he has already published his "Historical View of the Reigns and Fortunes of the Stuarts." The work is upon the whole impartial: in the midst of many hereditary virtues possessed by this family, he admits that there was a large preponderance of criminality and weakness; and a preponderance that rendered it impossible for them to escape the ruin which befel them.

SWEDEN has found an able and accomplished historian as well as critic in M. Hallenberg, royal librarian, and national historiographer. Among biblical scholars he is already known and esteemed for his translation of the Apocalypse, with a large body of critical notes: he has since been engaged in an "Universal History," of which the third volume has lately made its appearance; and he has just completed, in five volumes octavo, "The History of Sweden during the Reign of Augustus Adolphus the Great."—There is a smaller work upon a more extensive scale just published, by M. Silverstolpe, that is by no means deficient in merit, and will ably answer the purpose it professes, we mean that of being "A Compendium of the History of Sweden."

That we may not have to return to Stockholm in the course of the present chapter, we shall notice the following works, which equally appertain to it: *Resa igenom en del af England och Skottland*—"Travels through Parts of England and Scot-

land, in the years 1802, 1803: by Eric. Th. Svedenstjerna." M. Svedenstjerna is a pupil of Vauquelin; he was placed under his care at the expense of a society of iron-workers at Stockholm, and by them franked in the course of his present travels, which were chiefly indeed for their benefit, and hence partake much of a mineralogical character. Liberality was never better bestowed;—our traveller, who was well recommended to our own country, is always observant, always active, always in good humour: he has thrown a great portion of interest into every page, and will be found to have given to many of our countrymen a new insight into their native land. We cordially recommend these volumes to be translated. They are well worthy of being naturalized amongst us, and will abundantly repay the trouble of writing.

"*Nagra* Korta underrättelser om Fayal och de öfrige Açorerne." These excursions of M. Hebbe over Fayal, one of the Azore islands, is not confined to Fayal alone; for it gives a detailed account of the whole clustre of the Azores, and may be perused with considerable instruction. M. Ruders, in his *Portugisisk Resa*, &c.—"Travels through Portugal," has also well described the interior of that kingdom; and we perceive, in an abridged form, a Swedish translation of Mr. Barrow's Travels in Southern Africa, from the pen of M. P. Olof Gravander, of the university of Upsal.

In Russia, general Alexander Palizyn has translated sir George Staunton's account of lord Macartney's Embassy to China, into his native language: it is magnificently printed, and illustrated by a variety of engravings. M. Von Reimers, in his work entitled *Reise der Russischkaiserlichen Gesandtschaft*, &c, —"Journal of the Imperial Russian Embassy to the Ottoman Porte, performed in the year 1793," has added considerably to our knowledge of the intervening country, we mean Wallachia, Bulgaria, and Romelia, and not a little to that of the Turks themselves. M. Von Reimers was one of the secretaries to the embassy which was fitted out by Catharine II. in 1793: his work extends to three quarto volumes; in the first he describes his route to Constantinople, in the second offers observations on this city and its environs, and in the third gives an interesting account of the Chersonesus Taurica, through which, by particular permission of the Russian ambassador, he passed in his return home. These volumes, if curtailed of their redundancies, might also be naturalized with ample profit.

Bergmann's Nomadische Streifereyen unter den Kalmücken—"Bergman's Nomadic Excursions among the Calmucks in the years 1802, 1803. Riga. 2 vols. 8vo." A highly entertaining, and apparently a faithful and accurate history of these Russian Asiatics.

Before we finally take leave of this immense empire, we will notice that M. Von. Murr, of Nuremberg, has sent to his imperial majesty three manuscripts of the great mathematician Joannes Regiomontanus, together with some rare printed works of the same author. They have been placed in the imperial library, and Mr. Murr has been honoured in return with a present of a superb brilliant ring. We will notice also, that a new periodical journal has been commenced at Petersburg, under the superintendence of M. Martignon, the translator of Longinus, intended for general scientific

ful information, under the title of "*Notices of the North*;" and that another entitled "*The Friend* of Information; or Journal of the Arts and Sciences," has been just essayed at Moscow, edited by M. Kutusow of the university of that city.

In ITALY the abbate Francesco Fontani, librarian of the Riccardine library, in his *Viaggio pittorico della Toscana*—"Picturesque Tour through Tuscany," has produced a work that may be perused with pleasure by every class of readers. It is, however, too extensive for general perusal, as comprising three volumes folio: it is equally literary, historic, and descriptive; the style is agreeable and unaffected, and the taste and judgment evinced are highly cultivated and mature. *Considerazioni sopra la Storia di Sicilia, dai tempi Normani sino ai Presenti*—"Reflections on the History of Sicily, from the Times of the Normans to the present Period." This is a production of the canon Rosario, and is printed at Palermo: the work however is not yet complete, the first two volumes only having hitherto appeared; the size, octavo. We shall return to it when finished. We have, from this quarter, to announce that M. Sestini, who is well known as a profound medallist, and who has already published several excellent works on this science, intends adding another volume, making the ninth, to his *Lettere e Dissertazioni Numismatiche*, which will contain the Grecian coins and medals of the cabinet of Gotha; and that he has just commenced a complete System of Geographical Numismatics, which is to extend to *twelve volumes folio*. It will contain a description of the most interesting coins and medals of antiquity, public and private, in Europe.

In PORTUGAL, and printed and engraved at Lisbon, we meet with a most splendid and magnificent work, of an extent we are ignorant of at present, which is designed, as expressed by its title, to give "Portraits and Busts of the most eminent and illustrious Men and Women that have adorned the Portuguese Nation, whether celebrated for their Virtues or their Literature, for Arts or Arms, whether Natives or Foreigners, whether of ancient or modern Date; to be accompanied with biographical Sketches, deduced from History and ancient Monuments"—*Retratos e Rustos dos Varos, e Donas, que illustraram a naçao Portugueza em Virtudes, Letras, e Artes, assim Nacionaes, como Estranhos, &c.* This immense undertaking is projected, as it need to be, *por uma Sociedade Philopatrica* (by a philopatric society): its size is quarto, and the two first numbers, containing eight portraits, with their respective lives, were completed last August.

The chief productions that have reached us from the American states appertaining to the present chapter are the following: "Description of the Genessee Country;" by Mr. R. Munro, of New York—a description at once geographic, statistic, oryctologic, and commercial. "American Annals; or a Chronological History of America, from its discovery in 1492 to 1806, 2 vols. 8vo. by Abiel Holmes, D.D." printed at Cambridge, New England. This is a work of much merit:—it contains much original matter, and that which is not new is for the most part drawn from unquestionable, often from original authorities. Recourse has frequently been had to Robertson: but there is abundant proof that the Spanish writers themselves have been sedulously consulted in their own pages.

"Message

"Message from the President of the United States, communicating Discoveries made in exploring the Missouri, Red River, and Washita, by Captains Lewis and Clarke, Doctor Sibley, and Mr. Dunbar; with a Statistical Account of the Countries adjacent—Feb. 19, 1806: read and ordered to lie on the table." This authentic communication is printed at Washington. The research was ordered by the American government, in consequence of its acquisition of Louisiana from the French and Spaniards: and the papers here printed conjointly compose the first Anglo-American survey of this quarter of the New World. "Papers on Agriculture: consisting of Communications made to the Massachusett's Society for promoting Agriculture." This is a thin octavo volume, published at Boston by order of the trustees: nearly half of it consists of reprints from English agricultural writers: and the rest possesses no peculiar merit. The following are the chief forensic publications: "A Selection of Pleadings in Civil Actions subsequent to the Declaration, with occasional Annotations on the Law of Pleading; by Jos. Story. Salem. 8vo." This work unites the law of England as uniformly appealed to in the American courts, with such variations as are necessarily produced by a variation in their own statutes. To the American lawyer it must be a useful directory. A new edition of Blackstone's Commentaries, by Mr. G. Tucker, of Boston; accompanied with Notes and References to the Constitution and Laws of the federal Government of the United States, and of the Commonwealth of Virginia. "An Abstract of those Laws of the United States which relate chiefly to the Duty and Authority of Judges of inferior State-Courts and Justices of Peace throughout the Union;" the production of Samuel Bayard, Esq.; we believe, the same gentleman who was secretary to the American embassy to this country about eight years ago. "Reports of Cases argued and adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States, in Aug. and Dec. Terms, 1801, and Feb. 1803." These reports comprise the first volume of a work which it is intended to continue: the editor is W. Cranch, esq. assistant judge of the circuit-court of the district of Columbia. Judicial opinions and decisions have hitherto been seldom recorded in America as they ought to have been: and the example here set by Mr. Cranch will, we trust, be printed and followed as it deserves to be.

We must once more cross the Atlantic, as we have not yet finished the moral and political literature of France and Germany.

The former, during the period before us, has been rich in biographies; of these the chief are, Notice Biographique sur M. Salivet—"Biographic Notice relative to M. Salivet, Professor at the Academy of Legislation; by Charles Dumont." Notice Historique sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Pierre Julien—"Historic Notice relative to the Life and Writings of Peter Julien; by M. Joachim Le Breton, perpetual Secretary to the Class of Polite Arts in the National Institute." Memoires Historiques, Politiques, et Militaires, &c.—"Historic, Political, and Military Memoirs of the Count de Hordt; a Native of Sweden, and a Lieutenant-General in the Prussian Army; digested by M. Borelly, Member of various Academies." This last work we have already noticed at large in its English dress. Memoires d'un Voyageur,

ageur, &c.—"Memoirs of a Traveller now in Retirement; containing historic, political, and literary Anecdotes relative to several of the principal Personages of the Age." The traveller here referred to is M. Dutens: this work has also been rendered into our own tongue, and noticed by us accordingly. Memoires et Lettres, &c.—"Memoirs and Letters of the Marshal De Jessé, containing Anecdotes of Facts never before published, relating to the Reigns of Louis XIV. and Louis XV.;" 2 vols. 8vo. An anonymous publication—and in some degree questionable, though the editor affirms that the originals, or *authentic copies* of the papers here referred to, can be produced. Lettres inedités de Mirabeau, &c.—"Unpublished Letters of Mirabeau;" the whole forming a continuation of the letters written from the dungeon of Vincennes from 1777 to 1780 inclusively. Edited by J. F. Vitry, formerly of the Office of Foreign Affairs. Notice de la Vie et des Ecrits de George Louis Le Sage—"Sketch of the Life and Writings of George Louis Le Sage, of Geneva, Member of the Academy and Institute of Bologna, &c. digested from his Notes by M. Prevost." Histoire Litéraire de l'Abbé Morelli—"The Literary History of Abbate Morelli." This is a mere translation from the original Italian. Gallerie Historique des Illustres Germains—"Historic Gallery of Illustrious Germans, from the Days of Arminius to our own Times, with their respective Portraits, and Engravings taken from some remarkable Occurrence in their Lives." An abridged translation of the chevalier Klein's "German Biography," in five folio volumes. Galerie Historique des Hommes les plus celebres"—Historic Gallery of the most celebrated Men of all Ages and Countries, containing their Portraits, Sketches of their Lives, and Remarks on their Characters and Works: by a Society of Men of Letters." This publication is intended to comprise twelve volumes duodecimo; and each volume to contain seventy-two portraits.

The chief travels, voyages, and tours are as follow: Voyage en Italie et en Sicilie, fait en 1801 et 1802—"Travels in Italy and Sicily in the Years 1801 and 1802, by M. Arenze de Lesser, Member of the Legislative Body." This will not do either for an Italian or an English version; the author says, "I have seen nothing worse than the women of these states (Parma, Placentia, and Rome), except perhaps the five hundred English women, who after the peace of Amiens flocked with such confidence to France to exhibit their persons, or, what is still more ridiculous, their fashions to the admiration of the Parisians." Voyage en Moree, &c.—"Travels in the Morea, to Constantinople in Albania, and many other Parts of the Ottoman Empire, in the Years 1798—1801: by F. C. H. L. Pouqueville, M. D. Member of the Commission of Sciences and Arts of Egypt." The result of having been taken prisoner during the war between France and the Ottoman Porte, carried to Constantinople, and afterwards set at liberty, to return home as he could. This work is worth naturalizing. Voyage à la Partie Orientale de la Terre-Firme, dans l'Amerique Meridionale, fait pendant les Années 1801—1804—"Travels in the Eastern Part of Terra-Firma, in South America, in the Years 1801—1804: by F. Dupons, Ex-agent of

of the French Government, at Caracas, 3 vols. 8vo. Paris." A valuable work—replete with observation and sound judgement. Independently of these, we notice that Pallas's Travels in the Southern Governments of the Russian Empire, in 1793 and 1794, have been translated into French from the German, by M. M. De la Bonlaye, M. D. and Tonnelier, member of the Societies of Natural History and Philomacy, 2 vols. 4to; and Dr. Moore's Travels in France, Switzerland, and Germany (from the English), by an anonymous female pen, occupying 2 vols. 8vo.

We shall next give a glance at the chief publications in the branches of diplomacy, statistics, civil and municipal law. De la Ligue Hanséatique, &c.—"Of the Hanseatic League, its Origin, Progress, Power, and Political Constitution, to the Period of its Declension in the Sixteenth Century: by P. H. Mallet, late Professor of History, and Member of several Academies." A correct and instructive dissertation, evincing an enlightened head and a liberal heart. De la Preponderance Maritime, &c.—"On the Maritime and Commercial Preponderance of England, or the Interests of other Nations relative to England and France; by M. Montbrion." A philippic against the present commercial aggrandizement of Great Britain, and in favour of an universal coalition against her. *Nous verrons.* Recherches sur la Force de l'Arme Française, &c.—"Researches on the Strength of the French Army, the Basis on which it should be established according to Circumstances, and a List of the Secretaries of State or Ministers of War, from Henry IV. to the Year 1805." The first volume only of a work which is to trace the first campaigns of the revolution. We shall, therefore, have an opportunity of returning to it hereafter. Tableaux Comparatifs des Depenses, &c.—"Comparative Statements of the Expenses and Revenues of France and England, by M. Sabatier." An answer, but an inefficient one, to the calculations and reasoning of M. Gentz. Recherches sur la Législation Criminelle, &c.—"Inquiries relative to the State of Criminal Legislation during the Epoch of the Dauphins, according to Thomassin, Valbonnais, Chorier, &c., by M. Berriat (St. Prix) of Grenoble." This work discovers much unwearied research, and a liberal spirit. Code et Nouvelles de Justinien; Nouvelles de l'Empereur Leon, &c.—"Code and Additaments of Justinian; Additaments of the Emperor Leo; Fragments of Caius Ulpianus and of Paul; by P. A. Tissot, Jurisconsult, and Member of several learned Societies." Useful for students in civil law, and capable of supplying, as it is designed to do, the deficiencies in the editions of Ferriere and Huldt. Dictionnaire du Code Civil, &c —"Dictionary of the Civil Code: by A. G. Daubenton, Ex-judge." The Jacob's Law Dictionary of Modern France.

The principal travels and voyages that have issued from the different German presses are as follow: Meine Reise über den Gotthard, &c.—"My Journey across Mount Gothard to the Borromæan Islands and Milan; and thence back across the Val Formazza, the Grimsel, and the Upper-land, performed in the Summer of 1801, 2 vols. 8vo." An entertaining and interesting tour; in the course of which we learn that

that the patriotic story of William Tell has no foundation in real history, or at least not in the manner in which it is commonly related; as we do also that the hospitable convent on Mount St. Gothard has fallen into a heap of ruins beneath the remorseless warfare of the present times. Briefe auf einer Reise von Lothringen, &c.—"Letters written during a Journey from Lorraine to Lower Saxony." Reise nach Hyeres—"Journey to Heyeres in the Spring of 1804: by M. Fischer." Reise in die Klassische Gegenden Rome—"Journey to the Classical Country of Rome;" by M. Bonstetten. In none of these, however, do we perceive any peculiarity of merit, or singularity of anecdote or description. M. M. Gunther and Bruckner have added the last volume to their "Picturesque Tour through Saxony;" and the Briefe eines Reisenden Franzosen, &c.—"Letters of a Frenchman during his Travels in Germany," have reached a new edition. To which we may add, that under the title of Spiele und Belustigungen der Russen: "Sports and Pastimes of the Russians," M. M. Geisler and Richter have produced a very splendid and characteristic work upon the subject in question. It is printed in folio on vellum paper, and embellished with twelve coloured plates: the letterpress is both in German and French.

In the class of statistics and diplomacy, the Geist der Zeit—"Spirit of the Times," by M. Ernest Moritz Arndt, is an excellent work, and entitled to much praise, especially by Englishmen. M. Arndt is a comprehensive observer; and though the late reverses on the continent have abruptly falsified some of his speculations, the generality of his remarks are pregnant with political truth. He apostrophises our own country, with much spirit:—believes us to be on the decline; not from the victories of Bonaparte however, for all his triumphs can never in his judgement seriously injure us, but from our own internal misconduct: yet the day that England is ruined, will, in his opinion, be a fatal day to the rest of the world. Authentische Darstillung, &c.—"Authentic Statement of the Relations between England and Spain before and at the Rupture between those two Powers: by Frederic de Gentz." M. Gentz has already proved himself an able advocate on the part of Great Britain, and he is still as warmly attached to the same side as if he had been feed by a special retainer. Statistischer Umriss der Sämtlichen, &c.—"Statistic View of all the European States considered with respect to their Extent, Population, Productions, Commerce, Finances, Military, Constitution and Colonies or Possessions in other Parts of the World: by G. Hassel. Brunswick." This is to be a very extensive work, if it still seem good to the author to continue it; for which, however, he appears to possess sufficient ability, should the new politics of *Brunswick* allow him to persevere. The size of the work is folio: and the first two numbers of the first volume are all that have yet reached us. "America nach seiner ehemaligen und jetzigen Verfassung—"America considered in her Former and Present State: by F. J. Kretscher, 3 vols." An excellent and indefatigable statistic compilation. Anfangsgruende des Philosophischer Criminal Rechts—"Phi-

"Philosophical Elements of Criminal Jurisprudence. With an Appendix on the Art of Juridical Defence: by C. S. Zacharia, Professor at the University of Wittemberg." Punishments are never to be inflicted by way of example to others; but merely in regard to the degree of criminality in the offender: they ought to be restricted to a confinement of the person, or to infringements upon personal liberty, and never to affect limb, life, or property. Such are the doctrines here chiefly supported. Ueber den Einfluss des Handels und der Handels, &c.—"On the Influence of Commerce and Commercial Systems upon National Prosperity: by G. F. Kiemeyer." A work well entitled to the attention of political economists. Wahr heit ohne Schminke, &c.—"Truth without Disguise; or a Dissertation on a free Corn-Trade." A truly rational and public-spirited performance; in which the author points out the absurdity of all government restraints, and the inefficiency of all government magazines; and establishes that the utmost liberty of action is necessary to obtain grain in abundance, and at a moderate rate.

CHAPTER IV.

LITERATURE AND POLITE ARTS:

Being the Productions of France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Hungary, Turkey, Modern Greece, American States.

WE shall commence, as usual, with the different scientific and literary societies of Europe.

The National Institute, which, in our last Retrospect, we noticed as giving evident proofs of a decline, is now more than ever in danger of actual and speedy dissolution. It commenced, as our readers well know, with a division into the three grand classes of Moral and Political, Physical and Mathematical, and one for Literature and Polite Arts: each of which was to furnish a volume of Memoirs annually. At the beginning of 1804, however, it was discovered by the *imperial patron* of the Institution that it was *inexpedient* to agitate general questions of Moral and Political Sciences—or, in other words, that a degree of liberty had been indulged by many of the memoirists of this department, in their respective speculations, that was incompatible with his view of good order and civil authority: to draw a line of distinction, and mark out the extreme point to which writers of this description might advance, without overstepping it, was invidious and difficult, and perhaps impossible; the Gordian knot, therefore, was cut instead of being untied, by the second as well as by the first Alexander; and, as though by magic spell, the entire department

department of Moral and Political Sciences, in a moment ceased to exist, and was instantaneously merged into the two remaining classes. The change seems to have torpefied the Institution—and to have deprived its members of almost the whole of their activity. And hence, though the public have from the above period had a right to expect only *two* volumes annually instead of three, even this it is found impossible to comply with. The class of Literature and Polite Arts not being prepared, the class of Physics and Mathematics has been obliged to publish its annual volume alone; which constitutes the sixth in the regular series, leaving its associate class to overtake it, as it may be able. Even in this volume we perceive, or think we perceive, less general excellence than in the preceding from the same class. It contains two biographic sketches or *notices* as it is now the fashion to denominate them: one of which is an Elogy on Dr. Priestley, from the eloquent pen of M. Cuvier. It is by far the best, and the most impartial life of him that has hitherto appeared, notwithstanding its deterioration by a few trivial mistakes into which the biographer has fallen: he pays due compliment to Dr. Priestley's philosophical discoveries, and sufficiently reprobates the spirit of vanity and innovation so conspicuous in his theological controversies and opinions. The best memoirs we have noticed are two or three on chemical and economical subjects, by M. M. Vauquelin and Fourcroy—a mathematical paper by M. Le Gendre, and an article on natural history by M. Lacépède.

As some atonement for the unexpected curtailment that has been made in the quantity of *select* matter hitherto usually published by the National Institution, we have to notice that the establishment has now commenced a work which is to give to the public a punctual series of memoirs, that have been presented to it, but have not or could not be published in the regular body of the Institute's own memoirs, as having been presented by foreigners, philosophers who were not members of it. Of this new work we have received the first volume, entitled "Mémoires présentés à l'Institut National." Into this volume we cannot enter: it contains many valuable papers on most departments of science, *except that of morals and politics*. Its size is quarto.

The Academy for Useful Sciences at Erfort has published its volume of Memoirs for the preceding year (1805): the chief articles in which are, "On the Gymnotus electricus, by M. Humboldt. On the Oxyd of Antimony, by M. Bucholz. On the Existence of Azot in the Acetic Acid, by M. Trumsdorf. On several species of Veronica, by M. Bernardi. On several Species of Fungus, by M. Haberle. A *Latin* Society has lately been established at Jena, and the result of its labours are now before us in its first volume, entitled "Nova Acta Societatis Latinæ Jenensis." Its attention is entirely directed to classical literature: of course the papers are in the Latin tongue, except occasional translations; yet there is one exception, in an article "On the Hecate of the Greeks," from the pen of professor Voss, the admirable translator of Homer and Virgil, who has preferred his own German.

Francisci a Mesguien Meninski Lexicon

Lexicon Arabico-Persico-Turcicum—"Meninski's Arabic, Persian, and Turkish Dictionary: four volumes, imperial folio." This was a truly imperial work, well worthy of the princely patronage it has received, and which we rejoice to say is at length completed. It is five and twenty years since this vast and invaluable work commenced: Maria Theresa first fostered it, and successively the emperors Joseph, Leopold, and Francis II. The contributors have been very numerous, and have changed far more frequently than the imperial patrons; the superintendants however have been but three, Von Jenisch, Von Kletzl, and Höh; and hence a greater uniformity and harmony of style and manner are preserved than we have even a right to expect. The first volume appeared in 1780, the second in 1786, the third in 1792; the fourth and last has been published about a twelvemonth.

Professor Schneider has met with sufficient encouragement to give a new edition of his very valuable Kritisches Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch—"Critical Greek and German Dictionary;" which now appears in a very improved state in two volumes quarto. Why have we no dictionary upon a similar plan (Greek and English) in our own country.

Der Man, &c. "Man: an anthropological Sketch of the Character of his Sex; by C. F. Pochels, Aulic Counsellor to the Duke of Brunswick Lunenburg." This work is designed to point out the moral distinctions between the sexes in regard to corporeal, mental, and intellectual powers; but is possessed of no prominent merit.

Winkelman und sein Jahrhundert—"Winkelman and his Century. In Letters and Treatises edited by Baron Goethe." The history of Winkelman must necessarily be the history of arts and sciences, and literary and scientific men contemporary with him. Such is the nature of the work before us—highly amusing and instructive, as every thing from Baron Goethe must be, but somewhat overcharged with personal panegyric.

Beytræge zur Geschichte der Erfindungen, &c.—"Contributions to the History of Inventions and Discoveries: by John Beckmann." This excellent series of antiquarian researches has now reached the fifth volume; and is still to be continued. As the first volume has already been translated into English, we shall have an opportunity of returning to it and explaining its nature more fully in a short time.

Grundzüge des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters—"The Principal Features of the Present Age: by J. G. Fichte." A new attempt to revive the doctrine of Spinozism in regard to its ideology. The confused and inexplicit style of the author, however, if there were no other impediment, will be a very sufficient bar to his success.

A complete collection of Herder's works is now publishing—the whole extent of which we are not acquainted with, as it is produced by single volumes progressively: the first six are already printed. His Ansichten des Klassischen Alterthums—"Views of Classical Antiquity," are also republishing in a separate form, under the superintendence of M. Danz. An excellent edition of Æschylus has been presented to the public by

M. F. H.

M. F. H. Bothe of Magdeburg, printed at Leipsic. The size octavo, the type very neat, paper good—that for the finer copies very handsome. It comprises, successively, the Greek life of the poet; the δραματων καταλογος; tragedies, with a Latin version at the bottom of the page; fragments, also translated; short notes to both tragedies and fragments, a *conspectus metricus*, and a short *index rerum*.

Proceeding from the French press we have to notice, in the department before us, the following as its chief productions: Œuvres Politiques, Litteraires, et Dramatiques de Gustave III., Roi de Suède, suivies de sa Correspondance—"The Political, Literary, and Dramatic Works of Gustavus III., King of Sweden, to which is added his Correspondence, with a Portrait of his Majesty, 4 vols. 8vo. Paris." Gustavus III. was the Julius Cæsar of Sweden, and is so denominated in the motto here subjoined to his portrait:—as a ruler, as a writer, in his life and his death, he bore a considerable resemblance to the ambitious Roman. His literary productions deserve publication in a collected form: and the present edition does credit to the editor. The whole, however, is not yet completed; three or four additional volumes remaining still to be added. Œuvres Choisies et Posthumes, &c.—"Select and Posthumus Works of M. De la Harpe of the French Academy: with a portrait of the author, 4 vols. 8vo. Paris." There is as much violence and bigotry in the latter part of these writings as in the former: La Harpe was always a zealot—at first in philosophism—and, after his conversion, in catholic mysticism. But he was a man of letters, of cultivated taste, and fine imagination, and there is little he ever wrote in which these qualities do not appear. The "Œuvres Complètes de Vauvenargues" have been re-edited, with an introductory biography, well drawn up by M. Suard one of the perpetual secretaries to the National Institute. They now occupy two volumes 8vo. D'Alembert's "Œuvres Philosophiques, Historiques et Litteraires" are also republished in a collected form, and extend to 12 volumes 8vo. The "Œuvres Posthumes" of Marmontel, have been already translated into English. They occupy in the original two volumes duodecimo: they are disgustingly minute in the history of his intrigues and debaucheries. At such a history, and especially as addressed to his children, we are astonished: we never regarded Marmontel as a lover of virtue, but certainly as a man of a refined delicacy of feeling. "Œuvres inédites de M. le President Hénault." These unpublished works of M. Hénault consist of his Marius à Cyrthe; Fugitive Poetry; Thoughts, and other pieces in prose; and a collection of notes as materials for an abridgement of the Chronological History of France.

Pantheon Chinois, ou Parallele entre le Culte Religieux, &c.—"Pantheon of China: or Resemblance between the Religion of the Greeks and that of the Chinese: with new Proofs that China was known to the Greeks, and that the Series of Classic Writers were the Chinese: by Joseph Hager, Doctor of the University of Pavia, &c." This book is elegantly printed in folio, and dedicated "to his imperial highness Eugene Napo-

Napoleon, Viceroy of Italy, Prince of Venice, &c." The chief argument made use of by Dr. Hager, among these *new* proofs, is by no means new; and is reducible to the following syllogism. The Seres supplied the Romans with silk, which they grew and manufactured: but the Chinese were the growers and inventors of silk: ergo, the Seres and the Chinese were one and the same people. But the previous questions, whether the *Sericæ vestes* were really silk, and whether the Persians, Greeks, or even the Romans, a century anterior to Justinian's time, were acquainted with any such material, still require to be settled; for though these points be here discussed, they are by no means discussed conclusively. The resemblances between the two religions seem rather the effect of accident than of a catenated propagation.

Monumens Celtiques, &c.—"Celtic Monuments, or Inquiries concerning the Worship of Stones, preceded by an Account of the Celts and Druids, and followed by Celtic Etymologies: by M. Cambry." This volume is of some consequence, as communicating a knowledge that, under the patronage of Bonaparte, a Celtic academy, or an academy for the study of Celtic archaiology has been established at Paris, of which M. Cambry is a member. It is also of some consequence to know, that at Carnac, in the department of Morbihan, formerly Brittany, there is a grand stone-hall, similar in many respects to our own Stonehenge. For the rest, the author is for arrogating to the Bretons of France all the honours of antiquity which have hitherto been claimed by our own honest Cambrians. We must transfer him, however, to the hands of Mr. Davies, who will not readily suffer the inherent dignities of his countrymen to be thus rudely wrenched from their acknowledged possession. Rapport fait à l'Academie Celtique, &c.—"Copy of the Report made to the Celtic Academy on the Russian Work of Professor Pallas, entitled Comparative Vocabularies of the Languages of all the Nations of the Earth: by the Senator Volney." The work of M. Pallas here referred to is a stupendous monument of the extent of his genius, and his indefatigable industry: it was published at the expense of the Russian government; few copies were printed, and it is extremely scarce. M. Volney has well executed his intention, which was to give a general account of this extraordinary publication, and has pointed out a variety of circumstances by which it may still be improved.

"Des Divinités Genatrices, &c." This publication is a recondite inquiry into the worship of the Phallus, among both ancients and moderns: but though conducted with much learning and zeal in pursuit of the system the author endeavours to establish, it offers little that has not already been presented to our countrymen by a variety of prior works on the same subject.

La Colombe Messagère, &c.—"The Carrier-Pigeon, swifter than Lightning, fleeter than the Clouds: by Michel Sabbah: translated from the Arabic into French by J. A. Silvestre de Sacy." M. de Sacy is well known to the literary world on various accounts; and to the learned of our own country especially, as one of the decipherers (M. Akerblad of Stockholm being the other) of the old Egyptian characters on the stone brought

Rosetta, and deposited in the British Museum. In the work before us, he has translated a very valuable essay on the carrier-pigeon, written in Arabic by M. Sabbah, a Syrian by birth, but who followed Bonaparte from Egypt, and is now a superintendant of the imperial printing press.

The poetical productions of France are chiefly as follow: "La Foret de Fontainbleau, by R. R. Castel; modelled after Pope's Windsor Forest, and written with much spirit: "La Vestale;" a poem in four cantos, by Lamontagne de Langdon; in which the hackneyed mythology of Greece is again adverted to for machinery: "La Napoléide:" an epic poem in six cantos, by M. de G., describing the successes of Bonaparte, but a poem on which he must not depend for immortality: Poetique Anglaise—"English Poetics, by M. Henneh;" a respectable collection from the works of several of our most approved poets, preceded by essays on English poetry, and sketches of the lives of the writers who are hereby introduced to the French reader.

Among the dramatic pieces, we must first mention Les Templiers, &c.—"The Templars, preceded by an Historical Account of the Templars, by M. Raynouard." The account of the order is well drawn up, but it should have been any where rather than where it is, as it is too often at variance with the drama pretended to be founded upon it. The tragedy itself has been of late performed with high applause at Paris, and is certainly a very able production, combining much of the brilliancy of Corneille with the *pathos* of Racine. "L'Avare Fasteux," a comedy in verse, in three acts: "Leonce, ou le Fils Adoptif," a comic opera, in three acts: "Les Consolateurs," a metrical comedy, in one act. It is enough to catalogue these: they are as little worthy of criticism as our renowned Blue Beard and Tom Thumb.

Under the class of novels and romances, Mad. de Genlis has published, in two volumes duodecimo, "Madame de Maintenon," intended as a supplement to the History of the Duchess de la Valière. Historic facts are here too often distorted, and the taste and judgement of Mad. de Genlis are evidently on the decline. Matilda, or Memoires tirés, &c.—"Matilda, or Memoirs selected from the History of the Crusades, by Mad. Cottin." A very happy use is here made of a very interesting portion of European history; Matilda, the heroine of the romance, is brought forward as the sister of Richard Lion-heart. We cannot enter into the plot: but the whole, extending to six volumes, is too long. Histoire d'Ines-de-Leon—"History of Inez de Leon: by F. L. C. Montjoye." This romance is founded upon one of the most interesting incidents in all Castilian history. But, like the last, it is extended to six volumes, instead of being concluded in three. Alphonsine, ou la Tendresse Maternelle—"Alphonsine, or Maternal Tenderness," 3 vols. 12mo. This is also from the pen of Madame de Genlis, and is intended to produce a model of what she denominates *education sensitive*: the effect we doubt, admitting the accuracy of the expression: but, nevertheless, the novel is not without its beauties.

Amidst the polite literature of ITALY for the year, we perceive that the *Templiers* of M. Raynouard, which we have just noticed, has

been naturalized by Sign. Franco Salfi, of Milan: that Tiraboschi's admirable *Storia della Litteratura Italiana* is about to be reprinted at Florence, augmented by a considerable portion of posthumous matter; that Celestino Masucco, of Genoa, has announced a new Italian translation of the Odes of Horace, which will make the *forty-seventh* version of these odes in the Tuscan tongue: and, finally, that Sebastiani has printed at Rome a well revised edition of Lycophron's Monologue, or Tragedy of Cassandra. The text is collated from thirteen ancient manuscripts, which this industrious ecclesiastic has been able to pick up, accompanied with Cantir's Latin translation, improved where it was defective, and a copy of Tzetzes's Commentary, collated also from thirteen distinct manuscripts.

At MADRID, the twenty-first number, completing the seventh volume, has been published, of the *Anales de Historia Natural de Ciencias Naturales*,—"Annals of Natural History, or of the Physical Sciences." It is printed at the royal press, is illustrated by engravings, and contains a great variety of scientific essays, original or translated, by natives or foreigners, on subjects connected with botany, geology, meteorology, natural history, and the sciences in general. We have also received three copies of several curious poetical effusions, by Spanish poets of the day, on the tremendous battle of Trafalgar. None of these are ill written; and all of them endeavour, by a misrepresentation of some kind or other, either to soften their own disgrace, or to give the general result in their favour. Nelson, in two of them, is depicted as being stimulated to the direst revenge by the loss of his right arm, which was destroyed by a *Toledet* blade:—the storm, *which did not take place till afterwards*, is called to their assistance, and the two fleets are represented as being compelled to separate, and leave the victory undecided; or, as we have it in another place, their own losses are amply compensated by the fall of the English hero. The first is entitled *Relacion en la que se Elogia sencillamente, á los Heroes del Combate del dia*, &c.—"Simple Narrative in Honour of the Heroes of the Battle of Oct. 21, sustained by the Combined Squadron against the English Fleet, commanded by Admiral Nelson." The second, *El Combat Naval*, &c.—"The Naval Engagement of the 21st of October: by Don Jose Mor de Fuentes. The third *Sombra de Nelson*—"The Shade of Nelson." They are all very excellent and spirited performances; infinitely superior to any thing so proud an occasion has hitherto called forth from ourselves. Our limits alone prevent us from copying from each of them.

In our cursory survey of DUTCH literature and polite arts for the past year, we noticed the very laudable attempts of M. Siegenbeck to reduce the orthography of his country to a fixed standard, as well as the two excellent treatises he had composed, in answer to prize questions on this subject; the one entitled *Verhandeling over den Invloed*, &c.—"Essay on the Influence of Euphony, and of the Facility of Pronunciation, on the Orthography of the Dutch Language:" the other, *Verhandeling over de Nederduitsche Spelling* &c.—"Essay on Dutch Orthography, tending to render it uniform." We have now to add that, on the recommendation of various literary societies, and especially of the *Tot Nut*

Nut tot het Algemeen—" Society for general Improvement," a professorial chair has been expressly created for him at Leyden, for Dutch literature and eloquence; and that he has accepted of so honourable a post. Professor Wyttenbach has just published, at Amsterdam, the third part of the third volume, which brings it to a conclusion, of his very excellent *Bibliotheca Critica*. M. Conrad D'Engelbronnen has published in the same city, an historical and critical disquisition on the name, family, country, and writings of M. T. Tiro, the freed-man of Cicero. It is written in Latin, and displays more purity and simplicity of style than is common to the Latin writers of the present day. Among the Dutch translations we have to mention that M. P. Van Winter has published a good metrical version of Horace, together with various specimens of the Æneid: that M. Hiaker has also naturalized into vernacular metre M. Raynouard's *Templiers*, and M. C. F. Cramer the whole of Miss Baillie's Plays, extending to three volumes 8vo.

Among the SWEDES we continue to perceive a growing taste for classical and polite letters. Dr. Lindblom, bishop of Linkoeping, and formerly professor of eloquence and political science at Upsal, in a quarto work, *De Sacrificiis Veterum Suco-Gothorum*—" On the Sacrifices of the ancient Swedes," has given an admirable analysis of Scandinavian mythology, which we should like to see translated into our own tongue. Count Scheberin, rector of Sala, has published a useful course of Lectures on Education and general Cultivation of the Mind. A poem entitled *Quinnan*: or "Woman," of considerable popularity and merit, has been written by Wallerius, who has already made himself known to the world by several excellent pieces of fugitive poetry, and a translation of various French plays for the stage at Stockholm. He is now secretary to the Opera, upon the resignation of C. Lindegren, who is one of the best dramatic writers of the Swedish nation. The entire works of Lindegren are now collected and published; the first part having been completed last year. The first poet of the country, however, is Count Gyllenborg; and we are pleased to find that his admirable national epic, the *Tagetöpver Belt*—" March over the Belt," alluding to the history of Charles X. has been lately republished, with improvements. It is divided into twelve cantos. M. J. O. Wallin, who is engaged in a kind of general Swedish version of the Latin poets, something after the manner of our own Creech, but with superior excellence, is on the point of adding another volume to his labours.

Among the classical literature of DENMARK we meet with *Det Grecke sproge Grammatik, aldeles fra ny af beasbeidet*, &c.—" A Grammar of the Greek Tongue, digested on a new Plan." Of the new plan here offered we cannot altogether approve. It proposes that the scholar should first read his author, and then learn and apply whatever rule the passages selected and read are meant to exemplify. In other respects, however, it is a very useful elementary work, grounded on the theory of universal grammar, and constantly referring to the principles of the Danish and Latin languages. The author is Dr. Block, principal professor of the Greek and Danish languages at the collegiate

legiate school of Odense. A Danish Dictionary, on the plan of that of the *Academie* Française, has been for some time undertaken, at the expense and under the patronage of the Royal Danish Society of Sciences: it is conducted by many of the most distinguished literates of Copenhagen, and is designed to fix the orthography, and form the standard of the Danish tongue. A new periodical work has lately been commenced by M. P. A. Mænster, at Copenhagen, entitled the Athenæum, of a description perfectly similar to that of the same name published in London. An epic poem, entitled, like one that has also appeared among ourselves, "The Exodiad," has just issued from the Danish press that is very highly spoken of, but of which we have not yet received a copy. We shall notice it in our next. It is the first regular effort of the country in this branch of poetry.

HUNGARY, notwithstanding the distractions of the late war, has resumed its thirst for literary information. M. Fabriz has published, in his native tongue, translations of the Greek lyric poets Pindar, Anacreon, and Sappho. M. Koraz has translated the first eight books of the Æneid into pentacædic, or fifteen-syllable verse, and the remainder may be expected immediately. M. Heggi of Pest has given a Hungarian version of Cicero's Letters; and M. Tanarki of the same city a version of Tasso's Jerusalem; and under the title of Ungrische Miscellen, Dr. Lübeck has commenced a "*Miscellany*," devoted to general science. Bredelyky has finished the fourth volume of his "Contributions to the Topography of Hungary," which concludes a work which has given very general satisfaction. The *Hlasatel Cesky*, or "Bohemian Prophet" of professor Negedly is a national journal of high classical value, and considerably tends to promote and perfect both the Bohemian language and literature. In the two numbers, which are the whole that have yet appeared, we meet with some excellent translations from the Greek, Latin, English, and German. Kovachich, who has devoted so much time, and so laudably, to classical science, is now occupied with a new and highly improved edition of the *Corpus Juris Hungarici*.

In TURKEY the Scutari press is still busy. It has published editions of most of the Persian poets of reputation; has lately brought forwards the very valuable Annals of Ahmed Vassif Effendi, entitled "The Excellence of the Monuments and the Truths of Historic Memoirs," in two folio volumes; and is about to complete the internal history of the Ottoman Empire, by a republication of Saadedin.

In modern GREECE we have to observe that M. Hadsi Nicker has founded a school at Cronstadt for the reception of modern Greeks, which has already thirty-four scholars, and is in great repute. Demeter Alexandrides, a physician of Ternawa in Thessaly, has translated into modern Greek Goldsmith's History of Ancient Greece; and two Greek brothers, by name Zozima, are in the act of giving a new edition to their countrymen of the ancient Greek Classics, from Homer to the epoch of the Ptolemies.

In crossing the Atlantic we find that the *American States* are still almost entirely dependent upon the old world for classical and fine literature. We meet with a greater variety

variety than ever of periodical journals, miscellanies, and reviews, which seems to be a favourite mode of diffusing information: editions of most of the Roman Classics have appeared, and chiefly from the Salem press in Massachusetts. The Philadelphia press has given an edition of Xenophon's Cyropædia, and M. Dufief of the same city has published a philological work of some merit, entitled "Nature displayed in her Mode of teaching Language to Man."

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